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Early English Text Society
Publications No. 23
ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON
PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC
NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE
ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF
CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON
ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521,
ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND
WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND
PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

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PART IV.

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE
XVII TH, XVIII TH, AND XIX TH CENTURIES.

LEDIARD, BONAPARTE, SCHMELLER, WINKLER.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

In addition to those already given on the backs of notices to Parts I. and II. and back of title to Part III., containing all the errors hitherto observed that could cause the slightest difficulty to the reader.

* This star is prefixed to the *Addenda*. The additions promised for Part IV. at the back of the title to Part III., in the belief that Part IV. would conclude the work, are necessarily postponed to Part VI. The additions here given are all of small extent.

In PART I. pp. 1—416.

- pp. 3-10, the symbols of palacotype have been much extended, and occasionally corrected. See the subsequent list of *Additional Palacotypic Symbols*, p. xii.
- p. 11, lines 19, 22, in the Caffir words, *for* (u i) *read* (u i).
- *p. 29, table, col. xvii, *for* nin't *read* nin't; and add to table: "(u) is put for (u) in the old pronunciations, owing to uncertainty."
- p. 32, against 1547, *read* 38 Henry VIII.
- p. 33, l. 13 from bottom, *read* Jean Pillot.
- p. 41, l. 14 from bottom, *for* Ripon, *read* Chester.
- p. 50, col. of Sovereigns, between Edw. VI. and Elizabeth, *insert* 1553 Mary.
- p. 57, lines 15, 6, and 3 from bottom, *read* get, mare, (mee'a).
- p. 67, l. 11 from bottom of text, *for* Mr. M. Bell's French nasals, *read* (ea, oha, oha, oa).
- p. 80, l. 7, and p. 111, l. 16, *read* dee'i (dee'éi).
- p. 93, col. 4, line 5, *read* endev'a.
- p. 95, l. 2, *read* stoo'a'ri.
- p. 99, l. 5, *read* nope hope (hoop).
- *p. 111, l. 6, at end of sentence, *add*: "(see p. 817, note)."
- p. 116, l. 1, *omit* and as it probably was in the XIVth century.
- p. 131, l. 8 from bottom of text, *read* dzho'nt.
- p. 134, l. 9 from bottom of text, *read* vai'adz.
- *p. 145, l. 11 from bottom of text, *add*: "See p. 976, l. 6."
- p. 153, lines 9, 10, 11 from bottom, *omit* which.
- p. 158, l. 9, *read* molten.
- p. 159, l. 9, *read* àt, nàt, bràt, bàt.
- *p. 173, l. 9 from bottom of second col. of note, *for* (ɜ, æ), *read* (ɜ, əh). At end of that note *add*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte heard M. Féline use (æ) for e muet; all references to his pronunciation must be corrected accordingly."
- *p. 189, l. 7, *read* (hun, bun'e); and at end of paragraph *add*: "M. Paul Meyer told me (30 April, 1871) that he suspected Palsgrave to allude to the Provençal method of using -o, for what in northern French is -e mute, and to have pronounced this o either as (-o) or (-oh)."
- p. 190, last line of text, *read* (or'eindzhiz).
- p. 192, last line, *read* 2.
- p. 196, l. 12 from bottom of text, *read* differing nearly as (e, e).
- p. 198, lines 10 and 11, *for* uɪ, uɪ, *read* uɪ, uɪ.
- *p. 201, l. 6 from bottom, *add* as a footnote: "Mr. F. G. Fleay says he knows two certain instances of Londoners saying (draar)."
- *p. 204, note 1, *add*: "The passages adduced by F. L. K. Weigand (*Wörterbuch der Deutschen Synonymen*, No. 1068) seem to leave no doubt as to the historic origin of church from the Greek, through the canons of the Greek churches."
- p. 215, l. 2, *read* (kondisiun).

- *p. 218, *add at end of first column of footnote*: "See also p. 922, col. 2, under *sutor*, and p. 968, col. 2, under *s*."
- p. 220, l. 11, italicise *humble*.
- p. 223, note 1, l. 1, *read* Lehrgebäude.
- p. 226, note 1, l. 1, *after* treatise, *add*: "(reprinted below, p. 815)."
- p. 236, l. 4, *read* myyv.
- p. 240, l. 2, *read* but.
- *p. 247, l. 18, *add as footnote*: "See the investigation below, pp. 453-462, and pp. 820, 822, under *ai, ei*."
- p. 264, l. 7, *read* saunz.
- *p. 265, note 1, *add*: "See p. 473, n. 1, and p. 1315."
- p. 268, l. 3, *read* 5322¹.
- p. 269, note, col. 1, l. 6, *read* mouiller.
- p. 271, l. 13, *read* confuses.
- *p. 281, l. 31, *for*: "The words do not occur in Gill, but *lady* does occur," *read and add*: "The words *lady*, *worthy*, occur in Gill, who writes (laa'di, ladii), see p. 935, l. 13, below, and (wurdh'i), see p. 909, col. 2, below; and *lady* also occurs. . . ."
- *p. 282, l. 5 from bottom, *add*: "See p. 817, note."
- p. 283, l. 8, *read* melodye.
- p. 284, l. 29, *read* Die = (daire, diire).
- p. 286, lines 6 and 11, *read* (ti're, pii'ne).
- p. 287, l. 13, *omit* it.
- p. 288, note 1, line 4, *read* effect is.
- p. 294, line last of text, *read* but (*ee, oo*).
- p. 295, line last but one of text, *read* were.
- p. 301, l. 10, *read* words in *ew*.
- p. 307, l. 22, *for* (eu), *read* (au).
- *p. 316, note 1, line 5, *read an and en*; and *at the end of note 1 add*: "see below, pp. 509, 825-828, and p. 828, note 1."
- p. 319, last line of text, *read* world.
- p. 321, l. 2, *omit one* heer'de.
- „ l. 7, *read* herts'ogh.
- „ l. last of text, *read* fEE'torli'he.
- p. 323, l. 25, *read* graas.
- „ l. 36, *read* nekhten.
- p. 325, l. last but one of text, *read* lorsque.
- *p. 327, throughout the French transcription of M. Féline's pronunciation interchange (j) and (œ), according to the correction of the meaning of M. Féline's symbols given me by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who heard him speak; thus v. 1, *read* (kœ læ siel kelkœ zhur), and v. 8 *read* (miœ kœ), etc. See p. 173 in this list.
- p. 327, note, last line, *omit* which.
- p. 328, l. 7 from bottom of text, *read* santz.
- p. 330, l. 13 from bottom of text, *for* be aware, *read* beware.
- p. 331, l. 17 from bottom of text, *read* désirs.
- p. 336, commence note with ¹.
- p. 337, l. 9 from bottom, *read* kouth'.
- p. 342, l. 10, *read* hadd'.
- p. 343, note 3, line 2, *read* & an *e*.
- p. 345, l. 9 from bottom of text, *read* restored.
- p. 346, art. 14, ex., col. 2, l. 11, *read* æt ham.
- p. 351, line 5, *read* fæder.
- „ art. 35, l. 4, *read* Past.
- „ art. 38, line 4, *read* more, better.
- p. 354, art. 51, ex., col. 2, line 7, *read* he let.
- p. 357, l. 10 from bottom, *read* Tale.
- p. 358, art. 65, under SCHAL, line 2, *read* (dialectic).
- *p. 363, art. 82, ex., *insert after* v. 388: "[See note on v. 386, p. 700, below.]"
- p. 366, l. 5, *for* new fr., *read* old fr.
- p. 367, art. 92, l. 13, *read* then, and l. 14, *read* tyme.

- p. 370, note 1, citation iii. 357, *read* This toucheþ.
 p. 374, art. 108, ex., col. 2, line 1, *read* æt-æfter.
 p. 385, col. 2, under, *hevenriche*, *read* heotounrice.
 p. 386, col. 1, under ill, *read* gylle.
 p. 388, col. 1, under lore, *read* lore.
 „ „ under -ly, line 6, *read* sodeinliche.
 p. 392, col. 2, under ** Sleeve, *read* 16 sleeve 13152', stef ii 213'.
 pp. 398-402, tables of probable sounds, etc., for (i, u), *read* (i, u) in several places; and also often to end of p. 415.
 p. 400, under TH, *read* in two sounds.
 p. 413, col. 2, l. 1, *read* Paa'ter.
 „ in Kree'doo, l. 1, *read* in'e.
 p. 415, v. 489, *read* Diisen'tees Ee. vel Aa.

In PART II. pp. 417-632.

- *p. 439, note 5, *add*: "The text of the Bestiary has been again printed from the Arundel MS. 292, in Dr. Morris's *Old English Miscellany*, published by the Early English Text Society in 1872, vol. 49, pp. 1-25. The references to the numbers of the verses (not to those of the pages) given in the present book, pp. 439-441, hold good for this edition."
- p. 441, l. 13, and p. 445, l. 10 from bottom of text, for n. 4, *read* n. 1.
- *pp. 442-3, *add as footnote*: "For corrections of some quantities, see p. 1270, note 1."
- p. 462, quotation, v. 2, *read* Richard.
- *p. 465, l. 35, *add as footnote*: "On the confusion of long f and z, see note in Madden's *Lagamon*, vol. 3, p. 437, which will be further treated in Part VI."
- p. 468, translation, col. 2, v. 4, *read* hill.
- p. 473, note 1, col. 1, l. 8 from bottom, for § 3, *read* § 1, p. 1171;—col. 2, l. 1, for p. 446, *read* p. 447;—l. 14, for § 4, *read* § 2 (the reference is to the notice which will appear in Part V.);—l. 18, *read* May (the month);—and for the pronunciations in lines 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, *read*: (mee, dee, ewee, pee, shōp, slāp, mā, she'ip, sle'ip, me'i, e'i, dzhe'ist, dzhe'int, be'id, pe'int, e'intment).
- *p. 474, l. 22, to the words "*dede* never appears as *deide*," *add the footnote* (?): "In the Cotton text of the *Cursor Mundi*, v. 1619, p. 100 of Dr. Morris's edition published by the Early English Text Society, we find *deid* rhyming to *red*; but the word is here the substantive *deed*, not the verb *did*, which is written *did* on v. 1608 above, rhyming to *kydd*. This *deid* is a mere clerical error for *ded*; the Fairfax, Göttingen, and Trinity MSS. have all *dede*, and the Cotton has *ded*, v. 1952."
- *p. 475, note 1, *add to this note*: "In *Cursor Mundi*, Cotton text, v. 1629, we have
 Pe first was Sem, cham was the tofeir,
 And Iaphet hight þat yonges brojer,
 where Dr. Morris writes 'yonges[t],' but this is unnecessary, see p. 1400, Halifax version, v. 12. Here we have a spelling *tofeir*, which would have apparently rhymed to *eir* in Havelok. But it is a mere clerical error, not found in the other MSS., any more than the singular errors in v. 1973-4,
 I fel agh naman do til ofer
 For ilkan agh be ofjer brojer,
 where *ofer*, *ofjer*, occur in consecutive lines, and *brojer* is a similar error; *ofer* is the usual spelling in the Cotton MS., as in v. 1979, but we have *brojer*, *tojer*, v. 2031, with *brojer* v. 2013, etc. Nothing phonetic can be distinctly concluded from such vagaries."
- p. 475, lines 3 and 4 from bottom of text, see note 4 on p. 1404, col. 2, v. 26.
- p. 476, l. 1-19, see the remarks on p. 1310.
- *p. 477, note 2, l. 3, *omit* more. *Add to note*: "On this dental *t*, better written (t), see p. 1096, col. 1, and p. 1137, col. 2, l. 16 from bottom."
- p. 478, note 2, l. 5, *read* from giving.
- *p. 484, note 1, *add*: "Another copy of the Moral Ode will be found in Dr. Morris's *Old English Miscellany* (E. E. T. S. 1872), p. 58, and again another in the *Old English Homilies*, second series (E. E. T. S. 1873),

p. 220. On p. 255 of this last is given a hymn to the Virgin, of which the first verse with the musical notes, and the second verse without them, are photolithographed opposite p. 261, with a translation of the music first by Dr. Rimbault, p. 260, and secondly by myself, p. 261, of which the latter will appear in Part VI. of this book. To my translation I have added annotations, pp. 262-271, explaining the reasons which influenced me, and the bearings of this music (which is comparable to that of the *Cuckoo Song*, and *Prisoner's Prayer*, *suprà* pp. 426, 432) on the pronunciation of final E, etc., the pith of which will also appear in Part VI."

*p. 487, l. 9, *for* attributes *read* seems to attribute. *Add to note 1*: "Was *yate* in line 16 of this note a misprint for *yete*? Did Thorpe mean that *æt* in Orrmin would have been (*æet*)? or (*jiit*)? If (*jiit*), then Thorpe consistently attributes modern habits to Orrmin; if (*æet*), he makes one remarkable exception. There is nothing in his remarks which will decide this point, and hence I alter my expression in the text."

p. 490, l. 24, *read* further;—note 1, last line, *read* Orrmin's.

p. 495, col. 3, *þraghe*, remove *þ*, for this word is not oblique in v. 3475.

*p. 515, note, *add at the end*: "p. 541, and see especially note 2 to that page."

*p. 516, *add to note 3*: "More particulars respecting this MS., which has been re-examined for me by Mr. Sweet, will be given in Part VI. There is little doubt that it is wrongly taken to be Anglosaxon on pp. 518-522, but is rather Celtic. However, it certainly shews the correspondence of the sounds of Latin and Greek letters in this country at that time, and hence indirectly bears on Anglosaxon usage. The MS. has a Paschal table from A.D. 817 to 832, which places it in the ixth century."

*518, note, col. 2, l. 8, *after* "teeth," *insert*: "see p. 1103, col. 1, and p. 1337, col. 2, on i. 25."—Both refer to the Sanscrit *v*.

*p. 531. The following explanation of the words here quoted from Wace will appear as a note in Part VI.; it is taken from a letter of Mr. Skeat, date 1 Jan. 1872: "The cup was passed round. If a man drank too much, he was cautioned, '*Drink half*' (only); if he kept the cup *too long*, the men two or three places off him sang out—'*Let it come*, where *is* the cup?' '*Drink hindweard*' is drink backwards, *i.e.* pass the cup the wrong way; though it would commonly take the form: '*Ne drinke ge hindweard*,' *i.e.* '*don't* drink backward, none of your passing the cup the wrong way round.' I have heard '*Let it come*' in a college hall; it is a most natural exclamation. I have said it myself! So instead of meaning 'may you have what you want' [as suggested *suprà* p. 532, line 1], it is: 'may I have what I want,' which is human nature all over."

p. 534, conjectured pronunciation, v. 12, l. 3, and v. 13, l. 5, *read* ææht'e.

*p. 541, note 2, l. 4, *add*: "printed in an enlarged form in Appendix I. to Mr. Sweet's edition of *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, printed for the E. E. T. S., Part II., 1872, pp. 496-504; in the Preface to this Part, pp. xxi-xxxiii, Mr. Sweet enters on the Phonology of Anglosaxon."

p. 543, l. 8, *read* (gwh, wh, w).

p. 547, l. 13, *for* "(s) final," *read* "s final."

p. 592, note, col. 2, line 2, *read* minimum.

*p. 600, col. 1, line 12, *after* *hue*, *insert* *hew*.

p. 601, col. 2, (*O o*), line 3, *read* heard in the.

p. 628, l. 3, *read* exist?—

In PART III. pp. 633-996.

*p. 637, l. 16, *after* "usual," *add as a footnote*: "Frequent instances of the interchange of (ii, ee, ái) will be found in the specimens from Winkler's *Dialecticon*, see below p. 1375, l. 21."

*p. 638, note, at end of note continued from p. 637, *add*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte informs me that the real Portuguese sound of *a* is (æ), which is also nasalised (æA), see p. 1303, No. 23, vowels 8 and 9. Final and unaccented, this *a* is nearly (e)."

- *p. 639, note 1, col. 2, l. 11, *add*: "Mr. (now Dr.) Murray collated this MS. in Edinburgh in 1871, and informs me that the MS. has *deye*, and not *dethe*, or *d-þe*, which is a gross blunder of D. Laing's, as the *y* of the MS. is always dotted, and the *þ* never is. He says that D. Laing's Abbotsford text has above 50 misreadings per page."
- *p. 619, lines 7 and foll. The Alexandrines in Chaucer will be reconsidered in Part VI.:—line 12, after MSS., *insert*: "in retaining of hem";—line 20, after "unanimous," *add*: "in inserting *pour*";—line 25, after MSS., *insert as a footnote*: "except the Cambridge, which reads—
With a threadbare kope as is a scholer,
where the *is*, which appears also in the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS., but not in the others, is an evident error."
- p. 663, note 38, l. 13, *read* of (*ai*) for (*ái*).
- pp. 680–725, in Chaucer's Prologue, make the following corrections, in addition to those pointed out in the footnote p. 724, they are mostly quite unimportant. In the TEXT, v. 2, *perced*; v. 3, *lycour*; v. 8, *yroinne*; v. 13, *palmer's*; v. 20, *Tabbard*; vv. 21, 78, *pilgrimage*; v. 24, *weel*; v. 25, *ytalle*; v. 29, *weel*; v. 49, *Christendoom*; v. 57, *Palmirye*; vv. 64, 85, *been*; v. 72, *gentel*; v. 73, *array*; v. 85, *cheycheye*; v. 99, *servysabel*; v. 104, *pocok*; v. 107, *feth'res*; v. 123, *nose*; v. 138, *amiabl'*; v. 141, *dygn'*; v. 157, *elook'*, as; v. 169, *brydel*; v. 170, *clere*; v. 186, *laboure*; v. 189, *prykasour*; v. 202, *stemed'*; v. 209, *lymytour*; v. 224, *pylawnee*; v. 226, *sygne*; v. 241, *ev'rych*; v. 245, *syke*; v. 248, *vyltyle*; v. 255, *eer*; v. 282, *chevysawnee*; v. 308, *lern'*, and; v. 326, *wyting'*.—In the PRONUNCIATION, v. 41, *add comma*; v. 76, *add period*; v. 144, *saukweh* (wrongly corrected *sakweh* in footnote to p. 724); v. 152 *add semicolon after strait*; *glas*;—in the Note on v. 260, p. 693, for "So all MSS. except Ca." *read* "All MSS. insert *pore* except Ca."
- p. 756, note, col. 2, lines 25 and 26, *read* "(lhh, /hh, l'hh, t'hh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (/hh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man." Observe that (lhh) does *not* occur in the dialect of the Isle of Man, as it is incorrectly stated to do in the note as printed.
- *p. 763, note 2, *add*: "*Winge* is given for *whine* from Rothbury, see the comparative specimen in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 12. below. This was more probably the word alluded to."
- *p. 768, *add note to title of § 2*: "This work was first seen by me in the British Museum on 14 Feb. 1859, from which day, therefore, the present researches should be dated."
- p. 789, col. 1, *art. bold, read* (boond).
- *p. 799, note 1, col. 1, lines 17 to 20. This is not a perfectly correct representation of the Prince's opinion, see reference on p. 1299, under (*uh*) No. 54; see also the additional note, given in this table of *Errata*, to p. 1296, line 1.
- p. 800, note, col. 1, the Prince wishes to omit 2) and 3), lines 4 to 8;—col. 2, the notations (sh f, qsh), etc., are now (sh), etc., and (qs), etc., is now (s), etc.
- *p. 802, note, col. 1, line last, *for* Madrid, *read* Spain, although heard in Spanish America.—*Add at end of note*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that no buzzed consonant is found in Spanish, and hence that it is an error to suppose that (dh) or (z) occur in it. He thinks *b* or *r* Spanish is (*b*) after a consonant, or when standing for Latin *bb*, and (*bh*), which he does not reckon as a buzz, after a vowel or when initial. The Spanish strong *r*, initial and after *n*, and *rr* between vowels, he regards as a Basque sound (*r*), p. 1354, col. 2, No. 203. In Basque the only ordinary *r* (*r*) is a euphonic insertion, as our cockney *law(r) of the land*, *draw(r)ing room*. The Castilian *s* he considers to be the Basque *s*, and it sounded to me as a forward dental *s* with a half lisp, possibly (th) of p. 1353, No. 143, or (sʃ) of p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom. These fine varieties are very difficult to appreciate by persons who cannot hear them constantly in the spoken language, from many different speakers."
- *p. 803, last words of Hart, *add as note*: "This was Lord Eldon's favourite motto."
- *p. 834, l. 25, *add footnote*: "The subject of *modern*, as distinct from *ancient*. French accent, has been considered in my paper on *Accent and Emphasis*,

Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 138-139, and by Prof. Charles Cassal, a Frenchman, *ibid*, pp. 260-276; but the views we have taken are disputed and stated to be entirely incorrect by most French authorities, and even by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, whose Italian education makes him familiar with the meaning of accent. The part played by Latin accent in French is the subject of an *Étude sur le Rôle de l'Accent Latin dans la langue Française* by M. Gaston Paris (1862), who also holds that M. Cassal and I are wrong in our views, but whose pronunciation, when tested by myself and Mr. Nicol, bore out what M. Cassal and myself meant to imply, so that there must be a radical difference of the feeling, rather than of the conception, conveyed by the word 'accent.' Hence the need of scientific researches, suggested in other parts of my paper on Accent and Emphasis. An advance towards a mechanical registration of the force of uttered breath in speech has been made by Mr. W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., in his *Logograph*, described in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 22, pp. 277-286, and less fully in a note to my Third Annual Address to the Philological Society (Trans. Ph. S. 1873-4, p. 389). The nature of Latin accent itself, whence, as seen through a Celto-Frankish medium, French accent arose, has been carefully considered and practically illustrated in my *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (Macmillan & Co., 1874). The strange difference in the whole character of French, Italian, and Spanish pronunciation, and especially in the nature of accent and quantity in these languages, although all derived very directly from Latin, and although Spain and Gaul were celebrated for the purity of their Latin, next of course to Rome, shews that the whole question requires re-investigation."

- p. 866, note, col. 2, l. 4, *read* mead. In lines 7, 8, 9, a line has been dropped. The complete passage is printed on p. 1061, note, col. 1, line 10.
- p. 918, line 15, *read* Shakspeare was a South Warwickshire man.
- p. 921, example of puns, "dam damn," l. 2, *read* (191', 33).
- *p. 923, col. 2, *add to the example* "foot, gown:" "We have an echo of *none* as *gown*, that is (nun) as (gunn, gun) in TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85), where *Katerine* says: 'I like the cap, And it I will have, or I will have none,' which *Petruchio* chooses to hear as *gown*, for he says: 'Thy gowne, why I; come, Tailor, let vs see't.'"
- *p. 923, to the examples of puns under A, *add*: "cate Kate TS 2, 1, 50 (238, 189-90). Observe that *th* in *Katharina*, as the name is spelled in the Globe edition, was simple (t). The folio has *Katerina*, and that *Katerine* was either (Kat'rin), or more probably (Kaa'triin), whence (Kaat) was the natural diminutive."
- *pp. 925-6, *add to example of puns under OA, O, OO*: "on one TG, 2, 1, 2 (24', 2); 'Speed. Sir, your Gloue.—*Valen.* Not mine; my Gloues are *on*.—*Sp.* Why then this may be yours: for this is but *one*.' This is conclusive for the absence of an initial (w) in the sound of *one*."
- *p. 938, note 1, *add at end*: "See also Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11. for Derbyshire usage."
- *p. 942, col. 1, before the last entry under Fourth Measure Trissyllabic, *insert*: To be suspected: framed to *make women false*. Oth. 1, 3, 86 (885', 404).
- *p. 946, col. 2, *add to the examples of well-marked Alexandrines in Othello*: That came a-wooing with you, and so many a time. Oth. 3, 3, 31 (893, 71). Not that I love you not. But that you do not love me. Oth. 3, 3, 90 (899, 196). Since guiltiness I know not; but yet I feel I fear. Oth. 5, 2, 16 (907, 39).
- *p. 953, just before the heading *Shakspeare's Rhymes*, *insert as a new paragraph*: "Since the above examples were collected and printed, the subject of Shakspeare's metrical usages has received great attention. See the Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society, 1874-5. See also Mr. Furnivall's essay on *The Succession of Shakspeare's Works and the use of Metrical Tests in Settling it*, being the introduction to Miss Bunnett's translation of Gervinus's *Commentaries on Shakspeare* (1874)."
- p. 963, col. 2, under "caught her," l. 8, omit first).

p. 980, note, col. 1, line 18. The Devonshire *oo* will be fully considered in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11.

p. 986, l. 10 of Portia's speech, read "mersi."

In PART IV. pp. 997-1432.

p. 1085, note, col. 2, l. 4 from bottom, *after* "below," *add*: p. 1310.

p. 1086, l. 16, *read* my (o) in the xviith may have been (æ, ω).

p. 1114, col. 1, line 5 from bottom, *read* being, *dr*, *vr*.

p. 1167, col. 2, under *sir*, *read* (jæ'se).

p. 1180, col. 2, v. 29, *read* aansering.

p. 1221, col. 2, l. 19 from bottom, *read* (nuen) er (nu'en).

*p. 1251, *add* to note continued from p. 1250: "Mr. Elworthy, of Wellington, Somerset, says he has never heard *Ise* as a pure nominative, but only *is* standing apparently for *us* and used as *I*. More upon this in § 2. No. 11."

*p. 1296, l. 1, *after* "in such case," *add as a footnote*: "The following remark of the Prince on this passage in the text was not received till this page had been printed off: 'When the vowels (25e₁, 46o₁) lose their tonic accent in Italian, they do not become quite (29e) and (51o), but the original sounds still influence the vowels in their unaccented state, producing the intermediate sounds (28e) and (49o). This explanation seems to me quite logical, and it is in accordance with the sensations of every fine Tuscan and Roman ear. On the contrary, if the original vowel is (29e) and (51o), it remains unaltered when it loses the accent. Compare the *e* and *o* of *bellina*, *collina* (derived from *bello*, *cólle*, which have open vowels), with the *e* and *o* of *stellaccia* and *pollanca* (derived from *stella*, *póllo*, which have close vowels). I had never the least doubt upon this point, but in my previous statements I did not take the present minute gradations of sound into consideration. It would certainly be better to pronounce *bellina*, *collina* with (29e, 51o) than with (25e₁), and (46o₁).—L.L.B.'"

*p. 1323, note, col. 2, l. 7, *add*: (abstracted below, pp. 1378-1428).

p. 1376, l. 24, *read* (juu'tər Jot).

p. 1381, col. 1, l. 5, *read* sa-a-nə.

p. 1393, col. 2, line 8, *read* por'sii, and *see* p. 1428, col. 2, *Note*.

PALAEOTYPE: ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS AND EXPLANATIONS.

The original list of Palaeotypic symbols, pp. 3-12, drawn up at the commencement of this work, has had to be supplemented and improved in many points during its course, and especially during the delicate phonetic investigations of Part IV. Each new point is fully explained in the text as it arises, and although reference is generally made to the place subsequently, it will probably be found convenient in using the book to have all these references collected together, as it is hoped they are in the following list, which follows the order of the pages in the book. The index in Part VI. is intended to refer to each letter and symbol in alphabetical or systematic order.

p. 419, note, col. 1, line 2, *symbol of diphthongal stress*: an acute accent used to mark the vowel which has the stress in diphthongs, when the position of stress is abnormal, as (eá). This use has been subsequently extended to all cases of diphthongs, and uniformly used to mark diphthongs from p. 1091 onwards, see p. 1100, col. 2.

p. 419, note, col. 1, l. 16, *symbol of evanescence*: the mark Ꞥ, a cut Ꞥ, shews that the following vowel is scarcely heard; Ꞥ Ꞥ shew that all included letters are scarcely heard; excessively slight Ꞥ Ꞥ see p. 1328 in this list.

p. 800, note, col. 2, *symbols for advanced s*, *sh* = (ʒs, ʒsh) and *retracted s*, *sh* = (ʒs, ʒsh), subsequently replaced by (s, sh) and (s, sh).

p. 998, l. 11, *symbol of discontinuity*: the mark Ꞥ, a cut Ꞥ, used to shew absence of glide; this is rendered nearly unnecessary by an extension of the use of the symbol of diphthongal stress, p. 419 in this list.

- p. 1090, at the end of text, the mode of reference to pages and quarter pages is explained; the two symbols introduced in the summary of contents are referred to *seriatim* below.
- p. 1094, col. 1, l. 33, *symbols of Goodwin's theoretical English ch*, $j = (kj, gj)$ where (j) is turned (f), see also p. 1119 in this list.
- p. 1095, col. 2, l. 30, *symbol of advanced contact*, changed from (ʔ) or (·) to (,), as (t, d) for tʔ, dʔ or (t, d) for the dental t, d.
- p. 1096, col. 1, l. 20, and col. 2, l. 28, the use of (t₄, d₄) for t, d, with inverted tongue, supposed to be incorrect for Sanscrit, and use of (r, ɹ) for Indian *mārddhanya* t, d, and (t, d) for English *coronal* t, d. In the Dravidian languages the inversion of the tongue, so that the under part of the tongue strikes the palate, seems to be more distinct, and (r, t), which seem to be the same to a Bengalee, are apparently distinct as (t₄, t) to a Madrassite.
- p. 1097, col. 1, under (uu); *symbol of* ('u) *whispered*, and ('u) *hissed vowels*, see p. 1128 below in this list.
- p. 1097, col. 2, *symbols for explosions* (tʃuu, tɳʃuu, t;ɳʃuu) and *implosions* ('t), see p. 1128 below in this list.
- p. 1098, col. 1, under (r); *symbol for Bell's untrilled r* = (r), the (c) being a turned mark of degrees (°). This may be extended to (l_c), which indicates the same position. See p. 1341 below in this list.
- p. 1098, col. 2, *symbols for advanced or dental r* (r) and *retracted r* (r).
- p. 1099, col. 1, under (oo), *symbol of indistinct vowel accompanied by permissive trill* (ɹ), so that (ɹ=ə) or (ɹ=ər) at pleasure. Bell's point glide is (or_c), my (o'), where (') is a "helpless indication of obscure vocality," see p. 1128 in this list.
- p. 1099, col. 2, Donders on *glottal r* (ɾ), where (ɾ) is turned (ɽ).
- p. 1100, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, *symbol of widening the pharynx*, as (e₂) for (e) with pharynx widened; supposed to be Irish.
- p. 1102, col. 2, Land's *explodent* (ɳ), see p. 1292, col. 2.
- p. 1104, col. 2, l. 3 from bottom; *symbol of advanced s*, *sh* = (s, sh), replacing (ʒs, ʒsh).
- p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom, *divided s* = (sʃ), probably Spanish.
- p. 1105, col. 1, l. 15 from bottom, *retracted s* = (s).
- p. 1107, col. 1, l. 5, *symbols of higher and lower positions of the tongue in uttering vowels* = (e¹, e¹¹; e₁, e₁₁), and *of close and open consonants* as (ph¹, ph₁);—line 28, *symbol of more hollowness at back of tongue* = (e²), as distinguished from (e₂), see pp. 1100 and 1279 in this list;—line 14 from bottom, *symbol of intermediary of two vowels*, or doubtfulness, with inclination to first = (eʲ).
- p. 1107, col. 2, *Scotch close and open* (e¹, e¹; e₁, e₁; o¹, o¹; o₁, o₁).
- p. 1107, col. 2, last line; *symbol of* (u) *with lips as for* (o) = (uₒ).
- p. 1111, col. 2, *symbols for glides*, open to close (>), close to open (<), and absence of glide (), see p. 998 in this list.
- p. 1112, col. 1, *glottids*; *clear* in (,e), *gradual* in (ɹe).
- p. 1114, col. 2, last line; *symbol for rounding by the arches of the palate* as in the parrot's (p¹u¹s).
- p. 1116, col. 1, *symbol of medial length of vowels* as in (aᵃ), the superior and inferior vowels being the same, and hence distinct from the symbol of intermediaries as in (e¹), p. 1107 in this list;—scale of quantitative symbols (a, a, aᵃ, aa, aaᵃ, aaa).
- p. 1116, col. 2, *symbol for variety of lip rounding*, as in (Aₒ) = tongue for (A), lips for (o), see p. 1107 in this list.
- p. 1119, col. 1, l. 2, *symbols for palatal explodents* = (kj, gj), see p. 1094 in this list.
- p. 1120, col. 2, distinctions of (κ, k, kj, tj, t t t, t, t, t t, r, p).
- p. 1120, col. 1. Mr. Graham Bell's alteration of Mr. Melville Bell's symbols for (s, sh);—col. 2, re-arrangement of palaeotypic symbols of cols. 2 and 3 in Bell's table, p. 14. See p. 1341.
- p. 1124, col. 1, *Goodwin's ng* = (ŋ), possible as original Sanscrit palatal nasal.
- p. 1125, col. 2, to p. 1128, col. 1, Bell's rudimental symbols reconsidered and re-symbolised.

- p. 1128, col. 1, *symbols of inspiration* (‘i), *implosion* (‘h), *click* (ʔh), *flatus* (‘h), *whisper* (‘h), *voice* (‘h).
- p. 1129, col. 1, abbreviations of these by the omission of the ‘support’ (h), etc.
- p. 1129, col. 2 to p. 1130, col. 1, *symbols of glottids, clear* (‘), *check* (‘:), *wheezing* (‘h), *trilled wheeze* (gh), *bleat* (g).
- p. 1130, col. 1 and col. 2, *symbols of degrees of force, evanescent* (l), *weak* (‘), *strong* (‘:), *abrupt* (‘:), *jerk* (u), and its varieties (u‘h, uh, jh, uph).
- p. 1130, col. 1, to 1131, col. 2, *symbols of glides, slurs, and breaks, glide* (> — <), *break* (j), *slur* (—), *relative force and pitch* by inferior figures and superior accented figures.
- p. 1133, col. 1, l. 1, *symbol of short l + trilled r* = (lr), Japanese intermediary.
- p. 1146, col. 1, *relative time* by superior unaccented figures.
- p. 1147, col. 2, *symbol of advanced* (a) = (a).
- p. 1150, col. 2, l. 10, *symbol of Helmholtz’s u* = (au) = tongue for (a), lips for (u).
- p. 1156, col. 2, table of the relative heights of the tongue for vowels.
- p. 1174, bottom, table of practical glossic.
- p. 1183, table of Pitman and Ellis’s phonotypy, 1846 and 1873.
- pp. 1189–96. Prof. Haldeman’s analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents.
- pp. 1197–1205. Mr. B. H. Smart’s analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents serving to identify the palaeotype signs.
- p. 1232, *Irish rolling r* = (r), and *bi-dental t, d* = (t, d).
- p. 1255, table of English dialectal vowels and diphthongs.
- pp. 1258–1262, Glossic compared with palaeotypic writing of dialectal sounds.
- p. 1264, suggestions for marking quantity, force, and pitch, in practical writing.
- pp. 1279–80, combination of the signs for primary (e), tongue higher (e¹), tongue lower (e₁), tongue advanced (e), tongue retracted (e); whole back passage widened (e), part in front of palatal arches, only widened (e²), pharynx only widened (e₂); all widened, but more above than below (e²), or more below than above (e₂); height of tongue remaining, aperture of lips contracted to that for (a) in (e_a), to that for (o) in (e_o), and to that for (u) in (e_u); rounding by palatal arches in (e⁴), giving 2916 forms of unnasalised vowels.
- pp. 1298–1307, Seventy-five palaeotypic vowel symbols grouped in families, and supplied with key-words.
- p. 1328, line 12 from bottom of text, the slightest quiver = (llr).
- p. 1333, col. 1, l. 11, *symbol of chuck puffs* = (Ξ).
- p. 1333, col. 2, *symbol of inspired breath*, oral (‘i), nasal (‘i_n), orinasal (‘i_a) fluttering (‘i_z) and snoring (‘i_az).
- p. 1334, col. 2, l. 9, *symbol of bleated consonants* (e_b, e_d, e_g).
- p. 1334, note on symbolisation, shewing the intention of palaeotypic as distinct from systematic symbolisation.
- pp. 1341–4, new table of palaeotypic equivalents for Mr. Melville Bell’s Visible Speech symbols, with subsequent explanations.
- pp. 1346–9, new table of palaeotypic equivalents to Prof. Haldeman’s consonants with subsequent explanations.
- pp. 1353–7, table of Prince L. L. Bonaparte’s consonants with palaeotypic equivalents, of which 154 marked * are new combinations of symbols already explained, and in some few cases entirely new symbols.

NOTICE.

When Part III. was published, I hoped to complete this protracted work in Part IV. But as I proceeded, I found it necessary to examine existing English pronunciation, received and dialectal, in so much greater detail than I had contemplated, and to enter upon so much collateral matter of philological interest, that I was soon compelled to divide that Part into two. Even the first of these parts, owing to other literary engagements into which I had entered when much briefer work was anticipated, could not be completed by the close of 1874, as required for the Early English Text Society, and hence a further division has become necessary.

Part IV. now contains the Illustrations of the xviith and xviiith centuries, an account of Received English Pronunciation, and the introductory matter to the new collections of English Dialects which have been made for this work, in order to register dialectal pronunciation with a completeness hitherto unattained and even unattempted, as a necessary basis for understanding the pronunciation underlying our Early English orthography, which was wholly dialectal. These collections themselves, which have been already made to a sufficient and by no means scanty extent, will form Part V., to be published in 1875. That Part will therefore be devoted to English Dialects. After it is completed, I contemplate allowing at least two years to elapse before commencing Part the Sixth and (let us hope) the Last. If I have life and strength (which is always problematical for a man who has turned sixty, and has already many times suffered from overwork), I propose in this last Part to supplement the original investigations, made so many years ago, when the scope of the subject was not sufficiently grasped, the materials were not so ready to hand, and the scientific method and apparatus were not so well understood. The supplementary investigations which have been made by others, especially Mr. Sweet in his *History of English Sounds*, Prof. Payne and Mr. Furnivall on the use of Final E, the late Prof. Hadley on the quantity of English vowels, and Prof. Whitney in the second part of his *Linguistic and Oriental Studies*, and others, with the criticisms friendly (as they mostly are) or hostile (as Dr. Weymouth's) which my book has called forth, will be examined and utilised as far as possible, and by their means I hope to arrive at occasionally more precise and more definite conclusions than before, or at any rate to assign the nature and limits of the uncertainty still left. I have no theory to defend. Many hypotheses have necessarily been started in the course of this work, to represent the facts collected; but my chief endeavour has been, first to put those facts as accurately as possible before the reader in the

words of the original reporters, and secondly to draw the conclusions which they seemed to warrant in connection with the other ascertained laws of phonology. But as, first, the facts are often conveyed in language difficult to understand, and as, secondly, the whole science of phonology is very recent, and the observations and experiments on which it has to be based are still accumulating,—so that for example my own views have had to undergo many changes during the compilation of this work as the materials for forming them increased,—my conclusions may be frequently called in question. Nothing is so satisfactory to myself as to see them overhauled by competent hands and heads, and no one can be more happy than myself to find a guide who can put me right on doubtful points. *Nōn ego, sed rēs mea!*

In the present Part I have endeavoured to make some additions to our phonological knowledge, and I believe that my examinations of aspiration (pp. 1125–1146), and my theory of fractures and junctures (pp. 1307–1317), already briefly communicated to the Philological Society, are real additions, which will be found to affect a very wide philological area. The examinations of living Indian pronunciation (pp. 1136–1140), though merely elementary, together with the account of ancient Indian alphabets as collected, through Prof. Whitney's translation, from the *Atharva Veda Prātiśākhya* (pp. 1336–1338), may also prove of use in Aryan philology. But one of the most important additions that I have been able to make to our philological knowledge and apparatus consists of those extraordinary identifications of Vowel Sounds in forty-five European languages, each guaranteed by an example (pp. 1298–1307), which, together with an almost exhaustive list of the consonants found in actual use (pp. 1352–1357), I owe to the linguistic knowledge and kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who has worked for me as hard and ungrudgingly as any of my other kind contributors, whose names (*quæ nunc præscribere longum est*) are each given as their contributions occur, and—if ever I reach that *ultima Thulé* of authorship, my much-needed, and still more dreaded indices—will be duly chronicled alphabetically and referred each to his own work. The number of helpers—ladies I am glad to think, as well as gentlemen, aye, and men and women labouring with hands as well as with head—who have so kindly and unstintingly helped me in this work, and especially in the collections which will form the staple of Part V., serve to shew not only the unexpected interest which so many feel in the subject, but the vast amount of good fellowship and co-operative feeling by which alone we can hope to build up the gigantic edifice of philology.

As my Table of Contents will shew, the present Part consists of a series of essays bearing upon the history and present state and linguistic relations of our language, which either appear for the first time, or are put into a convenient form for reference from sources not readily accessible to ordinary readers. For the English of the Eighteenth century Lediard's little known book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Prof. Payne, gives much interesting

matter (pp. 1040–1049); and Noah Webster's account of American pronunciations nearly a century ago, derived from forgotten essays of that lexicographer (whose dictionary has been so recently imported in revised editions that few think him to be so ancient), make a new link in the chain binding the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth centuries (pp. 1064–1070). The examination of Received Pronunciation, as represented by Mr. B. H. Smart, Mr. Melville Bell, Prof. Haldeman, and Mr. Henry Sweet (pp. 1090–1207), and the actual observations on unstudied pronunciations as noted by myself at the moment of hearing, and contrasted with my own usages (pp. 1208–1214), form a new datum in phonology, because they enable us to estimate the real amount of floating diversity of pronunciation at any time, out of which, though unrecorded by orthography, the pronunciation of a future generation crystallises, only to be again dissolved by a fresh *menstruum*, and appear in still newer forms. We are thus put into a position to understand those changes which go on among even the educated, and “hear the (linguistic) grass grow.” The accounts of existing differences in American and Irish pronunciation (pp. 1217–1243), which are mainly Seventeenth century *survivals* as modified by environment, though necessarily very imperfect, bring still more strongly to light existing diversities where there is appreciable sameness, that is, diversities which interfere so little with intelligibility of speech, that they have been hitherto disregarded, or ridiculed, or scouted by grammarians and linguists, instead of being acknowledged as the real “missing links,” which connect the widely separated strata of our exceedingly imperfect philological record. Beyond such initiatory forms of transition, are the past records of dialectal variety verging into species. For English—with the exception of Dr. Gill's most interesting little report on the dialects as known to him in 1621 (pp. 1249–1252)—these are reserved for Part V., but I have in the present Part IV. collected some of the results, and shewn their general philological bearing, as well as their special connection with the Early English Pronunciation, which is the main source and aim of my investigations; and I have also given the phonetic theories necessary to appreciate them more thoroughly (pp. 1252–1357). Thanks to the labours of the great Teutonic linguist Schmeller, I have also been able to shew the variations which interpenetrate one great branch of the High German dialects, the Bavarian (pp. 1357–1368); and, thanks to the extraordinary collection made by Winkler, just published in Dutch, I have been fortunate enough to give English readers a general view of the present state of those Low German and Friesian dialects to which our own Anglosaxon language belongs, as they have developed under merely native influences, without the introduction of any strange element, like Celtic, Norman French, and Old Danish (pp. 1378–1428). These modern dialectal forms are invaluable for a study of our Early English dialectal forms, for, although chronologically contemporaneous with the English of the Nineteenth century, they are linguistically several hundred years older. And

they enable us to appreciate the state of our own English dialects, which are in fact merely a branch of the same, left untouched by Winkler, because, like our own, these Low German dialects (with the exception of modern Dutch, which is a literary form of provincial Hollandish), have developed entirely without the control of the grammarian, the schoolmaster, and the author. To philologists generally, this wild, unkempt development of language is very precious indeed. The theory of vegetable transformation was developed by Goethe from a monstrosity. The theory of linguistic transformation can only be properly studied from monstrosities naturally evolved, not artificially superinduced. And for pronunciation this is still more emphatically true than for construction and vocabulary, for pronunciation is far more sensitive to transforming influences. Hence I consider that my work is under the greatest obligation to Winkler's, and that in devoting so much space to an abstract of his specimens, reduced to the same palaeotypic expression of sound which I have employed throughout, I have been acting most strictly in the interests of Early English Pronunciation itself.

Let me, indeed, particularly emphasise the fact that not even the slightest deviation has been made from the course of my investigation into English pronunciation by taking these dialects into consideration. As Mr. Green well says at the opening of his excellent *Short History of the English People* (which appeared as these pages were passing through the press):—

“For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the one country which bore the name of England was what we now call Sleswick. . . . The dwellers in this district were one out of three tribes, all belonging to the same Low German branch of the Teutonic family, who at the moment when history discovers them were bound together into a confederacy by the ties of a common blood and a common speech. To the north of the English lay the tribe of the Jutes, whose name is still preserved in their district of Jutland. To the south of them the tribe of Saxons wandered over the sand-flats of Holstein, and along the marshes of Friesland and the Elbe. How close was the union of these tribes was shewn by their use of a common name, while the choice of this name points out the tribe which at the moment when we first meet them must have been the strongest and most powerful in the confederacy. Although they were all known as Saxons by the Roman people who touched them only on their southern border where the Saxons dwelt, and who remained ignorant of the very existence of the English or the Jutes, the three tribes bore among themselves the name of the central tribe of their league, the name of Englishmen.”

It is mainly owing to the dialectal differences of these tribes and places of their settlements in Britain (the history of which is given in an excellent epitome by Mr. Green) that the character of our dialects, old and new, was determined. But they did not all come over to Britain. Over the same Sleswick and Holstein, Jutland and Friesland, dwelt and still dwell descendants of the same people. Philologically we all know the great importance of the few ancient monuments which have remained of their speech preserved in monastic or legal literature. But these, as well as the oldest records of English in our own England (which I have hitherto called, and to prevent confusion shall continue to call

Anglosaxon), fail to give us enough foothold for understanding their living sounds. These we can only gradually and laboriously elicit from any and every source that offers us the slightest hope of gain. None appears so likely as a comparison of the sounds now used in speech over the whole region where the English tribes grew up, and where they settled down, that is, the districts so admirably explored by Winkler and those which we shall have before us in Part V. During the whole of this investigation my thoughts have been turned to eastern English for light. The opportune appearance of Winkler just before my own investigations could be published, was a source of intense delight to me, and though I was at the time overloaded with other work, I did not in the slightest degree grudge the great labour of abstracting, transliterating, writing out, and correcting those 50 pages at the end of Part IV., which indicate the nature of this treasure-trove, and I feel sure that all who pursue the subject of this work as a matter of scientific philology, and linguistic history, will be as much delighted as myself at the possession of a store-house of facts, invaluable for the investigation before them, and feel the same gratitude as I do to Winkler for his three years' devotion in collecting, arranging, and publishing his great *Dialecticon*.

Such are the principal divisions of the present Part and their bearing on each other. For some subsidiary investigations I must refer to other books which I have had to pass through the press this year, and which are published almost at the same time as the present pages. Helmholtz's great treatise, *On Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music* (shortly to be published by Longman and Co., from my English version, with notes and additions), contains the acoustical foundations of all phonology, and without studying the first two parts of this book, it is impossible to arrive at a due estimate of the nature of vowel sounds and their gradations (see below, pp. 1275-1281), and hence of the physiological cause of their extraordinary transformations. Although the preparation of my version and edition of Helmholtz's work has robbed me of very many hours which would in natural course have been devoted to the present, every one of those hours has been to me a step forward in the knowledge of sound, as produced by human organs and appreciated by human nerves, and hence in the knowledge of speech sounds and their appreciation by hearers. As such I recommend the work—the outcome of many years' labour by one of the first physiologists, physicists, and mathematicians of the present day—to the most attentive consideration of all scientific phonologists.

The other work is one of much smaller size and very little pretension. It is called *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (published by Macmillan & Co.), and is the recast of a lecture which I delivered to classical teachers last June. It does not compete with Corssen's work in investigating the actual force of the Latin letters (except final M), but it takes up the two important questions of quantity, and musical accent in speech, and

endeavours to give practical exercises for becoming familiar with them, so as to appreciate a rhythm dependent on "length" of syllable and embellished by "pitch-accent," as distinguished from rhythm due to "force-accent" and embellished by "pitch-emphasis." It also contains a delicate investigation of the nature of the final M and the meaning of its disappearance, which may be of assistance in appreciating the disappearance of final N in English, and the disappearance of other letters in English and other languages so far as their natural sounds are concerned, and their simultaneous survival as affecting adjacent sounds. As such I must consider it to be an excursus of the present work, necessarily separated from it by the different linguistic domain to which it belongs.

The materials for Part V. are, as I have mentioned, all collected, some of them are even in type, and others made ready for press, but it was physically impossible to prepare them in time for Part IV., and the nature of the typography, requiring great care in revision, does not allow of the least hurry without endangering the value of all the work, which is nothing if not trustworthy. The extreme pressure of literary work which has lain on me since I began preparing this Part in March, 1873, and which has not allowed me even a week's respite from daily deskwork, must be my excuse if marks of haste occasionally appear in the present pages. It will be evident to any one who turns them over, that the time required for their careful presentment in type was far out of proportion to their superficial area. And a very large part of the time which I have devoted to this work has been bestowed upon the collection of materials, involving long correspondence and many personal interviews and examinations of speakers—which occupy no space in print, while their result, originally intended to appear in the present Part, has been relegated to the next. Hence, with a cry of *mea culpa, aliēna culpa*, I crave indulgence for inevitable shortcomings.

A. J. E.

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON,

Christmas, 1874.

CHAPTER IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *John Wilkins's Phonetic Writing.*

DR. WILKINS, while Dean of Ripon (he was subsequently Bishop of Chester),¹ after inventing a phonetic alphabet for the purpose of giving a series of sounds corresponding to his *Real Character*, gives as a specimen of its use the *Lord's Prayer* and *Creed*, "written according to our present pronunciation." This is on p. 373 of his work, but on the occasion of his comparing the Lord's Prayer in 49 languages (which he unfortunately does not represent phonetically) with his own Philosophical Language (erroneously numbered 51 instead of 50 on his p. 435), he adds the phonetic representation of the English version, which differs in a few words from the former copy, no doubt through insufficient revision of the press, and omits the final doxology.

In the present transcription into palaeotype, I assume his vowels on his p. 363 to be (A AA, æ ææ, e ee, i ii, oo, u uu, ə əə), although I believe that he pronounced (ə, i, u) in closed accented syllables rather than (A, i, u).² His diphthongs will be represented as he has done on his p. 363; his so-called diphthongs u, œ, on his p. 364, meaning (yi, wu), will be written (i-i, u-u), to distinguish them from the long vowels (ii, uu). He has no systematic method of representing the long vowels. In the Creed and first version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses a grave accent to express length; in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses an acute accent. Again, the acute accent in the first version and the grave in the second represent the accent on a short vowel in a closed syllable. The o seems to have been considered always long, as no example of short o is given on his p. 363, although it is once marked long in rōf in the Creed. It will be always transliterated by (oo). The consonants were doubled without any special intention. The word *body* towards the end of the Creed he has written *bady*, evidently a mistake for *badu*, as he does not use *y* in any sense, but employs a variation of it for (ə). *Virgin* is evidently an error for *Virdzhin*. All the errors, however, will be given in the following transcript, and the various readings of the second copy of the Lord's Prayer will be added in brackets. Afterwards will be given

¹ See an account of his book *suprà*, p. 41, where he is erroneously called Bishop of *Ripon*, of which he was only Dean. He married the widow Robina

French, sister of Oliver Cromwell.

² For the considerations which have influenced me, see *suprà* pp. 68, 100, 177.

in palacotype the pronunciation which Wilkins probably intended to symbolize. As this short specimen is the only instance that I have discovered of continuous phonetic writing in the xviii century, it has been thought best to give a minutely accurate copy in the first instance. One point only has not been attended to. Wilkins intended to represent (i) by the Greek *ι*, and has generally done so in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, but in the first version and Creed i i are commonly used in place of *ι*. As this is a mere accident of printing, I have replaced *ι*, i, i by the single letter (i).¹ His diæresis when written *over* a vowel will be replaced by *̄*, made from *̂*, before the vowel.

Transcript of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord's Prayer.

Ʒur fæædher muiſh ært in neven, mellooꝛed [nallooed] bi dhoi nææm [næam], dhoi kiꝛdðm [kiꝛdðm] kðm, dhoi uill [uil] bi dðn, in erth æz it iz in neven, giv æs dhis dæi ður dæili bred, ænd fargiv [fargiv] æs ður trespæsez æz ui fargiv dhem dhæt trespæs [trespæs] ægæinst æs, ænd leed æs nat intu temptæ-sian, bðt deliver æs fram ivil [iivil], fardhoi iz dhe kiꝛdðm, dhe þou'er ænd dhe glari, far ever ænd ever, Æmen.

The Creed.

Ʒi billiv in Gæd dhe fæædher ælmoiti mææker af neven ænd erth, ænd in Dzhesəs Kroist niz oonli søn ður Lard, nu-u næz kanseevd bði dhe nooli Goost, barm af dhe Virgin Mææri, soffered onder Pansios Pðiæt, næz kriusified ded ænd boriꝛed. Hi descended intu nel, dhe thord dæi ni roos ægæin fram dhe ded. Hi æssended intu neven, nuær ni sitteth æt dhe roit hand af Gæd dhe fæædher, fram nuæns ni shal kðm tu dzhædzh dhe

Conjectured Meaning of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord's Prayer.

Ʒur fæædher whitsh ært in neven, nællooed bi dhoi nææm, dhoi kiꝛdðm kðm, dhoi wil bi dðn, in erth æz it iz in neven, giv æs dhis dæi ður dæili bred, ænd fargiv æs ður trespæsez æz wi fargiv dhem dhæt trespæs ægæinst æs, ænd leed æs nat intu temptæ-sian, bðt deliver æs fram iivil, fardhoi iz dhe kiꝛdðm, dhe þou'er ænd dhe glææri, for ever ænd ever. Ææmen.

The Creed.

Ʒi billiv in Gæd dhe fæædher ælmoiti, mææker of neven ænd erth, ænd in Dzhesəs Kroist niz oonli søn ður Lard, whu næz kanseevd bði dhe nooli Goost, barm of dhe Verdzhin Mææri, soffered onder Pansios Pðiæt, næz kriusified ded ænd boriꝛed. Hi descended intu nel, dhe thord dæi ni rooz ægæin fram dhe ded. Hi æssended intu neven, wheer wi sitteth æt dhe roit hand of Gæd dhe fæædher, fram whens wi shaal kðm tu

¹ This mark will in future be employed in place of (.), to denote discontinuity or absence of audible glide. The different kinds of continuity and discontinuity will be discussed and more completely symbolised in Chap.

XII. § 1, when considering Mr. Melville Bell's Key Words of modern English pronunciation, under WH. The old (.) will then receive the distinctive sense of the 'clear glottid.'

kuik ænd dhe ded. ʒi biliiv
in dhe ʒooli Goost, dhe ʒooli
kæthoolik tshørtsh, dhe kam-
miunian af Sæints, dhe fargiv-
ness af sinz, dhe resørreksioon
af dhe bædi, ænd loif everlæstiq.
Æmen.

dzhødzh dhe kwiik ænd dhe ded.
ʒi biliiv in dhe ʒooli Goost,
dhe ʒooli kæthoolik tshørtsh,
dhe kœmiun'ion of Sæints, dhe
fœrgiv'nes of sinz, dhe rezœrek-
sion of dhe bæd'i, ænd loif
everlæst'iq. Æmen.

§ 2. *Noteworthy Pronunciations of the Seventeenth Century.*

The transition period of the xviith century, reaching from the death of Shakspeare to the death of Dryden, presents considerable interest. It is remarkable for the number of "slovenly" pronunciations as they would now be called, which were recognized as in use either by orthoepists or orthographers, the former to correct them, the latter to determine the "proper" spelling from the "abusive" sound. Spelling was in a state of transition also, and many orthographies recommended by the would-be authorities of this period are now discarded. Our sources take therefore two different forms, one determining the sound from the letters, and the other the letters from the sound. To the latter belong especially those lists of Words Like and Unlike, which Butler appears to have commenced (*suprà* p. 876), and which have ever since occupied a prominent place in our spelling-books. Great importance was always attached to the difference of spelling when the sound remained, or was thought to remain, the same, as this difference was—nay, is—thought by many to present perfect means of determining meaning and derivations. It would have been desirable to fuse the two methods into one, but the indications, lax enough in vocabularies, were far too vague in the other lists, and hence they have had to be separated.

1. PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, COLLECTED FROM WALLIS 1653, WILKINS 1668, PRICE 1668, COOPER 1685, ENGLISH SCHOLAR 1687, MIEGE 1688, JONES 1701.

A pronouncing vocabulary of the xviith century, though as much needed as one of the xvith, is much more difficult to compile. For the xviith century we possess a large collection of phonetically written words, which had only to be extracted and arranged, after their notation had been reduced to a single system. For the xviith century I have not been able to discover any systematic phonetic method of writing, except in Wilkins's *Real Character*, where it is applied to a very small collection of English words. The other writers have more or less precise or lax methods of representing individual sounds, but very rarely indeed combine their symbols so as to spell out complete words. Their observations generally tend to shew the pronunciation of some particular groups of letters, principally vowels, in the words cited as examples, and the pronunciation of the rest of the word has to be collected, as well as possible,—which is often very ill,—from similar observations respecting the other groups of letters in the word. This arose from

the authors writing for those who, being well acquainted with the various pronunciations of the words, only required to have one fixed upon for approval, or who knew how to spell the word except in the individual point under consideration. To a learner in the xixth century such a course, however, presents great difficulties, and in many cases I have felt in doubt as to the correctness of the pronunciation of the *whole* word, although that of a portion of the word was almost certain. In other cases, especially in the important works of Price and Jones, much difficulty arose from the ambiguity of their symbols. Thus if one were to say that *ie* was sounded as *i* in *lie* and *siere*, it would be difficult to guess that the first was (bi) and the sound (siv), although (oi, i) are two common sounds of *i*. Still the results are very interesting, because in this xvii th century the pronunciation of English altered rapidly, and many words were sounded in a style, which, owing to the influence of our orthoepists of the xviii th and xixth centuries, is now generally condemned, although well known among the less educated classes. It may be doubted whether our language has gained in strength, as it has certainly gained in harshness and in difficulty, by the orthographical system of orthoepy which it has lately been the fashion to insist upon, but as such a system is thoroughly artificial, and results frequently in the production of sounds which never formed an organically developed part of our language, it is rather to be regretted than admired.

The following is not a complete vocabulary, as that would be far too extensive, but it embraces all those words in Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Cooper, English Scholar, Miede and Jones, which struck me as being in some respect noteworthy, because they illustrate some Elizabethan usage or shew a transition from the xvth century, or a peculiar but lost sound, or an early instance of some well-known sound now heard, or give the authority for some pronunciations now well known but considered vulgar or inelegant, or exhibit what were even in the xvii th century reprobated as barbarisms or vulgarities.

1) WALLIS does not furnish a long list, but the vowels in the accented syllables which he gives may be depended upon; in some cases of consonants and unaccented vowels I do not feel so secure.

2) WILKINS's list is very short, and has been already given in the example of his writing. In this vocabulary the words are respelled to signify the sounds he probably meant to convey.

3) PRICE is uncertain, sometimes even in the accented syllables, owing to the defects of his notation. His short *o* has been assumed as (ɔ), but throughout this century (a, ɔ) are difficult to distinguish, and perhaps (a) prevailed more widely than at present. Even now *watch*, *want*, are perhaps more often called (wɔtsh, wɔnt) than (watsh, want), the latter sounds being rather American than English, which, again, is to some extent evidence of their use in the xvii th century.

4) COOPER is very strict but very peculiar in his vowel system, which has been sufficiently considered, *suprà* p. 84.

5) "The complete English Scholar, by a young Schoolmaster," 8th ed. 1687, contains some words re-spelled to shew what the author considers their correct pronunciation, for a list of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Payne. These re-spellings I have generally annexed.

6) MIEGE being a Frenchman, and evidently but imperfectly seizing the English sounds, has to be interpreted by endeavouring to discover (*not* what were the sounds he meant to convey by his notation, *but*) the sounds which were likely to have excited in him the sensations betrayed by his letters. This is of course a difficult and a delicate operation, and I may have often blundered over it, so that I have frequently felt it best to annex either his own notation or the gist of his remark.

7) JONES furnishes the most extensive list, and in every respect the most remarkable part of the vocabulary, because his object was to lead any person who could speak, to spell, and therefore he has chronicled numerous unrecognized or "abusive" pronunciations besides those which were "customary and fashionable." By adding such observations as "abusively, sometimes, often, commonly, sounded by some, better," I have tried to convey a correct impression as to the generality of the pronunciation, so far as Jones's own statements go. I have not always felt perfectly confident of the correctness of my interpretation, owing to his ambiguous notation, and I am not quite clear as to the distinction which he draws between *it*, *bit*, which should be (it, bît)—a distinction of which no other author takes any notice; the first he considers as the short of *ee* (ii), and treats of under *ee*, the second he treats of in conjunction with *i* (oi).

The following abbreviations are employed :

C	Cooper, 1685.	P	Price, 1668.
E	English Scholar, 1687.	W	Wallis, 1653.
J	Jones, 1701.	Wk	Wilkins, 1668.
M	Miege, 1688.		

A hyphen after a combination shews that it is initial; before it, that it is final, as *emp-*, *-our*. Small capitals imply the older spelling used by the next following authority. The alphabetical arrangement follows the present orthography. Words not wholly in Italics are to be read as in palæotypic spelling. The position of the stress is almost always marked from conjecture.

A

A, *s'appelle et se prononce ai* ææ, æ M
a A ind. art, *se prononce en a court* M
Aaron Ææron J
ab- b- often as bæet for æbæet: J
abbey æb'e P, æb'i C
abet bet J
abide æbaid: C, baid J
abigail æbrigæl æbrigæel J
able ææbəl etc. P, æeb-l C
aboard æbuurd: C, J

about æbaut: C, baut J
above æbav: P, C, M, bæv J
abroad æbraad: J
abrupt æbrʊp: often J
abundance bændæns J
abutt bət J
acc- k- frequently J
account ækaunt: J
accounted ækauntəd C
account ækaunt: J
accountant kəuntənt often J
accumulate kiunmiulet often J

- ach s. atsh P
 ache v. æek P
 achel AK'd æekt C
 acorn ææ'kɔrn C
 acqu- k- often J
 acquit kwit J
 acre ææ'kɔr C
 action = aiechon æk'shən M
 adhere ædheer J
 adieu ædiu P, ædiu C
 adjourn ædzhɔrn C
 adventure ædven'tɔr C
 affairs æfeerz C
 afford æfuəd C, J
 afraid AFFRAID æfeəd, freed J
 again æegen æegen J
 against ægeinst Wk, æegenst P,
 gæinst J
 age eedzh C
 agnail æneel J
 ai ay = ai, generally P
 air eef C
 air-y eef-e C
 aid æed eed J
 al- l- often as loon for æloon C
 alarm lærəm usual J
 Albans : AA'bænz J
 alemie læmbik usual J
 Algier Ældzheer Ældzhiir J
 all aal W, J
 Alexander Alesæ'n'dær J
 all aal comme un a François un peu
 long M
 alley æle P, æli C
 almanack AA'mænæk J
 almond AA'mɔnd C, J, ææ'mən a-mun E,
 AA'mən J
 almoner æm'nɔr, AA'm'nɔr J
 almost æm'ɔst barbarè C, AA'moost J
 alms aamiz J
 am- m- often J
 ambiguous æmbig'ɔs sometimes J
 ambs aamiz J
 amendment æmen ment J
 anatomy nætəmi often J
 anchor = enker æq'kɔr M
 ancint ANTIENT æn'shent C, AUNCIENT
 æn'shent au comme a simple anglois M
 andiron ændi:ɔrn J
 Anglesey Æq'g'lse P
 anguish æq'g'uish J
 anne- n- often as neel anneal
 annoyance ANNOIANCE nɔi:æns often,
 mɪns:æns sometimes J
 annual æn'æl occasionally J
 anoint ænoint ænoint C
 anon ænɔn ænɔn J
 another ænəð'hɔr, often nɔð'hɔr J
 answer æn sɔr C, M, J
 anthum ænthem J
 ancient ANTIENT æn'shent C
- antique æntik C
 ap- p- often, as pok'rifæ apocrypha J
 aposteme impɔstium J
 apophthegm APOTHEGM ap'othem, may
 be æp'otheg'm J
 apothecary apɔth ikəri, pɔt'ikəri usually J
 appar æpiir P, J
 appetite ap'eti abusirely J
 apprehend æprend J
 apprentice prentis usually J
 approve æprɔv P
 apricot æpri:kɔk J
 apron ææ'pɔrn C, E, M, J
 ar- r- often, as rith'metik arithmetic J
 -ar -ɔr C, -er -ɔr J
 Archibald Ærtshibæl J
 -ard -erd -ɔrd J
 are eef C, ær, not eef J
 Armagh Ærmæ J
 Arnold Ærnɔl J
 arrand AArænd J
 arrant AArænt J
 arrears æriir C
 arrears reerz J
 arrest rest J
 arrow æru P
 Arthur Ærthɔr J
 artichook hærtitshook J
 artificial ærtifish'æl, and in similar
 words ei = sh C
 -ary -eri J
 as- s- sometimes as stɔn'ish astonish J
 as æz en a court M
 asparagus spær'ægɔs J
 aspen æspɔn J
 assume æsuum J
 asthma æsmæ J
 assure æshuur J
 atheism ææ'theezm, ææ'thoizm J
 atheist ææ'theest, ææ'thoist J
 att- t- as people are apt to sound teent
 for attaint J
 attorney ætɔrn'e P, ATTORNEY ætɔrn'i C
 athwart æthɔrt J
 auburn ɔv'bɔrn, may be AA'bɔrn J
 auction ook'shən, may be AAK'shən J
 audible æu'dɔbl, AA'dɔbl negligenter C
 audience ɔodiens may be AA'diens, some-
 times AA'dens J
 audit ɔɔ'dit, may be AA'dit J
 audit-ɔr-y æu'dit-ɔr-e, AA'dit-ɔr-e negli-
 genter C
 augment augment, AAgment negligenter
 C, oogment, may be AAgment J
 augury AAg'ɔri, AA'g'ɔri negligenter C
 aunt = aint ænt M, ænt Aant J
 auricular æurik'iulɔr, AAr'ik'iulɔr negli-
 genter C
 austere Aasteer J
 authentic AUTHENTICK Authen'tik,
 AATHen'tik negligenter C

author AA'tər J
authority AATHAR'ite, AATHAR'iti negli-
 genter C, AATHAR'iti J
av- v- often as VAANT *avaunt* J
avantcourier VANTCURRIERVæn'kæriir·J
avarice æv'ərɪs J
aver aver' æveer' ævæər' e se pronounce
ai M
aviary æv'əri sometimes J
award æwərd· *a comme en français* M
awl AAL W
azletree EKS'tri *facilitatis causa* C
ay æi C
azure æsh·ər J

B

babel BAA·b'l *en a long* M
backward bækwərd J
bacon bæək'n J
bailiff bee·lii J
bain BEEN *balneum* C
bait bæit C
baker bæek'ər C
balderdash BAA'dərdæsh J
baldrick BAA'l'rik J
balk BAAk P, J
balm BAAM J
balsam BAA'l'sæm *en a long* M
Banbury Bæm'bəri J
bane bææn W, BEEən C
banish bæn'esh C
bankrupt bæŋk'rəp *often* J
banquet bæŋk'wæt J
baptism bæp'tizm *sometimes* J
bar bæər W, C
Barbara Bær·beræ = Bær·bæræ J
bare bæər W, BEEər C
bargain bæər'geen P, bæər'gen C
barge bæərdʒh C
barley bæər'li C
baron bæər'an C
barrow bæər'u P
basin bæsn P, BASON BEES'n C
bastile bæstiil· J
bate bææt W
be bi P, BEE C, M, J
be- bi J
beacon bæek'n C
beadle biid·l J
bear v.s. BEER C, P
bear s. = *bair* bæər *un ours* M
beard BEERD C, J, berd P, M, J
beast beest W
beastly bees'li J
beaten beet'n M
beau BEAW biu J
Beaunclore Biu·klæər J
Beaufort Biu·fɔrt J
Beaumaris Biumær'is J
Beaumont Biu·mənt J

beautify biu'tifai J
beauty beuti *vetiūs, quidam* biurti W,
 biurti M
because bikææz· bikaAZ· J
been bin J
begin biig'in· W
behaviour bihæv'ər J
behold bihəuld C
behore bihəv· P, bihuv C, M
bellows bel'ooz C
bellows bel'ooz, *facilitatis causa* bel'es C
Belus Bee'ləs J
bench bentsh P
beneath bineedh· P
benign binig'en J
Berks Bærks J
besmear bismiir· C, M
besom biis·əm M
besought bisoot· J
betoken bitook'n C
betroth bitrəth· P
beyond biənd· C, biən· J
bezoar bezər J
bible bæib·l C
bier beer biir J
Bilbao Bɪl'boʊ, Bɪl·buu J
bird bərd P, C
bittern BITTOUR bet'ər C
birth bərth C
biscuit bis'ket J
bishop bəsh'əp *barbare* C, = *boshop*
 bəsh'əp *pas du bel usage* M, bush'əp
 sometimes J
blain BLEIN bleen J
blaspheme blæsfeem· J
blast blæst C
blazon blæez'n C
blea bleē J
blear-eyed bliir·əid P, C, M
blind bləind C
blithe BLITH bləith C
blomary bləm'əri J
blood BLOUD bləd P, *ou = o court* M, J
blood-i-ly blud·i-li C
boar buur C
board BOORD buurd *tabula* C, J
boil bail, bwail (bwail?) *nonnunquam*
 W, buil bail C, buuil, *sometimes*
 bəil J
bold boold *nonnunquam* bould W, buuld
 C, boould J
bole boul P
bolster bəul·stər P, buul·stər C, booul·
 stər J
bolt bəult booult J
bomb buum J
bombast bəmbæst· J
bone boon C
book buuk C
boor BOAR buur J
boose BOWZE bouz C

boot buut C

Bordeaux BOURDEAU'X Buurdoo' J

borne buurn *bajulatus* C, = *börne* boorn
porté M

born barn *parturitus* C, = *bärn* baarn
né M

borough = *boro* bə'rə M

horragé bə'rædzh J

borrow bə'ru P, baa'taa bə'raa *com* J

bosom bəz'am J

bough bəu, boo J

hourn buurn *rivulus* C

bow boo *arcus*, buu *torqueo* C

bowl BOUL buul *globus* W, C, J, BOWL
buul *poculum* W, bole buul *patena* C,
BOLL buoul J

boy bəi, bəwɪ (bərɪʔ) *nonnunquam* W,
bu'ai *dissyllabam* C

bought baat C, boot baat *sometimes*
baft J

brain brain C

brasier BRASIER bræsh'ər, *sometimes*
bræz'ər J

break breck P, brek C

breakfast brek'wæst *in some countries* J

breastplate bresplæst J

breiary bræv'əri *sometimes* J

brew bryy W

brewess bræn'es P

bridge bredzh J

Bristol Bris'too P, J

broad braad C, oa = á M, J

broil brail brail C, brail *sometimes* J

brotherhood brədhrəhəd C

brought broot P, J

bruise brüz C, briuz J

bruit briut J

Buckingham Bək'iqəm J

build bild C, biuld J

bull bul M, J

bullion bəl'jən C

bumble bee əm'bl bi J

buoy buoy bui C, bəi, buui J

bur bər C

burden bər'dən J

burlesque bərlezg' bərlesk' J

hurt hɜrt brɪt J

burthen bər'dhen P

bury ber i C, bəri M

busy BUSIE biz'i C, M

business biz'nəs C

but bət o court M

C

cabin kæb'en J

Caiaphas Kee'fas J

caitiff kæ'itɪf C

caldron kaa'drən kaa'dərn J

calf kaa'f C, J

call kaa'l W

calm kælm P

campaign kæmp'peən' J

can kʌn W, kæn C

candle kænd'l J

cane keen C

cannot kənt J

canoe CANOE kænuu' J

canonier kæn'neer' kæn'niir' J

cap, kæp, *en ai bref ou en e ouvert* M

capable KEE'pæbl C, kæ'æbebl *occ.* J

capacity kæpəs'ete C

cape KEEp C

caper KEE'pər C

capon KEEp'n C, kæap'n o se mange M

car kær C

card kærəd C

care KEEər C, = *caire* kæər M

card kærəd = *card* C

career CARREER' kæreer' P

carling kæ'ərɪq C

carp kæərp C

carriage kær'ædzh C, kær'edzh *occ.* J

carrian kær'n P, kær'en *occasionally* J

case KEEəs C

cashier CASHIRE kæshii'r' J

cast kæəst C

casualty kæəz'ælti *sometimes* J

caterer KEE'tərər C

Catharine Kæth'ərn E, Kæt'ərn J

catholic kæth'əlɪk Wk

caul kaa'l W

cause KAAZ *comme a français* M

causeway kaa'ze P

cautious kau'shəs, kaa'shəs *negligenter* C

cavilling kæv'liq J

ce- see- J

celestial selest'jæl, *and in similar words*
-sti = -stɪ C

censure sens'ər C, sen'shər J

centaury sen'təri sen'taari J

century sen'təri C, sen'təri J

certain sər'tæn ? *ai comme en certain* M
(*exception*)

chaldron tshaa'drən C, J, tshaa'dərn J

chair tshær tshær J

chalk tshaa'k C

chamois SHAMOIS shæm'ii J

chamberlain tshæm'berleen P

Chandois Shæn'dəis *abusively* J

chandler tshæn'ler J

chaplain tshæp'leen P

chaps tshəps *abusively* J

Charles Tshaa'rlz *barbare* C

charriot CHARIOT tshær'et *occasionally* J

chasten tshæs'n J

cheer CHEAR tshii'r P, J

Chelmsford Tshemz'fərd J

cherub tsher'əb W, tshær'əb J

-chester -tsheshər J

cheveron tshæv'ərn J

chew tshū C, tshoo tshoo, *may be* tshiu,
sometimes tshaa J

chicken tshik'en J
children tshil'ren J
chimney tshim'ne P
chirp tsherp J
chirurgion = *sordgin* sordzhin M
chisel CHISEL tshii'zel J
Chloe CLOE Kloo'i C
chocolate tshok'olæet J
choir CHORE kioir J
Cholmly Tshom'li J
chorister kwer'ister J
Christ kroist W, Wk
christen kris'n J
Christian krist'jæn W, krist'en some-
times J
Christmas kris'mæs J
church tshortsh Wk
chuse tshuuz M
-cial, -shæl J
-ciate -shæet J
cinqe siqk J
-cious -shos J
circuit sark'it C, sark'uit sark'et J
Cirencester Sis'etær J
citron sit'ærn C, sit'ærn M
civil siv'æl J
clarion kler'en occ. J
clear kliir P, M, J
clerk klerk J
clew klü J
clift klif J
climb klöim P
cloak CLOKE klook C
clyster glis'tær J
coach kootsh C
coarse kuurs = *course* C
cobiron kób'irærn kób'ærn J
cochinel kush'ineel J
cockney kók'ne P
codicil kad'isil C
coffee = *caphé* káfæ M
cognisance kón'isæns, kón'isæns J
cohere kóheer J
cohort kuurt J
coif kaif C, QUOIF kóif J
coil kuuil, kóil sometimes J, QUOIL kóil J
coin kóin J
colander kál'ændær J
cold kóold nonnunquam kóuld W, kóuld
P, kúuld C
collier kal'jær and in similar words,
-ier = jær C
Cologne Kul'en Cul-len E
colonel kálnel J
coltsfoot koolz'fut J
comb kuum J
combat kám'bæt C
come kóm W, com kóm C
comely COMLY kóm'li C
comfort kóm'fært J
comfrey kóm'fre P

commandment kómæn'ment J
committee = *committé* kómít'e M
companion kómpæn'jæn C
company kómp'pæni J
complete = *complète* kómpleet' M, J
comptroll kóntroul' J
comrad CAMERADE kám'ræed J
concede kónseed' J
conceit kónseet' P, J
conceive kónseev' P, CONCEIV kónseev'
C, kónseev' é masculin M, J
concourse kán'kuurs C
condign kóndig'ærn J
condition kándis'itærn negligentius W
conduit kánd'it P, E, kán-det C, kánd'uit
kándet J
coney kán'i P, J
conge kón'dzhe J
conjure kándzhær J
conquer kóq'ker ? J
conscience kón'shens J
conspicuous kónspik'úas J
constable kón'stæbl *abusively* J
construe kón'stær J
consume kónshuum' J
contagion kóntæ'ædzhen occ. J
contradict kántræd'ikt C
controul kóntroul' P
contrary kóntreere C
convey kónvæi P, kánvee' C
copy kúp'i C
coppice kóps J
coral kóræl C, J
corrupt kóræp' often J
coroner kræun'ær J
costly kós'li J
couch kuutsh P, J
cough kóf W, P, = *káff* kAAf M
could kóuld P, kuuld C, kuud J
couldst kuust J
coulter kuul'tær C
countrey kóun'tre P, kón'tri C, J
counterfeit kóun'tærfeet J
couple kóp'l C
courage, kóræedzh C, J, kúræedzh J
courier káriir' J
course kuurs W, P, C, kóors ou = *ou un pen*
long M, kuurs J
court kuurt P, C, J
courtesan CURTEZAN kár'tezæn C, kár-
tisæn J
courteous kár'tjæs C, J, kuurt'jæs J
courtesy kár'tesi P, J
courtier kuurt'jár P, kuurt'jár C
courtship kuurt'ship C
cousin kóz'n P, COUSEN COOSEN kóz'n
C, kóz'ærn J
covent (*garden*) kóv'en J
cow káu J
cowherd káu'hærd occasionally J
coy kai C

cozen kəz'n C, kəz'ən J
cradle kreed'l C
crazy kreez'i C
credit kree'dit J
Crete criit J
crevis kree'vis J
crimson krim'sin E
crony cronē kroo'ni C
crosser = *crijir* kroo'zhər M, krooz'ər
sometimes J
crouch kriutsh J
crucified krius'isified Wk
cruise kriuz J
cube kiub C
cuckow kukuu' P
cupboard kəb'ərd J
Cupid kiur'bid *sometimes* J
cure kyur W, kiūr C
curious kūrriəs C
curtain kərteen P
cushion kush'en, kəsh'en ? *cush-en* E

D

daily dəi'li Wk
dairy DEERI C
dame dəəm W
damosel dəm'sel C, dəm'zel J
damson DAMASIN dəm'zin J
dance dāns J
dandle dən'l J
dandriff DANDRUFF dən'dər *facilitatis*
causa C
Daniel Dæn'el *occasionally* J
Daphne Dæf'ne J
dart dəərt C
dash dəsh C
date DEET C
daughter dAAftər *occasionally* J
dawnt DAANT, dənt *melius fortasse* C,
 = *daint* dənt M, dənt dAAnt J
Daventry Dæən'tri Deen'tri J
day dəi W, Wk, DEE C
de- dee- J
dear diir W, P, C, M, J, der J
dearth derth C
debonair debANEER' C
deceit deseet' *nonnulli* desəit W, deseet'
 P, J
deceive deseev' W, P, DECEIV diseev' C,
 deseev' ē *masculin* M, J
decoy dikoi' *abusively* J
deign dəin P, deen J
Deitrel Dəit'rel J
deity deeti dəiti J
demesne demeen' dimiin J
deputy debi'uti *occasionally* J
despair despeer C
desum dəshuum J
deter deter' deteer' detæær ? *e se* pronounce
 ai M

devil dev'l C, div'l dēl *sometimes* del as
 in "del take you" J
diadem dəi'ædēm C
diamond dəi'mənd di-mund E
diaphragm dəi'æfrəm J
diary deer'i occ. J
dictionary diks'nəri E, diks'nəri cus-
 tomary and fashionable J, hence the
 old joke of a servant being sent to
 borrow a Dik Snæri asking for
 Mīster Rītshærd Snæri
did dēd barbarē C
didst dist for speed's sake J
diphthong DIPHTHONG dip'thəq J
dirge dərdzhi C
distrain DISTREIN distreen' J
discrete diskreet' J
do duu rectius doo W, duu P, doo = doe C,
 duu M, J
dole dool P
dolt doul't P, dault C
done dən W
door duu'ər *sometimes* J
dost duust J
doth duuth J
double dəb'l C
doublet dəb'let C, J
dough doʊwe doo C
doughty doorti J
dove dəv W, dəf M, dəv J
dozen DOZEN DOUZEN dōz'n C, dəz'ən J
drachm dræm C, dræk'əm, dræm J
draught draat C, J
droll droul C, drəl a *français* M
drought = draout drəut M, drəut draat
 droot J
dumb dəm P
Dunelm Dən'em J
dunghill dəq'il P
Dunstable Dən'stəbl *abusively* J
dure dyur W
Durham Dər'æm J
dwindle dwin'l J

E

ee- ee- J
ean een C
ear iir C, J
earl eerl C
early eerl'i C
earn eeru C
earnest eer'nest C
earth erth, jərth *barbarē* C, = *yerth*
 jərth *pas du bel usage* M
earwig iir'wig C
Eastcheap Ees'tsheep J
eastward eest'ərd J
ebullition bəlish'ən often J
Ecclesfield Egl'zfiild J
eclogue eg'ləq J
ecstasy eg'stæsi J

Edward Ed-ərd J
e'er eer J
effectual efek-tæl oec. J
ei never = ii J
eight æit P, æit vulgariter C, øit (?) J
eilet øi-lət J
either eedh'er P, EEDh'er C, ædh'er e
 feminin M, øidh'er eedh'er J
ekē eek J
el- l- often J
Eleanor ELLENOR El-nər J
eleven elev-ən ilæv-ən J
em- m- often after 'the' or a vowel, as
 mōl-shən emulsion J
'em øm them J
emb- b- often as bød-i embody J
embalm embælm P
embolden embould'n P
emp- p- often as peetsh empeach J
en- n- often as nōf enough J
-en -ən in eaten, &c., J
enamel æm-əl J
enamoured æm-rərd J
end- d- as dæm-ædzh endamage J
end iind barbarē C
endeavour endee-vər P
England liq-lænd P, J, Iq-lænd J
English liq-liʃh P, J
engorge gərdzh J
engrave græv J
enhance enHAANS J
enough inəf sat multum W, P, enəu-
 sat multa W. Enəf quantitatem deno-
 tans, enəu numerum denotans C
environ envøi-ərən C
enroll enruul C
ensue enshuʊ J
ensure enshuʊr J
entrails en-trælz P
enthusiasm Euthū'shæzm C, thiū-
 siesəm J
Epiphany Pif-æni sometimes J
epistle pis-l sometimes J
epitome epit-øme M
-er -ər C
ere EER C
err ər C
es- s- often J
escape scæep J
eschew estshiu P, estshoo estshooʊ may
 be estshiu J
esquire skwøir J
-ess, -is, often in words of two syllables
 as gud-nis goodness J
essay see J
estates stæets J
eternal iter-naal P
Eton EATON Eet'n J
etymology timol-ədzhī J
ev- v- often as vænd-zhelist evangelist J
Evan liv-æn Ev-ən J

every ev-əri J
Eve liv J
eve iiv M
Eveling liv-liq J
even ii ven P, J
evening iiv-niq P, J
evil iiv-l C, M, J
ewe eu P
example ensæm-pl sæm-pl J
exasperate æs-pə-ræet J
Exchequer ESCHEQUER tskek-ər J
experience ekspeər-ens sometimes J
extol ekstool P
extraordinary eks-tra,ordnəri P
extreme = extrême ekstreem M
-ey -e J
eyelet øiLET øi-lət sometimes J

F

fable fEE-bl C, = faible fææ-b'l M
fair FEER C, = faire FEER feer see 'fare'
 M by his rule, fæər fecər feer J
falehion fAA-shən J
falcon fAAk'n J
falconer fAAk-nər C
fall faal C
fallow fiəl'n P, fiəl-AA commonly J
Falmouth fAA-møth J
falter fAA-tər J
fare = faire fæər M
farrier fæ-rər occasionally J
farthing fiər-diq C
fashion fæsh'n o comme muet M, fæsh-
 en J
fasten fæs'n J
father fæædher Wk, fAA-dhər J
favour fæævuʊr fææ-vər J
fealty fielti C
fear fiir C
February Febrəri sometimes J
feign fein P, feen J
felt felt e en ai M
felo fee-lo J
female fee-mææl J
feodary fed-əri C
feoff fef C, fef J
feoffee fef-ii P, J
ferule fee riul J
feud feud P
few feu rectius, quidam flu W, feu P,
 fAA barbarē C
field fiild C
fieldfare fiild-feer C, fiil-fæær J
fiend fiind W, find J
fight fet = fit C
figure fig-ər C
finger fiq-gər J
fir fər C, fer à peu près comme e ouvert M
first fɔrst P, C
fire fɔir C, foier re comme er M, fɔir C J

fissure fish'ər J
fixpence fip'ens J
flake flæk C
flush flæsh C
flasket flæsk'et C
flaunt flaa'nt P, C, flænt flaa'nt J
flaw = *flā* flaa M
flea flii W
flood FLOUD fləd P, flud fləd C, fləd J
floor fluur'ər sometimes J
flourish flər'ish C
foal FOALE fool C
foil fōil sometimes J
foist fōist sometimes J
föld fould P, fould C
folk fook J
follow fəl'u'u P, J, faa'laa fəl'aa com. J
folly fal'i C
fondle fōn'l J
fondling fōn'liq J
fool fuul C
foot fuut P, fut as distinct from fōt, fōt
barbarè C, fōt, better fut J
foree fuurs C
ford FOORD fuurd P, J
foreign FORRAIN far'en C, fər'en e fem-
in M
forfeit = far'fet C, fər'fōt e feminin M,
fər'feet J
form fuurm classis C, fārm faarm forme,
= form fuurm bane M
forsooth fōrsōth', better fōrsuuth' J
forswear fārsweər' C, fōrseer' J
forswore fōrsuur' J
forth FOORTH fuurth C
forward fər'wərd J
four fuur C
fought fōt J
fourth fōurth P, fuurth = forth C, J
fracture = fracter fræk'tər avec e fem-
inin, familier M
frail fræil C
frankincense fræqk'ənsens barbarè C
fraud frood may be fraad J
fraudulent frau'dulent, fraa'dulent
negligenter C
frequent free'kwent J
friend fründ W, P, frend C, fründ
frind frend J
friendly fren'li J
friendship fren ship J
froise frōiz sometimes J
frontiers frōntiirz P
frost fraast, fere semper producitur o
ante st C
forward frau'wərd P, frōw'ərd J
fruit frūt P, frūt C
frumenty fōr'miti barbarè C, = formité
fōr'miti M, fōr'meti J
Fulks Fooiks J
full ful C, ful M, J

funeral feun'ræl C
fur fər = fir C
furniture fər'nitər C, J
furrier FURIER fūr'ər sometimes J
farther fər'dər C
fusilier fusi'leər fusi'liir' J
justian fōst'iaen P, fest'en sometimes J
future fiutər J

G

gain gæin P
Gabriel Gæb'ræl sometimes J
gallery gæl'ri J
gallimaufry gæl'maa'fri J
gallon gæen in Berks J
gallows gæl'əs E
gaol dzhael dzheel J
gash gæsh C
gasp gæesp C
gastly gæs'li J
gate gēet C
gave gæv gōn barbarè C
gazette GAZET gæzet' C
gear giir C, M, J
general, dzhen'eral *approche du son de*
notre a M
gentle dzent'l W
geography dzhegræfi sometimes J
geometry dzhem etri J
Georgius Dzhor'dzhuus J
gesture dzhest'ər = jester C
get gjet W, git *facilitatis causa* C
gh = h' in *bought*, etc. P, *desuervit*
pronunciatio, retinetur tamen in scrip-
turā, C
ghost goost C
ghostly goos'li J
girl gēr'l à peu près *comme e ouvert* M,
gerl J
glance glaans P
glanders glaan'dərz J
glebe gleeb J
glisten glis'n J
glori glaa'ri Wk
Gloucester Glōst'ər J
glove glōf M
gn- n- J
go guu rectiūs goo W, guu P, goo C
gold goold nonnunquam gould W, gould
P, guuld C, guuld J
Goldsmith Gaul'smith J
good god, P, gud C, gōd, better gud J
good-ly-ness gud-li-nēs C
gonge guudz J
gourd goord P, guurd J
gourmet gōrnet C
grace grees C, = *grâce* græes M
gracious GRATIOUS grēe'shəs C
grammar, græm'ar *approche du son de*
notre a M
grandchild græn'tshōild J

granddame græn·æm J
grandfather græn·fæð·rər J
grandmother græn·mæð·rər J
grange græendzh C
grant græent C
grasshopper græs·əpər J
grating græt·iq C
gravy græv·i C
gravity græv·iti C
great græt C
Greenwich Grin·idzh J
grenadier GRANADIER grænædeər·græn·ædiər J
grey græe P
gridiron grîd·oi·ørn C, grîd·oi·ørn grîd·ørn J
grindstone grain·støn J
griest GRIEST grist J
groat groot P, graat C, M, J
groin grōin sometimes J
gross groos J
guaiacum gwæ·kəm J
guardian gærd·ən occasionally J
gudgeon gouGEON gædzh·ən C
guess GHESS ges J
guild gild C
guildhall gîld·HAAL C, gail·HAAL J
guilt gwîlt J
gurgons GURGIANS gredzh·inz *facilitatis causa* C

H

ha! hææ C
haak hææk J
Hackney Hæ·kne P
hadst hæst *for speed's sake* J
hair HEER C
half HAAF C, J
halfpenny hææ·peni J
hallow hælu P
halm HAAM C, J
hamper HANAPER hæm·pər J
handkerchief HANKERCHIEF hæq·ketshər *facilitatis causa* C, = *hetcher* heq·ketshər M, hænd·kər·tshər J
handle hænl J
handmaid hæm·meed J
handsel hænsəl J
handsome hænsəm J
hardly hærl·i J
harquebus nær·kibəs J
harsh hæsh J
Harwich Hær·idzh J
hasten hæsn J
hat, næt *en ai bref ou en e ouvert* M
haunt HAANT, hænt *melius fortasse* C
 hænt HAANT J
hautboys hoo boiz J
haut-gout HAUT GOUST hoo goo J

haven HEEV·n C
hay HEE C
hazelnut HASLENT HEE·zlnət C
hazy HEEZ·i C
he hi P, C, M, J
head HED C
hear hiir W, P, C, M, J
heard Hærd P, C, J, herd J
hearken herk·n *a est conté pour rien* M
heart nært C, J
hearten hært·n C
hearth hært·h C
Hebrew HEE·briu J
hecatomb hek·atəm J
Hector Ek·tər J
hedge edzh J
heifer heef·ər P, hef·ər C, hæ·ər *e fem·inin* M, heef·ər hef·ər J
heigh hai J
height HEIT, HEET *negligenter* C, = *hæit* hæit M, hæit heet, HEIGHTH heet·h J
heinous HAINOUS HEINəs, HEE·nəs *negligenter* C, hee·nəs J
heir æir P, eer C
held hîld *barbarè* C
Helen El·ən J
hemorrhoids em·rəd·z J
hence = *hince* hîns M
her hør P, C, hør *e fem·inin* M, = *ær* *after consonants* J
herald HERAULD her·aal J
herb jərb *barbarè* C, = *yerb* jərb *pas du bel usage* M, erb, jərb *as sounded by some* J
Herbert Hær·bært J
here hiir P, hiir·ər *re comme er* M, hiir J
heriot er·iət J
hermit er·mit J
heron hørn J
hiccough hik·əp J
hideous hid·iəs hid·eəs J
him im, *often, as take 'im* J
hire hiir·ər J
his iz, *often, as stop 'is* horse J
hither = *heder* hæð·rər *e fem·inin* M
hoarse hoors C
hogshed hæg·shed J
hoise hōiz sometimes J
Holborn Hoo·born P, Hoo·børn J
hold hould P, hould C
holdfast hool·fæst J
holiday = *kāliday* hōl·idee M
hollow HAA·lAA hōl·AA *commonly* J
holm hoom J
holp hoop J
holpen hoop·n J
holster HOLDSTER hool·stər *often* hool·stər J
Holy = *hōly* hōo·li M
homage hmædzh *often* J
hood hōd P, hōd·, hōd, *better* hud J
hord huurd P

horn HAARN, *fiere semper producitur o ante* rn C

hosannah HOZENÆ often J

hosier = *hojer* HOZHAR M, ROOSHAR J

host OOST P, OOST often J

hostage OSTADZH J

hotter WHATAR BARBARÈ C

hour, hourly OUR, EURLI, *the only words with h mute* M

household HOUSHOLD HÖUSHÖULD J

housewife = *hozzif* HÖZIF M, HÖZII HÖZII HÖSI J.

horer HÖVOR C

how HEU HOELLIORES CONCINNITATEM NIMIS AFFECTANTES C

housewre HÖUZEVÖR FACILITATIS CAUSA C

huge HÖUDZH C, HOUDZH ABUSIVELY J

hundred HÖNDÖRD FACILITATIS CAUSA C, M, J

hurricane HERAUCANE HERAAKÆN ? P

hyacinth DZHÆSINTH J

I

I = *ai* ai M

idle OI'DL W

immersion MERSHON J

imp- p- often, as pound *impound* J

impede IMPEED J

impost IMPOOST C

impostume IMPÖSTIUM P

impugn IMPÖGÖN J

incision INSIZHEN C

inchipin INSHPIN J

Indian IN'DZHAN, sometimes IN'den J

indict INDÖIT EN SOMNANT P i ai M, J

inhabit INÖBIT usually J

inhibit INIBIT usually J

inherit INERIT usually J

inhesion INHÖZHON C

inhospitable INÖSPITÆBL usually J

injoin INDZHÖIN C

injury INDZHERI J

instead INSTIÖD C

interfere EXTERIEIR ENTERFEER P

interrupt INTERÖP often J

inv- v- often as vest *invest* J

invincible INVÖI P

invincible INVÖEGl C, INVÖE gl é masculin M, J

inward INÖRD J

iron ÖIÖRN C, M, J, ÖRN J

Isabel IZBEL J

isle ÖIL J

is not ? ent ? FACILITATIS CAUSA C

issue ISHÖU J

isthmus ISTHÖS J

Italian ITÄLÖN occasionally J

it has TAZ J

it is TIZ J

-ity -ÖTI J

J

Jacquet DZHÆK'ET

jamb DZHAAMZ J

James DZHEEMZ C

Jane = *Dgène* DZHEEN M

January DZHÄNÖRI sometimes J

jar DJAR W

jasmine DZHESMIN J

jaundice JAUNDIES DZHAAN'des C, DZHAAN'dis J

jaunt DZHAANT, DZHÄNT *melius fortasse* C, DZHÄNT DZHAANT J

jealous JII LÖS JEE'läs ? JE-lus E

jealousie DZHEE'lösi P

Jenkin DZHIQ'KIN J

Jeffrey DZHEFRE J

jeopardy DZHEPARDE P, C

jerk JERK as sounded by some J

Jesus DZHEESÖS J

Jew DHIU J

jewel DZHIÖEL P

join DZHÖIN DZHÖIN C, DZHUIN, sometimes DZHÖIN J

joint DZHÖINT C

jointure DZHÖINTÖR DZHÖINTÖR C

jolt DZHUULT C

journal DZHÖRNÄL C

journey DZHÖRNE P, DZHÖRNI C

joy DJÖI W, DZHAI C

joy DZHAI C

judge DZHÖDZH Wk

juice DZHÖUS C, DZHÖUS J

Julian DZHIL'IAN, a woman's name J

Jupiter DZHIÖBITÖR sometimes J

K

Kelmsey KEMZI J

Kenelm KENEM J

kerchief KÖRTSHÖR J

key KEE P, J

kidney KÄNE P

kiln KIL J

kindle KÄNL J

kindly KÄNLi J

kingdom KIQ'DÖM Wk

kn- = *hn*, *nh* (?) C, *n-*, but *may be*

sounded KN J

knave NHÄEV C

knead NHÖD C

knee NHII C

knew KNYY W, NHÖU C

knoll NHÖUL C

know KNÄU, *alii* KNÖO W, NHÖO C

known NÖÖUN J

L

ladle LEE'DL C

lady LEE'DI C

lamprey KEMPRE P

lame LÄEM W

lance LAANS P, J
lanch leaush C
landlord len'lord J
landscape LANDSKIP len'skip J
lane lEEN C
language leq'gædzh occasionally J
lass ləs C
last læst C
lastly læs'li
laudable laudæbl, lAA'dæbl *negligenter* C
laugh læf W, P, M, læf lAA J
laughter laæt ə J
lauress lAAN'ris J
laurel laurel, lAA'rel *negligenter* C
Laurence Læ'ræns *Lar-rance* E
law = lā lAA M
lead leed Wk, P
leap lep a est conté pour rien M
leaper lep'ər = leper C
learn leern C
lease lees C
lecture lek'tər C, J
Ledbury Led'berɪ J
Leicester Les'tər J
Leigh Lei J
leisure lee'ziur, P = *l'ejur é masculin*
 lee'zhər M, lee'shər J
Leominster Lem'ster J
Leonard Len'erd J
leopard lep'ærd P, lep'ærd C J
Leopold Li'ropəl Lep'old J
let læt barbarè C
lever LEAVER lev'ər C, LEAVER lev'ər
 a est conté pour rien M
leveret LEAVERET lev'tet C
lewd leud P
liberty līb'ərti P
lice liis barbarè C
licorice LIQUIRICE līk'iris J
lieu lyy W, liu P, liu C
lieutenant = *lifténant* liften'ænt M, J
Lincoln Lin'kɒn J
linen = *linin* līn'in M
linger līg'ər J
liquid līk'ɪd J
liquor līk'ər J
listen līs'n J
listless līs'les J
Liverpool Lerp'uul E, LEVERPOOL
 Leerp'uul Leirp'uul J
loin lɔin = *line* C, lɔin sometimes J
lodging lɒd'ɪŋ W
loll ləl a *français* M
London Lɒn'dən *negligentiūs* W, J
longer lɔŋ'gər rectiūs lɔŋ'ər W
look lək, better luk J
lose luuz M
loss las C
lost laast C
loth LOATH = lāth laath M
tough ləɪ ? J

love lɒv W, lɒf M, lɒv J
loyal lɔi'æl abusively J
luncheon LUNCHION lən'tʃən J
lure liu'ər C
lute lyt W, liut P

M

maggot = *maiguet* mæg'ət M
Maidenhead Meed'nəd Meed'həd J
main meen C
maintain menteen' C
major meedzh'ər C
malign mælg'ən J
malkin mAA'kin *peniculus* C, *Malkin*, as
 a name, mAA'kin P, J
mall mAA C, = *mell* mel, *jeu de paume* M
Malmsey MAAM'zi J
maltster maal'sterer J
mane meeən C
manger meen'dzhər C
mangy meen'dzhi C
mann man German C
Mantua Mæn'tiu J
manuscript mæn'iskript, mæn'iuskrip
 often J
many men'i C, mæn' sometimes J
margin mærdzhent J
marriage mæ'rædzh C, mæ'rədzh J
marsh mæsh J
mask mæsk C
mason mees'n C
masquerade mæs'kɪræd J
mastiff mæstii J
mangre mo'gər, *may be* mAA'gər J
maund maund J
maunder mæn'dər mAAN'dər J
may-not meent J
Mayor MAIOR meer C, J
-mb -m in monosyllables J
me mi P, mee C, M, J
mean miin C
meat meet W
measure me'ziur P, mesh'ər J
Medes Meedz J
medicine med'sɪn P, M, med'sen C
meet mit C
merchant mærtʃənt E, J
mercy mærs'i J
mere mear miir J
mesne mesn meen J
metal metl C
mete met = meut C, J
metre miit'ər J
Michaelmas Miil'mæs ? *Miel-mas* E
nice miis barbarè C
minnow MENOW mee'nɔ J
-minster -mister J
mire mi'er J
misapprehend misəprend' J
miscellane MISCELAN mæs'lɪn mæs'len J

miracle mæ-ræ-kl *facilitatis causa* C
might maat med *barbarè* C
mn- n- J
-mn- -m J
moicity moi-ti J
mail mail mæl C, *mail sometimes* J
moisten mæis-n J
moltten moolt-n P
Monday Muun dee J
money mæne P, mæn i J
mongeou mæn-kœu J
monkey mœq-ki P
monsieur mœnsiur mœnsiur J
More Muur J
morrow mœru P
mosquito mœskii-to J
most mœst C, *most o court* M
mostly mœs li J
mother mœdhrœ J
mouch muutsh J
mould muuld C
moulter muult-tœr C
mourn muuru W, C, J, mœrn J
-mouth -mœth J
move muuv *rectiûs* mœuv W, mœv P, J,
 muuv C, M, J
-mps -ms J
-mpt -mt J
Mulgrave Muurgræev J
nurion mœren *sometimes* J
muscle mœz-l J
music myyz W, miuz P
musquit mœs-kei J
mustard, *mœstard* *approche du son de*
 notre a M
mute myyt W
myrrh mirrh mœr C

N

naked neek-ed C
name neem C
napkin nœbr-kin *sometimes* J
nation nœv-sion P
nature neetœr C, = *naiter* nœætœr
 familier avec e feminin M, nœætœr J
naught naaft *occasionally* J
nauseate NAUSEAT nœa'shœt C
nary neev-i C
-nch -nsh J
-nd- -n- *when a consonant is added to*
 such as end in 'nd J
neap NEPE neep J
near niir W, P, C, M, J
need niid C
negro neegro J
neigh nœi P
neighbour nœi-bœr nee-bœr P
neither neethœr nœdhrœ *barbarè* C,
 nœdhrœ e *feminin* M, nœidhrœ
 neethœr J

nephew neefiu, nev-iu J
nether neethœr J
neuter neu-ter *rectiûs*, *quidam* niu-ter W,
 neuter P
new nyy, neu *rectiûs*, *quidam* niu W,
 niu P, niu J
none noon W
nor nar C
North Noor J
Norwich Nœr-idzh J
nostril nœs-trel J
notable natœbl C
notary nœotœri C
nought nœot P, noft *sometimes* J
nourish nœr-i'sh C
now nœu J
-nts -ns J
nunchion nœn'shen J

O

oaf AUF AWF oof *may be* AAF J
oatmeal œt-miil ou *court* M
oats œots, wœts *barbarè* C
obey œbœi P, œobœe C
obysance œbœi-sœns P
oblige œbliidzh J
obscene œbsœen J
ocean œœ-shœn C, J
of Af W
ogre AUGRE œœ-gœr *may be* AA-gœr J
oil œil W, œil = *Fil, isle* C
ointment œintment C
Olave œliv J
old œold, *nonnunquam* œuld W, œuld P,
 œould J
-om -œm C
-on -œn C
once wœns, wœnst *as in Shropshire and*
 some parts of Wales J
one œon W, C, wœn J
ouion œœ-jœn, *and in similar words*,
 -*ion* = jœn C, œœ-jœn, *sometimes* œœ-œu J
only = *ounly* œœn-li M, J
opinion œpin-œn, pœn-jœn *by the vulgar* J
-or -œr C
ordnance œr-nœns J
ordinary œr-nœri J
ordure AARDœr = *order* C
osier = œjœr œœ-zhœr M
ostrich ESTRICH œs-tridzh J
ostler HœSTLER œs-lœr *often* J
ought œot P, Aat C, = *at* Aat M
-our = -œur, -œr, -œr J
-ous -œus -œs -œs J
out œut C
over œœr J
owe (œœ) C
owl œul W
Owen œœ-wœn J

P

pageant pædʒhɪn J
pain pi:n C
pale pæ:l W
pall-mall pæl-mæl J
palm pɑ:m J
Palmer PAA-mər J
panch pɑ:ntʃ J
papal pæpəl C
paper pi:pər C
parade pəreɪd J
parliament pɑ:rkɪmənt C, E, *sometimes* pɑ:rkɪmənt J
pavley pæ:vli P
pasquil pæs-kɪl J
pass pæs C
past pæst C
pasture pæstər = *pastor* C
pate pi:t C
path pæθ C
Paul's church = *Fols Poolz* M, *Poolz-tshartsh* P, *ols-church* E, *Pooulz*, *Poolz*, *may be* PAA:l J
paunch PAUNCH pɑ:ntʃ J
pea pi: W
pear = *pair* pæ: *une poire* M
pearl pi:rl C
pedant pi:dənt J
penal pi:nəl J
penny = *peny* pi:nɪ M
pennyworth pi:n-ərθ *pen-urth* E, *pən-worth*, *peir-orth* J
pension = *pennichon* pi:n-shən M
people pi:pəl P, C, *pepəl* pi:pəl J
perceive pi:sɪv *é masculin* M
perfect pi:fekt *sometimes* pi:fekt J
perwig pi:wig J *e en ai* M, *per-wig* pi:wig J
perjury pi:rdʒəri J
perpetual pi:pətʃəl *sometimes* J
Peter pi:tər J
Pharaoh Fæ:ri:oo P, *Feer:oo* J
phlegm = *flème* flem M, C, *flem*, *may be* flegəm J
phœnix fi:niks J
phrenetic fi:rentik fræn-tik J
phthisick ti:sik J
piazza piæ:tʃez J
picture pi:ktər = *pickt her* C, = *pieter arce e féminin familier* M
Piedmont pi:mənt J
pillow pil:u P
pipkin pi:p-kɪn *occasionally* J
piquant pi:kənt J
pique pi:k J
piquet pi:ket J
piteous pi:tɪəs M
poem po:em pœ:em J
point pi:nt point C
poise poi:z *sometimes* J
poison poi:zn poi:zn C, *poi:zn sometimes* J

poll poul *nonnunquam* poul W, *poul* C
polltroon pɔ:ltru:n pɔ:ltru:n J
poniard pɔ:njərd J
Pontius PAn:sɪəs Wk, Pɔ:n-shu:s J
pontoon pɔntu:n J
pour pɔ: *= power* C
poulterer poul-tərər C
poultry poultri C
poultry poultri C
pleasure pli:zər W, *pleziər* P, *plezhər* C, *pleshər* J
poor pu:ər *sometimes* J
porcellane pɔ:sələn J
portree pɔ:tri: pɔ:tri: J
possible pɔ:səbl *facilitatis causa* C
postscript pɔ:skript *often* J
pot pɔt *nonnunquam* W
potter pɔtər J
pottage pɔ:tədʒ, *some write porridge* J
potsherd pɔtʃəd pɔ:tʃiəd C
plain ple:n C
plaited pli:təd P
plane ple:n C
plausible plau:zəbl, plau:zəbl *negli-genter* C
pleurisy pli:ri:si P
plevin pli:vɪn J
plough pləʊ plən C, plou J
praise preiz W, *preis* preez *negligenter* C
prance prɑ:ns J
prayer pri:ər C
pre- pree- J
prebendary pri:bend J
precise pri:sɪ:z C
prefer pri:fər C
pressure pri:ʃər J
prey pri: P
priest pri:st (ɛ) J
Priscian pri:ʃi:ən J
prophecy pri:vəsi: J
prove pri:v P, *pruv* C, M
provision pri:vɪʒən C
provel pri:vəl pri:vəl J
ps- s- J
psalm sɑ:m C, J
psalm sɑ:m J
pt- t- J
Pugh pi:u J
pul pul C, pul M, J
pulley puli: P
punctual pʊktʃəl *sometimes* J
pursue pɜ:ʃu: J
pursuit pɜ:ʃu:t J
puss pus M

Q

quality kwæl-iti C
qualm kwɑ:m C, kwɑ:m *en a long* M, J
quart kwɑ:t *en a long* M
question kwes-tʃən P
quodlibet kwɔdli:bət J
quoif kwɔif J

quoit kōit J
 quota kōōtie J
 quote kōōt C, J
 quoth kōōth J
 quotidian kōtīd-i-ən J

R

Rachel Rācētshel W
 rabdish rēd-īsh *facilitatis causa* C
 raisins rēz-ns P, rēz-ns = *reasons* C, =
 rēz-ns rēz-īnz M, rēz-ōns J
 Ralph Rāwf Rāf E, RAAF J
 rarity Rār-īti C
 re- rē- J
 -re = -er or
 read riid P
 read reed lego W, riid lego C
 Reading Rēd-īq J
 reason rēcz'n o se munge M, J, E, the
 lost writes 'reas'n'
 receive rēceiv- W, P, RE-EEV- C, rēceiv-
 ē masculin M, rēceiv- J
 receipt rēsect P, rēsect J
 reckless REACHLES REK-les ? C
 recipe rē-sīpe J
 recruit rikrūt C
 red rōd ē feminin M
 refuse rītūz- verb P
 regard = *regard* rēgārd- M
 rehearse RĪHEERS- C
 reign rēen J
 ringage rēeīng-ēədzh- M
 reins rēnz J
 relinquish rilīq-kish J
 remove rīmōv- P
 rencounter RĒNKŌUNT-ər J
 rendezvous RĒNDĪVŪZ *ran-dy-rooz* E,
 RĒN-dēvū J
 renew riinū J
 reprint rēprint M
 rere rēer J
 reward riir-ward P
 resurrection rēsōrēk-si-ən Wk
 restoration rēstōrāci-ōn J
 reach REACH Rēish J
 reward reward- a *comme en français* M
 rheum rūm C
 riband rib-ēn J
 Richmond Rātsh-mān J
 right rōit Wk
 righteous rōit-ōs rōi-tēas J
 rind rūn J
 risque rizg J
 roast rost roost C
 roasting roos-meet J
 roll rōl *accomungem* rūl W, rūl C
 Rome Ruūm P, Ruūm = *room, different*
 from roam C, M, J
 rough r-ōf, W, C, M
 royal rōi-əl *abusively* J
 rupture rāpt-ər C

S

sabbath sābrāth *abusively* J
 saffron sāf-ōrn C, E, M
 said sed *facilitatis causa* C, sed seed J
 saints sāints Wk
 salad sālet J
 Salisbury SĀRISBURY SAAlz-beri J
 salt sālt P, C
 saltcellar SALTSELLER, SAAI-seler J
 saltpetre SAAI-pi-ter J
 salmon SAAm-ōn C, sām-ōn J
 salve sāve P, SAAV C, J
 same sāem W
 sanders SAAH-dōrz J
 Saviour sāc-ivōnr P
 saw SAA C
 says SĀIES scz *facilitatis causa* C
 scaffold skēf-ōl J
 sceptic SCERTICK skēpt-ik J
 scene = *scène* sēen M, J
 schedule skēd-i-ul P, J, sēd-ōl *sēd-dul* E,
 sēd-i-ul J
 scheme skēm J
 schism siz-m C, J
 scholar skōl-ārd *abusively* J
 scold skōold, *nonnunquam* skōuld W,
 skould P, skūld C
 scoundrel skōn drel C
 scourge skōrdzh P, C, skwōrdzh *facil-*
 causa C, skōrdzh *ou = o court* M, J
 scourse skūrs *permuto* C
 scream skreem C
 scrivener skriv-nər P
 scroll skrūld C
 scrupulous skrēp-ēl-ōs *facilitatis causa* C
 scummer skūm-ər *barbarē* C, = *skinner*,
 skim-ər M
 se- see- J
 sea sii W, see C
 seal seel W
 search scertsh C
 sear siir C
 scarce SEETS C
 season secz'n C, secz'n J
 seat seet W
 seen sin J
 seise SEEZ C, J
 seive seev J
 seize secz, *nonnulli* sāiz W, secz P, M
 seraglio sēr-āel-īō J
 serene = *serène* sērēn- M
 serge SEARGE sērdzh P
 sergeant sērdzhej-ənt P
 Sergius Sērdzhi-ūs J
 serous seer-ōs J
 servant sēr-vānt ē en ai M
 service sērvis *barbarē* C
 sevennight! = *seuit* sēr-īt M, sēr-ōit J
 shadow shād-ū P
 shall shal Wk, SAAI, *signum modi* C,
 shāl M

shalm SHAAM C, J
shambles SHAAM'blz J
she shii P, C, M, J
shear SHEER C
shears shiurz C, M
shepherd shep'erd J
shew shuu, shew C, *shoo* shoo, *may be* shiu J
shire shiir C, J
shirt shört C, shört P, *approche du son de notre a* M
shoe shuu P, shoo shuu C = *choü* shuu M
should should P, shuuld C, shuud J
shoulder shouldr'or C
shouldest shuust J
shovel shoul J
shore shov J
shew shru C, shroo shroou, *may be* shriu J
shroud shrood shrooud *may be* shriud J
Shrewsbury shrooz'beri, Shroouz'beri, *may be* Shriuz'beri J
sigh soith, *un son qui approche fort du th en anglais* M, sei soith J
simile sim'ile J
sincere sünser P, J
-sion -shan J
sir sor P, C, *ser à peu près comme e ouvert* M
sirrah sieræ C, sör'a *approche du son de notre a* M
sirrup soröp C
skeleton SCELETON skeletön J
skink SCINK skiqk J
slant slaant J
slouch sluntsh J
-sm -söm J
snow snou, *alii* snoo W
snur snu rectiäs, *quidam* sniu, W
so soo C'
soft SAAft J
Soho Soojoo often J
soil söl *sometimes* J
sojourn södzhorn J
sold sould, *alii* soold W, sould C
soldier soo'dör J
soldier soul dör P, soordzher t muet M, SOULDIER soordzher J
Solms Soomz J
Solomon SAA'laamön J
some süm W
Somers Söm'ræset J
somewhat süm'ræt J
son sän W, Wk
soot suut P, söt C, sät, *better* sut J
sorrow sör'u P
soul soul, *alii* sool W, sool P, saul C, sooul J
source suhrs W, C, M
souse suus J
Southwark Söth'wark J

sovereign SOVERAIGN sör'veen J
Spaniard Spän'erd *sometimes* J
spaniel span el C, J
spear spür C, M
sphere = sph'ere sfeeer M, J
spindle spün'l J
spoil spoil *sometimes* J
stalk staak C
stamp stamp barbarè C, stamp abusively J
stanch staantsh J
stead sted a est conté pour rien M, stiid J
steal steel W
steam stiim J
Stephen Steev'n J
stir stor C, ster ä peu près comme e ouvert M
-stle -s'l J
Stockholm Stök'hoom J
stomach stöm'æk J
stood stöd P, stud C, stöd better stud J
stoop stoup stuup C
strange streendzh C
stranger stræn dör æ non tam requiritur quam agrè evitatur W, streen'dzhör C
strut stroout abusively J
subtil sät'il P, = *sottle* sät'l M, sät'el J
subtlety sät'ilti P
succour sök'oor P
sur shuu J
suet SEWET siu'et C, shuuet J
sure sheur = *sure*, or perhaps seur, *as sheur is only "facilitatis causa"* C
sugar shög'ör (?), *facilitatis causa* C, shung'ör J
suit siut P, sute siüt C, shuut J
suitable siüt'ebl C
suitor SUTER siüter C
supreme sup'reem J
sure shiur *facilitatis causa* C, = *chüre* shiur M, shuur J
surfeit sör'fet C, sör'fet e feminin M
surrey sörvæi P
suture siüt'or C
swallow swælu P
swear sweer, see *forswear* farsweer C
seer J
sweet sweet C, set J
Swedes Swædz J
swollen sooln J
sword swörd P, suurd C
sworn suurn C, soorn J
syncope siq'kope J
syntagma sän'tiem J
system SYSTEME sisteem J

T

table teebl C
tail teel C'
Talbot TAA'bot J
tale teebl C

- talk* TAAK *rectius* tælk W
Tangier Tandzheer Tandzhiir J
taper TEEpər C
tar tær C
tare = *taire* tær M
tares TEERz C
tart tært C
taunt TAANT P, C, J, tant J
tassels TAA'selz en a long M
tea THEA tee J
teal teel W
tear TEER *lacero*, tiir *lacryma* C
team tiim J
teiree teers J
temptation temptas'ian Wk
ten = *tinn* tɪn M
tenet tee'net J
tenure TEN'ər = *tenor* C
terrene tereen' J
terrible TER'əbl *facilitatis causa* C
Thomas Temz J
that dhat en a court M
third thərd Wk
thither = *deder* dhædhrər e *feminin* M
thir dhe C, dhe J
Thibes Theebz J
their dheer J
Theobald Thee'obəld P
there dheer J
these dheez W, J
they dhæi P
Thomasin Təm'zɪn J
thought thaot P
thousand thauz'n C
threepence = *thri-pinn* thrɪp'ɪns *familier*
M, thrɪp'ens J
thresh thrəsh *barbarè* C
through throʊ J
thwart thərt J
thyme = *tɔim* M, J
ti- ante *vocalen* sh C
tiere TERS C
tinder tən'dər *barbarè* C
-tion -shən J
tissue tɪʃuʊ J
to tuu M
tobacco TABACO *abusively sounded some-*
times with an 'o,' təbæk'ə təbæk'ə
J
toil tɔil W, tɔil tɔil C
toll tould P, tould J
toll tɔl, *nouanquam* tɔl W
tomb tuum C, M, J
took tək, *better* tuk J
torture tɔrt'ər *tor-ter* C
touch tuutʃ tɔtʃ J
tough tɔf W, too J
toward təwəd P
towl tɔul J
toys tɔiz W
truffique trə'fig J
- transient* = *traingient* træn'zhiənt M,
træn'zhiənt C, træn'shiənt J
travail trav'el P
traveling træv'liŋ J
treasure tresh'ər J
trible treəbl J
triple trɪ'f'l W
triphthong TRIP'THONG trɪp'thɔŋ J
troll TROWL trool J
trouble trəbl C, J
trough trəf W, *troo ou* = *o un peu long*
M, J
trouel trə'el *barbarè* C
true tru C
trunchion trən'shiʊn J
trundle trənl J
turquoise tɔrkɪz' ? J
twang tɪŋ J
Twed TWEDE Twiid J
two tuu C
twopence = *topins* tɔp'ɪns *familier* M,
tɔp'ens J
tune tyun W
Tyre tɔ'ər C
- U
- u*, la *prononciation commune de l'u*
voyelle en Anglois est la même qu'en
françois (suprà p. 182) iu M
ugly OUGLY əg'li P
-um -um, *may be -əm* J
uncouth ənkʊəth C, ənkəth' J
up əp C
uphold əpuəld' J
upho'ster puəul'ster puəul'sterer J
up to əp tu *barbarè* C
-ure -or C, -er ər, *may be sounded -iur* J
us = *us* əs M
use = *yuz* jɪuz *pas du bel usage* M
useless jɪuz'les *barbarè* C
usual ɪn'zʊəl C, = *ájual* iuz'riəəl M
usury sɪuz'ər *barbarè* C
- V
- valley* væl-i P
vanguish væŋ'kiʃ J
vapour veep'ər C
vary VEER-i C
vault VALT VAAT a leap J
vaunt VAANT C, J
veil veel J
vein vein P, VEEN *ei comme en françois*
M, veen J
vengeance ven'dzheɪns P
venison ven'zən P, ven'zn M, ven'zən J
venue VENEW vee'niʊ J
verdier vər'diəkt vər'dəit J
verjuice vər'dzhɪs P, vər'dzhɪs C,
vər'dzhɪs E, J
vial vɪ'əəl P
victuals vit'ɪlz *facilitatis causa* C, =
vɪtlɪs vit'ɪlz M, vit'əlz vit'əlz J

view vvy W, vū C
villain vil·ən ai comme en villain M,
an exception to his rule
villany vil·ni J
virgin vər·dzlən J
virtue vər·tyy, ə non tam requiritur
quam agrē eritatur, W
viscount vā·kəunt J
vision viz·iən P
royage vā·rədzh eye·age E
volatile vəl·ətī J
rough ruutsh J
roughsafe ruutsh·eəf J
royage vā·rədzh abusively J
vulgar vul·gər J

W

wafer weef·ər C
waif weif weef J
wainscot ween·zkat P
waistband wāst·bænd J
waistcoat wāst·kōat weest·kōot C
walk wāak, rectius wælk W, wāak C, J
wallow wāl·oo P
Walter wā·tər J
wane weed C
war wār C
warden wārd·n C
warm wārm C
warren wā·rən C
was waz C, waz en a court M
wash wāsh en a court M
wasteful wāst·fūl weest·fūl C
watch wāatsh watsh C, watsh en a
court M
water wā·tər C, =ou·tər wā·tər M,
wā·tər J
wattle wāt·l wat·l en a
court M
we wi P, M, C, J
weal weel C
wean ween C
wear weer C
weary wer·i P, wi·ri, wə·rē barbarē C
Wednesday wenz·dæi P, wenz·dee M, J
weight wēit P, weēt ei comme en
français M
were weer =wear C, weer J
Westminster wes·māstər J
wh =hou wh M
what wāt en a court M, wāt, better
whæt J
when =hōim whin M, wen, better when J
whence =hoin·nee whāns M
where wheer J
wherry whirry whō·rē C
whether whodhr̄ər barbarē C, wheedhr̄ər
J
why whai P
whit hwit =F. huit W
widow wid·u P

will wil, wəl barbarē C
who whu Wk, whuu P, hau C, J
whole hool W, J
whom whəm P, huum C, J
whoop huup uup J
whore huur P, C, J
whortle hurt·l J
whose huuz J
Wincheomb Winsh·kəm J
wind wəind ventus C
wield weild wəild J
willow wil·u P
Wiltshire Wil·shir J
windmill wīn·mīl J
wine wain C
Windsor Wīn·zər J
winnow win·u P
with wīth cum, wəth barbarē C
wood ood J
woe wuu =woo C
wolf wulf wəlf C, ulf J
woman wəm·ən P, E, um·ən J
womb wuum C, M, uum J
women wī·mēn P, wī·mēn C, =ouimenn
wī·mēn M, wī·mēn J
wonder wānd·ər wənd·ər C
wo- o- un- n- J
woo woe uu J
wood wad P, wad C, wəd, better ud J
woof waf, better uuf J
wool wəl P, wul C, wəl, better ul J
Woolstead Ustēd
Worcester Wuust·ər, Wəst·ər, ūst·ər, J
word wərd J
world wərd P
worldling wər·līq J
worldly wər·lī J
worn wuurn C
worsted wəstēd genus panni, wəstēd
facilitatis causa C, =ousted wūstēd M
would wuuld P, wuuld C, wuud J
wouldst wīdst wūdst barbarē C, wūst J
wr- r- may be wr- (?) J
wrestle wrastle res·l J
wrath rāth C, rāth en a long M
wristband rīs·bænd rīz·bān J
wrought ruot P, J

X

Xantippe Santipi J

Y

ye jii P, J
yea jii W, C, JAA rustic, jee jii ii J
year jii P, J, iir J
yeast jīst iist J
yellow jē·lō J
yeoman yem·ən yem·mən E, jecmən
jii·mən iir·mən by many J
yes jīs M, is J

yesterday is-ter-dee J
yet ȝet e feminin M, it J
yield YEILD iild J
yolk = *yolk* ȝelk M, ȝook J
yonder ȝaw-dər J
you ȝiu, ȝau barbaric C

young ȝaŋ C
your ȝeur C
youth ȝiuth P, ȝiuth C, ȝoth J

Z

zedoary zed-æri

2. WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE.

Lists of this kind ought to supply the place of an investigation into the puns of the xviith century, comparable with that already given for Shakspeare (*suprà* p. 920). But their compilers had so much at heart the exigencies of the speller, that they often threw together words which could never have been pronounced alike, but were often ignorantly confused, and they sometimes degenerated into mere distinguishers of words deemed synonymous which had no relation in sound. This is particularly observable in Price's lists, in which like and unlike words are all heaped together in admirable confusion. Cooper is the most careful in separating words which were really sounded exactly alike from those nearly alike, and those absolutely unlike. But the earliest collection, and in many respects therefore the most important, is that by Richard Hodges. The full title is:

A special help to Orthographie: or, the True-writing of English. Consisting of such Words as are alike in sound, and unlike both in their signification and Writing: As also of such Words which are so neer alike in sound, that they are sometimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added diverse Orthographical observations, very needfull to be known. Publisht by Richard Hodges, a School-Master, dwelling in Southwark, at the Middle-gate within Mountague-close, for the benefit of all such as do affect True-Writing. London, printed for Richard Cotes. 1643. 4to. pp. iv. 27.

In this the exact and approximate resemblances are distinguished, and at the conclusion the author has given a few instances, unfortunately only a few, of various spellings of the same sound, when not forming complete words. These are reproduced, together with some extracts from his orthographical remarks, which relate more strictly to orthoepy. He had, like most such writers, individual crotchets both as to spelling and sound, and had an intention, probably never carried into effect, of treating orthoepy, as shown by a short table of sounds with which he closes his brief work. Many of his instances are entirely worthless, but it was thought better to reproduce them all, marking with an asterisk those to which more attention should be paid, and to gain space by simply omitting his verbal explanations, where they were not absolutely necessary, or did not present an interest of some kind. Nothing has been added, except a few words in square brackets [], and the original orthography is reproduced.

Owen Price's list has also been given complete, but the explanations have been similarly reduced. On the other hand, the whole of Cooper's chapter on the subject has been reprinted, restoring only the position of some words which had been accidentally misplaced. His orthography, which was also designed as a model, has been carefully followed.

I. Richard Hodges's List of Like and Unlike Words.

1. Such words as are alike in sound and unlike both in their signification and writing, are exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

*assent, ascent, a sent or savour. a peece to shoot withall, a piece, apiece. a loud, allow'd, aloud. aught, ought. air, heir. an arrow, a narrow. an eye, a nigh, an I. a note an oat-cake. *a notion, an ocean. *annise, Agnes a woman's Christen name. an idle person, Anne. Alas, a las (lasse) or a Maid. altar, alter. a ledge, alledge. a lie, allie. a light, alight. a lot, allot. a loan, alone. a lure, allure. adieu, a due debt. he adjoynd me to do it. adjoynd-stool. a judge, adjudge. *assoon as she came in, she fell into a swoon. aul, al (all). assault, a salt-cel. assigne, a signe. attainted, a tainted piece of flesh. attired, a tired jade. a mate, to amate or daunt. a maze, amaze. a rest, arrest. a pease blossom, appease. a peal, appeal. a tract, attraet. abbetter, a better colour than the other. *appear, a peer. *a wait-player, await, a weight. awry, a wry-mouthed Plaise. a quaint discourse, acquaint.*

B

*to bow the knee, bough. *if you be comme so soone, become. *boughs, boweth, bowze. brows, browze. Barbarie a countrey, Barbara, barbarie fruit. *Brute a man's name, brute, bruit. to baul in speaking, Baul, a bal to play with. Bal a man's name (Ball, ball). *bad, bade. *bead, Bede. beaker, Beecher, the hawk did beak herself. beer, bierre. *a straw-berie, Sud-bury, Canter-bury, etc. by, buy. *board, bor'd. *bill'd, build. bolt, to bault meal. bred, bread. *beholding, beholden. *a coney-burrow, borough. coney - burrows, boroughs. *blue, blew.*

C

**Cox, cocks, cocketh up the hay. *coat, sheep-cote, quote. *Cutes, coats, quoteth. *clause, claueth, claws.*

*eal (call), eaul. *course, corpse. *courses, courseth, corpses. *e ol'd, could. collar, eholer. a culler of apples, a colour. cousin, cozen. council, counsell. *common, commune. cockle and darnel, coehle-shel. champion, the champain field. *choose, eheweth. a crue or company, the cock erew. did chase, the chace. *you come, he is comme. crues or companies, a cruse or pot. a cruel master, wrought with erewel. consent, conceit of music.*

D

**dam, to damme. *fallow-deer, dear friend. deep, Diep a town so call'd. *diverse men, skillful divers. *a dog, his cake is dough. d-scension, dissension. dollar, dolour. dolphin, the daulphine of France. the deviser of this, multiply the quotient by the divisour.*

E

**Easter, queen Hester. *John Eaton hath eaten, a scholar of Acton. eight, ait (islet). *earn, yern. emeralds, emeralds. exereise, exoreise. *I cut my meat to-day, better than I ate it yesterday.*

F

*did feed, was fee'd. *your fees, she feeth. I would fain, she did feign. did finde, were fin'd. fellows, fellows. Philip, fillip. the fold, hath foal'd. fore - tel, four - fold. forth, fourth. *furze, furreth, furs. foul, foul. Francis, Frances. *freeze, friese-jerkin, shee freeth him. *to kil a flea, to flay of (off) the skin. fleas, fleath, flayeth. to flee, a fleer away. flour, flower. *flours, floureth.*

G

*I guest, a very welcome ghest. a ghost, thou go'st. *jest, gests, jesteth. *ox-gals, the gauls, he gauleth. *a*

gage or *pledge*, to *gauge* a vessel. a *gilt-cup*, *guilt*. *groun*, *wel-grown*. to *glisten*, a *clyster*. a *guise*, Mr. *Guy's* man.

H

hart, *heart*. *a *hard heart*, I *heard* his *voyce*. **hare*, *hair*. *hie*, *high*, *heigh-ho*. thou *hast*, the *highest* *fourm*. *hide*, she *hied*. **make haste*, why *hast* thou done it? *hole*, *whole*. **holy*, *wholly*. the *hollow*, to *whoop* and *hollar*. **home*, *whom*, a *holme tree*. *homes*, *Holmes*. *I *hope* to see, I *help* him to do his work. **hoops*, *hoopeth*, *whoopeth*. *him*, *hymne*. *the bread doth *hoar*, *where*. **whores*, *hoareth*. his *hue*, *Hugh*. *huus*, *Hughes*. **herald*, *Harold*. **happily*, *haply*.

I

I, *eye*. *incite*, in *sight*. *inure*, in *ure*, in *your* account.

J

jest, *gest*. *gists*, *jests*. to *jet*, a *jeat-stone*. *the *juice* or *sap*, a *juice* to bear up the boards. a *jukes*, Mr. *Jaques*. *gentle*, a *gentil* or *magot*. a *jointer*, a tool to work withal, a woman's *jointure*. *a *jurdon*, the river *Jordon*.

K

Mr. *Knox*, hee *knocketh* many *knocks*. **kound*, the *chanel*. to *kil*, the *brick-kilne*.

L

the *Latine-tongue*, a *latten-ladle*. *the cow *lowed* very *loud*. *take the *loast*, lest hee bee angry. *lemans*, *lemons*. *lesson*, *lessen*. **litter*, the *hors-lieter*. *the *lvs* of wine, to *lese* or *loose* ones labour. *leapers* that can leap, *lepers* full of *leprosie*. *lo*, *low*. *lore*, *lower*. a *luster* after evil things, a bright *lustre*. *out-lawed*, *laud*.

M

manour-house, in a good *maner*. he *hanged* his *mantle* upon the *mantel-tree*. *Modes*, *moads*. *meat*, to *mete*. *a *message*, the *message*. *a *meater* that giveth meat to the cattel, a *corn-meter*, a *meteor* in the air. *Martin*, *marten*. Mr. *Marshall*, *martial*. **mone* and *be-wail*, his *corne* was *mown*. *moe* or *more*, to *more*. the cat did *mouse* well, amongst the *corn-moughs*. **hawks-mues*, he *mouth* his hawk, to *muse*. *mite*, *might*. a good *minde*, *under-mined*.

Maurice did dance the *morice*. **murraim* *marion* a head piece. **millions*, *musk-melons*.

N

**Nash*, to *gnash*. for *nought*, the *figs* were *naught*. *nay*, *neigh*.

O

O, *oh*! *owe*. *gold-ore*, *oar*, the *ower* of a debt, *ours*, *overs*. **ordure*, *order*. *our*, *hour*. *ours*, *hours*.

P

to *pare* the cheese, a *pair*. *pause*, *paws*, *parweth*. the *palat* of his mouth, he lay upon his *pallet*. *Paul*, *pal* (*pall*). *parson*, *person*. **pastor*, *pasture*. **praise*, *preys*, *preyeth*, *prayeth*. the common *plus*, *please*. *Mr. *Pierce* did *pearce* it with a sword, the scholar did *parse* and construe his lesson. *she weareth her *patens*, letters *patents*. *pillars*, *eater-pillers*. *pride*, hee *pried*. **profit*, *prophet*. the *propper* of it up, a *proper* man. *he hath no *power* to *powre* it out.

R

rain, *rein*, *reign*. **reins*, *reigns*, *reigneth*, *raineth*. a noble *race*, did *rase* the wals. the *raies* of the sun, to *raise*. *ranker*, *rancour*. *red*, hast thou read? *a *reddish* colour, a *radish* root. **reason*, *raisin*. **reasons*, *reasoneth*, *ruisins*. **ream*, *realm*. **reams*, *realms*, *Rhemes* the name of a place. *Mr. *Rice* took a *rise*, the *rice*. *rite*, *right*, *write*, a wheel-*wright*, *Wright*. **rites*, *rights*, wheel-*wrights*, *righteth*, *writeth*. *the *rine* wherein the brain lieth, the *rinde* of a pomegranate, the river *Rhine*. *Roe*, a *roc-buck*, a *row* of trees. *roes*, *rowes*, he *roweth*, a red-*rose*, *Rose*. *when there was a *rot* amongst the sheep, I *wrote* him a letter. hee *caught* [misprint for *raught* = reached] it from of (off) the shelf, when hee *wrought* with me. *a riding *rod*, when I *rode*. *I *rode* along the *road*, *hard-roed*, my daughter *Rhode*, *rowed* apace. *roads*, *Rhodes*. *the highest *room*, the city of *Rome* (*roume*). **round*, she *rouned* him in his car. *a *tiffany-ruf* (*ruffe*), a *rough* garment. **ring*, *wring*. *ruing*, *wring*. hee *rud*, so *rude*, the cheese-*rack*, ship-*wrack*.

S

slight, *sleight*. he was no *saver* in buying, a sweet-*savour*. *savers*, *savours*, *savoureth*. *the *seas*, to *seize*. **ceasing*

from strife, *cessing* him to pay. **cease*, *cef* (cesse) him so much. *seller*, wine-cellar. *the one *sutler*, was *subtiller* than the other. *signe*, either a *sine* or tangent. **censor*, *censer*, *censure*. the third *centurie*, an herb *centory*. *he did *sheer* the sheep, in Buckinghamshire. *cite*, *sight*, *sile*. *cited*, quick-sighted, wel *sited*. *a *syren* or mermaid, Simon of *Cyrene*. *a lute and a *cittern*, a lemon or a *citron*. Mouut-*Sion*, a *seion* or *graf* (graffe). *a *sink* to convey the water, the *Cinque-ports*. **so*, to *sow* the seed, to *sew* a garment. *the *sole* of a shoo, the *soule* and body. *the *soles* of his shoos, he *soleth* his shoos, *soules* and bodics bought and *sold*, the shoos were *sol'd*. *very *sound*, he fel into a *siwoun* [compare *assoon*, a *siwoun* above]. *strait*, *straight*. *sloc*, *slow*. *a *sore*, hee *swore* or *sware*. *sly*, *Sligh*. a hedge and a *stile*, a *style* or form of writing. did *soar*, the *sower*. *to *shoot* an arrow, a *sute* of apparel, a *suit* in law, *Shute* a man's surname. **shoots*, *sutes* of apparel, *suits* in law, *shooteth*, *suteth*, non-*suiteth*. *succour*, bloud-*sucker*. *some*, *sun* (summe). *sun*, *son* (sunne, sonne).

T

tame, *Thame*. *tamer*, *Thamar*. **tax*, *tacketh*, *tacks*. *the treble and the *tenor*, a *tenour* or form of words, the

Such words which are so neer alike in sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another; are also exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

ask, ax, acts. Abel, able. amase, amace. al-one, alone. actions, axiomes. arrows, arras. advice, advise. Achor, acre. ant, amut. accidence, accidents. as, as (asse).

B

(to play at) bowls, (to drink in) boles. baron, barren. barrow, borrow, borough. Boyse, boys. bath, bathe. bands, bonds. bare, bear. begin, biggin. breathe, breathe. bauble, Bable, bable (babble). bile, boyl. Bruce, bruise, brewis (brews), brewhouse. (the little childe began to) batle (when his father went to the) battel. bore, boar. ar-rant, errand. bowes (and arrows), boughs. bittern, bitter. boasters, bolsters. both, boothie. best, beast. (your book is not so wel) best, boast. boots, boats.

tenure whereby a man holdeth his land. *there*, *their*. **turkeys*, a *turquois*. *time*, *thyme*. the *tide*, *tied* together. *toe*, *tove*. *toes*, you *tose* the wool. *toad*, tingred and *toed*, he *toved* his barge. *tote* the bel, pay *tol* (toll). I *tolt* him. I *toled* the bel. *too*, *two*, *to*. *tract*, I *trackt* him. a *treatise*, diverse *treaties*. *I had *then* more work *than* I could do. *throw*n, *throne*. *it was *through* your help that I came *thorow*. *throat*, if he *throw't* away.

V

vain, *vein*. *a *venter* or utterer of commodities, to *venture*. **venters*, *ventures*, *ventureth*. *vial*, *viol*.

W

*a *way*, to walk in, a *weigh* of cheese. *ways*, *weighs*, *weigheth*. **water*, *Walter*. **waters*, *watereth*, *Walters*. *wait*, *weight*. **waits*, *weights*, *waiteth*. *if you *were*, you would *wear*. a *wich*-tree, a *witch*. **wool*, *would*. *he *wrood* her, he was *woole*. *a *woud* of straw, *woud* to die withall.

Y

**yew*, *you* and *I*, *V* and *I* are vowels. **yews*, *use*. *your*, put this in *ure*, a bason and *eure*. *yours*, basons and *eures*, he in-*ureth* himself. *yee* that are wise, *yea*.

C

copies, copise. coughing, coffin. (when hee) cough't, caught, coat. cummin, coming. ches (chesse), chests. chaps, chops. chare, chair, cheer. capital, capitol. currents, currants. consequence, consequents. cost, coast. causes, causeys.

D

dun, done. (he was but a) dunse, duns. decent, descent, dissent. descension, dissension. discomfite, discomfort. (backs and) does, (one) dose. device, devise. decease, disease. dust, (why) dost (thou). dearth, death, deaf. desert, desirt.

E

east, yeast. earn, yarn. (you must) either (take out of the hedge the) ether (or the stake). ears, yeers. els, else.

eminent, imminent. even now, inow,
inough. Eli, Ely.

F

false, fals. froise, phrase. fares, fairs.
fens, fence. fought, fault. follow,
fallow. fur, fir. farm, form, fourm
(to sit upon). Pharcz, fairies. farmer,
former. (a smal) die (may) dee. fins,
fiends.

G

gallants, gallons. garden, guardian.
glaf (glasse), glof (glosse). gesture,
jester. (a) jerkin, (never left) jerking
(his horse).

H

Howel, howl, hole. whose, hose.
homely, homilie. hallow, hollow.
gucl (guesse), ghests. whores, hoarse,
horse. his, hif (hisse). hens, hence.
holly, holy. Hefpher, heifer.

I

James, jams. ingenious, ingenuous.
impassable, impossible. imply, imploy.
it, yet. idol, idle. inough, inow.
eyes, ice. Joice, joys.

K

know, gnaw. known, gnawn. knats,
gnats.

L

lines, loyns. lowe, low. lower, (why
do you) lowre. (the) lead (was) layd,
(he) led. (the) leas (were added to
his) lease. lies, lice. loth, loathe.
leases, leasees.

M

Marie, marry, marrow, morrow. mines,
mindes. mince, mints. mif (misse),
mists. (to) mowe, (a) mough (of corn).
maids, meads. mower, more. moles,
moulds. myrrhe, mirth. (a) mouse,
(barley) moughs. morning, mourning.
(hawks-) mices, (a) muse. mistref
(mistresse), mysteries.

N

neither, nether. nones, nonce. needles,
needlef (needlesse). (his) neece (did)
neece. never, neer.

O

once, ones. owner, honour. ought,
oft. owne, one, on.

P

pare, Pearce. patens, paterns. patients,
patience. pullen, pulling. passable,
possible. pens, pence. peace, peace.
plot, plat. principil, principle. (to)
powre (out), (the) poore. prince,
prints. Princes, princef (princesse).
place, plaise. past, paste. presence,
presents. price, prise. puls, pulse.
prose, prowcl (prowesse). Pearce, peers.
Pilate, pilot. plot, plat (of ground).
parasite, paricide. poplar, popular.
promises, premises. please, plays.
poles, Pauls (steeple). playd, plead.

R

reed, reade. wrought, wrote, rote.
rase, raise. rasour, raiser. rat, rot.
real, ryal, royal. reverent, reverend.
wroth, wrath, rathe.

S

(when they had filled their) sives
(with onions and) cives. sithes, sighes.
science, seious. signet, cygnet. cypref-
(trees), cipers (hatbands), ciphers. sirra,
surrey. sowe (seed), sow (and her
pigs). sower, sowre (grapes). Sows,
sowse. sores, sourse. sleeves, sleeves.
seeth, seethe. say, sea. sex, sects.
steed, stead. slowe, slough. spies,
spice. saws, sause. sense, sents. seas,
cease. seizing, ceasing. (why do you
wear out your) shoos (to see the)
shewes? society, satietie. sloes,
sloughs. Sir John (sent for the) sur-
geon (chirurgion). Cieclie, Sicilie.
Cilicia, Silesia. sleep, ship. sins,
since.

T

tens, tense, tents, tenths. tongs,
tongues. trough, trophie. tome,
tombe. tost, toast. thy, thigh. trope,
troop (troup). thou, though.

V

volley, valley, value. vale, vail. va-
cation, vocation. verges, verjuice.
vitals, victuals.

W

wilde, wild. weary, worry (the sheep).
whether, whither. wiles, wildes. (they
took away the fishermens) weels (against
their) wils. wines, windes. wick,
week. (thou) wast, waste. wicked,
wicket. wrest, wrist. (the man that
was in the) wood (was almost) woode.
wist, wisht.

Examples of some words, wherein one sound is exprest diverse ways in writing.

Sea-ted, *con-cei*-ted, *cea*-sing, *sei*-zing, *se*-rious, *See*-va, *ce*-dar, *Manas-seh*, *Phari-see*, *Wool-sey*, *sehe*-dule.

See-ded, *sue-cee*-ded, *sie*-lings, *over-se*-ers, *pur-sey* or *fat men*, *mer-cie* (or *merey*).

Si-nister, *sy*-nagogue, *Sci*-pio, *Sey*-thian, *Cy*-prian, *ci*-vil, *Ce*-cil, *Se*-vern, *pur-sui*-vant.

Si-lence, *ci*-ted, *quick-sigh*-ted, *sig*-ning, *sci*-ence, *sy*-ren, *Cy*-rene, *sa-ti*-cty.

These syllables aforegoing, may suffice, to give a taste, of al the others in this kinde.

touch is to bee pronounc't short like *tuch*.

Ra-chel, in the Old Testament, where the last syllable thereof is pronounc't like the last syllable in *sa-chel*.

eh in *architeet* must not bee pronounc't like *k*: nor in any word beginning with *arch* . . . *arch-angel* . . . is onely excepted.

wi-nder and *wil*-der where the first syllable in either of them must bee pronounc't long as in *wine* and *wile* . . . some men cal the *winde*, the *wind* . . . in the word *wil-der-nes*, it must be pronounc't like *wil*.

[*ea*] short, as in these words *head*, *read*, *stead*, *lea-dy*, *rea-dy*, *stea-dy* . . . it is therefore . . . very meet to put an *e* in the end of some such words, as in *reade*, the present tense, to distinguish it from the short sound of *read*, the preter imperfect tense.

al words of more than one syllable ending in this sound *us* . . . are written with *ous*, but pronounc't like *us*, as in *glo-ri-ous*, etc.

it is our custom to pronounce *al*, like *au*, and to write it in stead thereof, as in *balk*, *walk*, *talk*, *stalk*, *chalk*, *mal-kín*, *cal-kín*, *cal-kers*, *fal-cons*; as also, in *almond*, *alms*, *halm*, *balm*, *palm*, *calm*,

shalm, *psalm*, *malmsey*; and in like manner in these words, namely, in *calf*, *half*, *salve*, *salves*, *calve*, *calves*, *halve*, *halves*: as also in *scalp*, *scalps*.

the sound of *ee* before some letters is exprest by *ie* as in *field*, *shield*, *fiel'd*, *Priest*, *piece*, *grief*, *grieve*, *thief*, *thieve*, *chief*, *atchiere*, *brief*, *relieve*, *relief*, *siege*, *liege*, *Pierce*, *fierce*, *biere*, *lieutenant*, which is to be pronounc't like *lief-tenant*.

howsoever wee use to write thus, *leadeth* it, *maketh* it, *noteth* it, *maketh* it, *perfumeth* it, etc. Yet in our ordinary speech . . . wee say *leads* it, *notes* it, *rakes* it, *perfumes* it.

But I leave this, as also, many other things to the consideration of such as are judicious: hoping that they wil take in good part, whatsoever hath bin done, in the work aforegoing: that so, I may bee incouraged yer long, to publish a far greater, wherein such things as have bin heer omitted, shal bee spoken of at large. In the mean time (for a conclusion) I have thought it good, to give a taste thereof, in the syllables and words following; wherein are exprest the true sounds of al the vowels and diphthongs, which are proper to the English-tongue.

The true sounds of al the short and long vowels, are exprest in these examples.

ad	lad,	ade	lade	
ed	led,	ead	lead	
id	rid,	eed	reed,	ide ride
od	lod,	aud	laud,	oad load
ud	gud			ude gude
ood	good	ood	food	

The true sounds of al the diphthongs, are exprest in these examples.

ai	day
eu	dew
oi	coy
oi	coi-ness
ou	cow

To the above miscellaneous remarks of Hodges, may be added the following quotation from Edward Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, 4to. 1673, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to discover, but which seems to imply some old scholastic tradition in the spelling out of words, recalling the village children's celebrated method of spelling *Habakkuk* as : (on iitsh a'nə AA, a'nə bii a'nə AA, a'nə kii a'nə kii, a'nə uu a'nə kii.) Probably many similar traditions were still in existence in the "dames' schools" of a few years ago.

Rob. What if you cannot tell what vowel to spell your syllable with, how will you do to find it? as if you would write *from*, and know not whether you should write it with a or o.

Joh. I would try it with all the vowels thus, *fram, frem, frim, from*; now I have it.

Rob. But Good-man Taylor our Clerk when I went to school with him, taught me to sound these vowels otherwise than (methinks) you do.

Joh. How as that?

Rob. I remember he taught me these syllables thus: for *bad, bed, bid, bod, bud*, I learned to say, *bade, bid, bide, bode, bude*, sounding a *bed* to ly upon, as to *bid* or command, and *bid*, as *bide*

long, as in *abide*; *bud* of a Tree, as *bude* long, like *rude*: for these three vowels, *a, i, u*, are very corruptly and ignorantly taught by many unskilful Teachers, which is the cause of so great ignorance of the true writing in those that want the Latin tongue.

Joh. You say true; for so did my Dame teach me to pronounce; for *sa, se, si, so, su*, to say, *sa, see, si, soo, sow*, as if she had sent me to see her *sow*: when as *se* should be sounded like the *sea*: and *su* as to *sue* one at Law.

[In a marginal note it is added:] Let the unskilful teachers take great heed of this fault, and let some good scholars hear their children pronounce these syllables.

II. Owen Price's Table of the Difference between Words of Like Sound.

A

Abel, able, abét, abbot, decedence, decident, incident, account, accómpit, áccr, áchor the first valley, the Israelites entred, in the land of Canaan, *ácorn, afféctíon, afféctíon, all, awl, Ale, ail, alley, ally, aim to level, álus, alás* ough, wo is me, a *Lass, álias, álor, Alexander, alexanders*, or *alexander* a plant. *aloud, ollowed, altar, álter, Ammon, Ammon, ámple, ámble, ángel, ángle* to fish with hook, and line, *áncle, ánnual, ánnals, ar-róuse* to stir up, *árróres* darts. *ascént, assént, consent, áss, áshes* any fuel burnt to dust, *ask* a tree, *ask* to enquire. *acts, áx, asp* a serpent that kills with its looks, *hasp* of door. *assémbly, reséable, dissémbly, ául, áunt, ánstère, óyster, ávry, áiry* windy empty. *árrant* meer, very, right, *érrand* bússíness that one goes about. *assáy* to try, prove, *éssay* a trial, attempt. *assístants, assístance, ascértain* to make sure, *a certáin* sure. *attách* to apprehénd, *arrést, attáque* to face about, to charge with a ship. *attúint, attáin.*

B

Bábble, báble a toy fit for children. *Bachelaur* of Arts, *bachelor* one unmarried. *bácon, bácon, badge, butch, bag, bail, bald, bawl, ball, bay* a colour, *bay* an harbour for ships. *baiz* thin cloth, *baies* a gárlánd, or leaves of bay tree. *bait* meant to allure or entice with, *make bate* that sets folks by the ears, *beat* to strike. *band* an armie, a tie, *bond* obligation, bill, imprisonment. *banc* poison, *miserie, banes* repórt made of mátrimonie. *banner, panuier, Bárbara* a woman's name, *Bárbarie* a part of Africa, *bárberrie* a tree. *bark, barque* a little ship. *battel* a fight, *battles* diet in a College. *báttlement, báttledore, bee, be* is, are. *béáver* eastor, *béáver* food eaten between dinner and supper. *been* wast, were, *binu* a hutch to keep bread in. *ber, bier, bellowes, béllies, bénéfice, bénéfice, beráy* défile, *bérráy* discover, *betráy, beséech, besiége, body, báudy, boll* to wash in, *bouls* to play with, *bóults* to drink in. *boar, bore* to pierce, *bore* the long hole in the gun. *book* that we read in, *buck* a deer, *buck* of clothes to be washed.

boult to range meal with, *bolt* a great arrow, door bar. *bow* to shoot with, *bough*, *bow* to bend. *boys* little lads, *buoys* great logs of wood floating in the bay to guide in the ships. *burnt*, *brunt* an assault, encounter. *bury*, *berry*. *buy*, *by* and *by*. *biggin* a little coife, *begin*. *boaster*, *bólster* a great pillow. *breach*, *bréeches*. *breed*, *bred* that is reared, *bread*. *brain*, *brawn* boar's flesh, *bran*.

C

Cabinet, *cábin*. *qualm* suddain fit, *calm* still, quiet. *Cules* or *Cádiz* a city in Spain, *Callis* a town in France, *chalice*. *caul* a dress for a womans head, *caul* of a beast, *call* to name, *cale* so the Scots call cábbage. *cánons* rules for men to walk by, *cáannon* a great gun, *canon* a Cathedral man. *capacious*, *capable*. *capítal*, *cápítal*. *carriage*, *carrets* or *carots*, *chàriot*. *càrrier* one that carries, *caréir* a gallop with full speed. *cavalier* a horseman, *cariller* a wrangling, cáptious fellow. *centorie* a plant, *centurie* any 100 years of the ages of the churches. *sentinel* one that watcheth in a garrison, *kénnel*, *cánnel*. *chánnel*. *chüttel* a mans personal estate, *cattel* tame beasts. *case*, *cause*. *ensor* a reformer of manners, *censor* a perfuming pan. *chafe*, *chaff*. *chance*, *change*. *chapters* as those in the Bible, *chapters* the heads of the pillars of the vail Exod: 36, 38. *chare* or *chore*, a small household business, *chear* to make merry, *cheer* countenance, or good victuals, *chair* a seat to sit on. *chap* a narrow chink, *cheap*. *champion*, *cámpaign* large, even fields. *check*, *chick*, *check* one side of the face. *chest*, *chass*, *cheese*. *child*, *chill*. *cídar* drink made of apples, *cedar*. *clamour*, *clamber*. *cíttérn* instrument of musick, *cítron* a fruit. *cloy*, *claw*. *claws*, *close*. *clasp*, *claps* he clappeth. *coat*, *quote*, *cote* a little plat of inclosed ground, *cottage*. *choler*, *collar*, *scholar*, *collier*, *colour*. *could*, *cold*, *cool'd*. *gallop*, *collop* a rasher of bacon. *comb* to kemb ones head with, *houey-comb*, *come*. *cómmet*, *comet* a blazing star. *cómma*, *common* publick, *compline* to talk, converse together, *common* a ground not enclosed, *commons* a scholars allowance in meat, *cumin* an herb, *cuminseed* the seed thereof. *complúce* a partáker, *accomplish*, *confits* or *confects* dried sweet meats, *comfort*. *considerate*, *considerable*. *carol* a song, *coral* a red

shrub that children rub their gums with. *crowner* or *córoner* that makes inquest after a murther, *corner* a by private place. *cólonel* a commúnder of a thousand, *cólonie* a plantation. *consumption*, *consummation*. *counsel* advice, *s-e-l*, *council* the Kings council, or a synod of learned men, *c-i-l*. *course* rough, *corse* dead body, *course* to go a hunting, *corse* to wish evil to one. *cousin*, *cózn*. *current* that will pass, as good money, *current* a stream, *corants* small raisins. *crasie* infirm, sickly, *crased* crackt, distracted. *crócodile* monster in the river Nilus, *cókratrice* serpent that kills with its very smell. *cox* a mans name, *cocks* do crow.

D

Deféction, *defect*. *defér*, *differ*. *diamond*, *diadem*. *diary*, *diary*. *damn* to condemn, *dam* up to stop, keep out the light, *dam* a stopping of the water before a mill, *damp* a noysom vapour out of the earth, *dame* a mistress, or any beast that brings forth young. *damsin* a little black plum, *dámsel* a brave young virgin. *deceased*, *díscuse*, *deceés* départure. *deer*, *dear*. *déitie*, *ditty*. *delicate*, *délegate*. *deméan* to behave, *démáin* the means of a Lord, or a Cathedral, *démánd*. *demáre*, *démár*. *désart* wilderness, *désért* to forsake, *désért* merit. *déseánt*, *dissént*, *décent*. *desirous*, *desirable*. *discomfort*, *discomfit*. *disgest* to conecót victuals, *digest* to set in order. *dew* small drops from the skie, *due* a debt, *adieu*: *dint* or *dent*, *din*, *dine* to eat about noon. *dissolute*, *désolate*. *doe*, *do*, *dough*, *daw*. *doth* as he doth give, *doeth* he maketh. *drain*, *drawn*. *dray* a sled, *draw*. *Don* Sir, master in Spanish, *done*, *dun*. *dost* thou dost make, *dost* a sign of the second person, as thou sayest or dost say, *dust* powder.

E

Ear, wherewith one hears, *ear* to till ground, or to plough, *ears* of corn, *ere* before, *year* 12 months. *early*, *yearty*. *earn*, *yern* to be moved to compassion, *yarn*. *earth*, *hearth*. *east* where the sun riseth, *yest* barn, *ease*. *egg* to provoke, to set on, *egg* which the hen layeth, *edge*, *hedge*. *eldern* a tree, *elder* more old. *Elízer*, *Elúzar*. *Embassador*, *embassage*. *emerauld*, *emeroids*, *piles*. *eminent*, *imminent*. *enégement*, *engagement*. *epha*, *ephod*. *epoch*, *epod* a sort of verses. *Esther*, *Hester* a

Saxon Idol, *Easter, yesterday. expérience, experience. eyes* the windows of the head, *ice.*

F

Fair, farr, far, fear. fashion mode, manner of apparel, *fashions* or *farsy*, running botches upon horses. *fain, feign. fàrmer, fàrouite. felon* a thief, *fellon* a swelling sore on the finger. *fends, fins. findes* he findeth, *fine. fillip, Philip. flee* to shun, avoid, *flea* to pull off the skin, *flic* a small creature that doth fly, *flea* a small skipping creature, *fleece* the wooll of one sheep. *fleet* navy, *flet* swift, *flit* to waver, *flitch, flie* or *flue* bloody issue. *floor, flour* fine meal, *flower* of a plant. *foul, fool, foil, foit d, fold. foul, foul. foord* a shallow passage in a river, *afford, fore, four. forth, fourth. friese* shag'd cloth, *freese* to congeal. *Friery* where Friars live, *fiery, ferry. froise* a small pan-cake, *phrose, furse* fine, hairy skins, *furz* prickly shrubs. *fundament, foundation.*

G

Gantlet a souldier's buf, or iron glove, *Gantlop* two ranks of souldiers that scourge a malefactor that is condemned to run between, with his back stript. *gard* or great hem of a garment, *guard* a company of men that defend or secure ones person. *guardian* a tutor, or one intrusted with a fatherless child, *gàrden* an inclosed piece of ground. *géntiles* heathens, *géntil* a magot, *géntle* mild, generous, tractable, *géntel* curious in apparel or carriage. *gísture, jester. gist* where the King lodges in his journey, or progress. *jest. glutinous, gluttonous. glister, glyster* or *clyster, cluster. God, goud. grass, grase* to eat grass, *grace. gray* a colour, *grey* a badger, an earth hog. *Greece* a countrey, *greese* a small ascent, steps on the floor, *ambergreise* a perfume, *grist* corn brought to be grinded *grin* to wry the mouth, *grind* to bruise small, as we do corn. *groun, grown. guess, gwest. gun, gunc.*

H

Hail God save you, *hail stones, hale* to luge, to draw. *hair, heir, hare. air,* are they be. *hy* to make hast, *hay, high, highth* loftiness, highness. *heart, hurt. hartsthorn* a long leaved plant. *hartsthorn* which the hart bears. *here,*

hear. heard I did hear, *hard* solid, stiff, *herd* a drove of small cattel. *hearing* giving ear to, *herring* a scattish. *heron* a man's name, *hern* a crane. *heathens, heareus. horse, hoarse, horse. hollow, hollow, hollo* to bawl. *holly, holy. hole, whole. home, whom. hore* a frizzling frost, *whore. hew* to cut, to fell trees, *hue* visage, *physionomie. hu* and cry, *hugh* a mans name.

I

Jambs, James. idol, idle. jeeves, Jewish, juice. imply, employ. impostor a great cheater, *impositor* one that takes the names of such as are absent, or tardy. *invite, insight. inconsiderate, inconsiderable. inn, in. Inab, Job. Joice* a womans name, *rejoice, joist* a little beam in building. *itch, hitch. its* his, *it's* it is, *'tis* it is. *judge, jugs. judicious, judicial.*

K

Keen, ken, kin, kindred. Kill, chyle. keel, kiln. knead, need.

L

Ladder, leather. lamb, lame, lunee, to cut off dead, rotten flesh, *lanch* to put out a ship from harbour. *last* that they make shoes upon, *last* after all the rest, farthest, *last* to endure, hold out. *latton* tin, *Latine* Roman language. *leadn, Leyden. league, leg, liegeman. leaper, leper, leopard. lease* (with a soft, s) to pick up shottered corn, *lease* (with a hard, s) an indenture, writings. *least* smallest, *less* smaller, *lest* a note of forbidding, as *lest* I chastise you. *leaman* concubine, whore, *lemon* a kind of an apple. *legion, legends. liturgie, lethargie. lessen, listen. lies* false tales, *lice* small, biting worms. *limber* weak, *limner* one that draws pictures. *limn, limb. line* whereby we work, or write straight, *loin* flank, hanch. *Lions* a town in France, *lion* a fierce beast, *liorn* a great cross beam. *letter, litter, lieter* a sedán carried between two horses. *lose* to let go, to let slip unknown, *loose* (with a soft, s) to undo, to slack, *loose* (with a hard, s) debauched, *lewd. lost, loss.*

M

Main might, chiefest, *main- prize, suretiship, bail, mane* of a horse. *mare* that breeds colts, *maior* the chief ruler

of a citie, *major* a commander by one degree higher then a Captain. *more*, *moor* a marsh, *moor* a man's name. *mansion* a chief house of abode, *manchet* a little white loaf. *manner* fashion, *mónners* good earriage, *mannour* a great farm by heritage, *manúre* to dung the ground. *map*, *mop*. *march* the first moneth, *march* to go as souldiers go together, *Mars*, *marsh* a moor. *marred*, *married*. *martin*, *martyr*. *mercier*, *merchant*. *mace*, *mass*. *mast* the biggest pole in the ship, *maste* acorn. *meat* food, *mete* to méasure, *meet* fit, convenient. *méssage*, *méssuage*. *meteor*, *metre*. *might*, *mite*. *münd*, *mine*. *minee*, *mint*. *minister*, *minster*, *ministrel*. *moat* a deep pond about a house, *note* the least dust. *morter* made of lime and sands, *mortar* that we pound any spice in. *no* more, *now* rick of corn, *move* to cut down hay, or corn. *móuntibank*, *Móuntague*.

N

Naught bad, naughty, *nought* nothing. *Nazarene*, *Nazarite*. *neather* lower, *neathermost* lowest, *neither* none of them. *nesk* tender, effeminate, *necee* ones sister's, or brother's daughter, *niece* curious, delicate. *nay*, *neigh*, *nigh*. *nooce* of purpose, *noues* the first part of the moneth in the Roman accompt. *news*, *nose*, *noise*. *notorious*, *notable*.

O

Our to row with. *ore* metal not refined, *o're* for over. *odour* sweet smell, *udder* the pap of a cow. *off* with a double, f, after a word of action, as to cut off, to draw off, *of* before the word it belongs to, with one, f, as the fear of God. *one* the first in number, *own*. *once*, *one's*. *owr*, *Hour*. *Ho*, *o* or *ough* a note of exclaiming or be-moaning, *owe*.

P

Palate, *palliate*, *pallet* a little low bed to be roled up. *paws*, *pause*. *pails*, *pales* kind of stakes. *pale* a compass, *appale* to discourage. *panes*, *pains*. *pattern* coppie, *patent*, *pattens* wooden soals. *patient*, *patience*. *pease* a grain of corn, *poises* weights, to a cloek, or jack, *peace*, *peach*, *piece* part. *per*, *par*. *pare*, *pair*, *repair*. *person* the word man used with some reverence, *parson* a kind of mimster. *pebble*, *people*. *pens*, *pence*. *Pilate*, *pilot*, *pirate*. *pistol*, *pestil* wherewith we

pound in a mortar, *epistle*. *pittious* an object of pittie, *pittiful* one given to pittie. *place*, *plaiice* a little broad fish. *plad* a course cloak, such as the Highlanders wear, *plat* a small parcel of ground, *plait* to set the hair in order, *plot* a cunning design. *play* a game, a comedie, *plea* a defence, excuse. *Common pleas*, *please*. *plush*, *over-plus*, *non-plus*. *pottle*, *bottle*. *précedent* a pattern to authorize any action, *précedent* fore-going, *Président* a head of a College, or chief Ruler. *price*, *Tryce*. *prize*, *praise*. *principal*, *principle*. *private*, *privets* small trees. *privic* to, *privies*. *pórtend*. *preténd*. *poor* one in want, *pore* to fix ones eyes, and mind upon any thing. *pour* to shed, to throw down, *power* might. *pray*, *prey*, *pry*. *puppies*, *puppets*.

Q

Quárrrel strife bickering, *quárel* of glass. *quarrie*, *querie*. *quench*, *quince*. *queen*, *quean*.

R

Rack, *wrack* ruine. *rays*, *raise*. *rise* (with a soft, s) when one lifts up ones self, *rise* (with a hard, s) the original, *rise* a sort of corn. *rase*, *race*. *reach* to fetch a thing to one, *retch* to stretch, *rich*, *wretch*. *refuge*, *refuse* off-scouring. *relict*, *reliques*. *revéal*, *rével*. *revile*, *rival*, *rivel*. *rain*, *reign*. *reins* of the back, *reins* of a bridle. *raiser*, one that stirreth, *rasour* that we shave with. *read* I have read, *red*. *real*, *royal*. *réverent*, *réverend*. *right*, *ríte*, *write*. *roe*, *row* as slaves do in a boat, *row* or *rew* of trees, *raw*. *Rómanis*, *ronáunce*. *Rome* the chiefest City in Italy, *rome* to rage, and tear all before one, *room* a space, a chamber. *rough* rugged, course, boisterous, *ruff* plaited together, as a ruff band, *rough-cast*. *rule*, *rowel*.

S

Sale, *sayl*. *salve*, *sare*. *same*, *Psalm*. *Saviour*, *sarour*. *Satan*, *satten* smooth, silken stuff. *searce*, *scars*. *scent*, *sent*. *school*, *scull*. *scholars*, *scullers* little boats. *see*, *sea* an ocean, *sea* the Pope's jurisdiction, as the sea of Rome. *seal* as to seal a letter, or writing, *siel* to plaister the roof of a room. *scasin* possession, *season* opportunitie. *sect*, *set*. *sects*, *ser*. *sergeant* one that arresteth men, *surgeon* chirúrgon, that heales wounds, *Sir John* a Knight's name. *share*, *shear*, *shcer*, *shire*. *shave*, *sheave* as of corn, *sheathe*, *shive*

a slice of bread, *cere* that we winnow corn with. *sheep*, *ship*. *shell*, *shield*. *shew* a brave sight, *shew* to manifest, *show*. *Shiloh*, *Siloe*, *Siloah*. *shoot*, *shout*. *shovel*, *shole* as a shole of fishes. *shut*, *soot*. *sink*, *cinq*ue live. *cinq*ue-ports haven towns. *sin*, *sing*, *sign*. *sited*, *sighted*, *cited* quoted. *sith* seeing that, *sithe* that we mow hay with, *seeth* to boyle. *sledge* the smith's great iron hammer, *sleud* a dray that drag things in. *sloe*, *slow*. *smutch* to besmear. as with soot, *much* a great deal, *nich* to play the trowant. *so*, *sow*. *soar* to flie high like a kite, *sore* a young deer, *sore* painful, tender, galled flesh. *some*, *summ* as *sumum* total. *s-o-n* the father's son, *s-u-n* the shining sun. *Spaniard*, *spaniel* a shag'd dog. *sphear* spear. *spies*, *spice*. *spit*, *spittle* that we spit out, or an Almes house. *stable*. *staple* as staple commoditie, *staple* of the door, *staple* the length of the wool. *stars*, *stares* black birds that do mischief the pigeons, *stairs*. *stature*, *statute*, *statue*. *stead*, *bedstead*, *steel* a stately horse. *steel* that men edge tools with, *stile* a form, or facultie in writing. *ster* a bullock, *ster* to guide a ship. *stood* did stand, *stud* a small post in a tear wall. *storie*, *historie*. *straight* even, quickly, *streight* a distress, perplexitie. *succour*, *sucker*. *suit* to agree with, *suit* in law, or of clothes, *swcet* the fat of beef, or mutton. *swound* to faint, *sound* entire, without flaws.

T

Tobes, *tails*. *talons*, *tallies*, *talent*. *taber* a small drum, or timbrel, *taper* a stately wax candle. *tur*, *tares*, *tears* drops from the eyes, *tear* as to tear cloth, *break*, *cut*. *teach*, *learn*. *theams* subjects that we descant upon, *teams* of horses. *thither*, *there*, *their*. *thorow* as to break thorow all, *through* by means of, *throw* to east. *thrush*, *thrust*. *thyme* or *tyne*, a sweet plant, *time*. *tattle*, *tittle*, *tittlr* a point. *to* a sign of a verb, *t-o-e* the foot's toe, *too*, as too much, *too* also, *two*, *town*. *tomb*, *tone*. *tongues* languages, *tongs* a pair of tongs. *turn*

that turners do make, *turn* rent, *turn* to move round. *track* the picture of ones footsteps, *track* to follow one, step, by step, *tract* a handling of this, or that point. *trately* a parley concerning peace, *treatment*, *treatise*, *treatie* conference concerning peace. *truce*, *truths*. *truss*, *trust*. *turbant* the Turk's great linnen Cap, *turbot* a byrt, a great sea fish.

V

Vacation, *vocation*. *v-a-i-n* empty foolish, *v-e-i-n* in the body. *vail* or covering, *vale* to put off, to submit, as to vale bonet, *vale* or valley. *vetch* a sort of corn, *fetch* to bring. *volley*. *vial* a great cup, *viol* an instrument of musiek. *visage* feature in a face, *vizard* a false kind of face, to cover ones face. *vital*, *victuals*. *umbls* the inwards of a Deer, *humble*. *umpire*, *empire*. *us*, *Uz* Job's country.

W

Wait, *weight*, *waits*, the citie musicians, *waites* waiteth. *Wals* the true Brittain's countrey, *wales* great thrids in hair stuffs, *walls*, *bewail*. *walk*, *awake*, *wakes* a parish festival time, *walks*. *wand*, *wan*, *wain*. *wardship*, *worship*. *way*, *weigh*. *wear*, *were*, *wears*, dams where they catch fish. *wicked*, *wicket*. *wilie* cunning, *unweldie* awkward, *wild* untame, *wild* to turn a sword about. *win*, *wind* that blowes, *wine*. *wipe* to rub off dirt, *wEEP* to shed tears. *witch* one that by a compact with the Devil doth bewitch, *witch* a trap to catch vermin, *which* that, who. *wo* alas, *woe* to be a suitor to a mistress. *woud* dying stuff, *wood* fewel, timber. *wrap*, *rap*. *writ*, *write*, *wheelwright*. *wrote*, *wrought*, *rote*. *wrench*, *rinse* to wash slightly.

Y

yea, *I*. *yet*, *It*, *wit*, *yest* a tree in the church yard. *eye*, *you*. *yolk* of eggs, *yoke* that oxen draw under, *oak*. *yore* in old time, *eur* a small neck'd pewter pot.

III. Cooper's Lists of Words Like and Unlike and Introductory Remarks.

De Variis Scripturis.

1. Quædam scribuntur vel eum *e* vel *s*; ut *dove* apua, *ice* glaciës, *farce* farcio, *rare* stadium, *rice* oryza, *sauce* condimentum, *esser* censor, *searse* vix, *scissors*

cisers forfex, *cellar* cella, *sinders* scoria ferri, *sires* porrum sectile, *civet* zibethum, *sluse* emissarium, *sourse* fons, *syder* melites, *nourse* nutrio, *pencil* penicillus, *chace* lucus, *fugo*, etc.

2. Cum unicâ literâ finali, vel istâ duplicatâ, ut *fir*, *firr*, *firre*, abies; Sic *er* erro, *son* filius, *sum* summa, *star* stella, *trespass* transgressio, *war* bellum.

3. Cum *dg* vel *ege* aut *age*; ut *allege* allego, *college* collegium, *privilege* privilegium; vel *alledg* etc. *cabbidg* brasea, *saucidg* tomaculum; vel *cabbage*, *sausage*.

4. Cum *im* in vel *em* en; ut *em-poverish* depauperō, *endure* sustento; vel *impoverish*, *indure*, etc.

5. Cum *ea* vel *ee*, *ca* vel *e* ut in capite 8, reg. 1 [quoted suprâ p. 82], cum *ai* vel *ei* cap. 7, reg. 1 [quoted suprâ p. 126], cum *au* vel *a*; ut *chance* casus, *gard* stipo, *mull* malleus; *prance* superbè salio; vel *chaunce*, etc.

6. Cum unicâ literâ vel ipsâ duplicatâ; ut *herring* halec; at *later* tardius, *latter* posterior distinguî debent. Latini derivativa ut plurimum primitivorum in scriptione sequuntur formam, quamvis simplex latinè auditur sonus consonæ, et anglicè duplicatur; ut *abolish* aboleo, *canal* canalis, *amity* amicitia, *minister* minister, *mariner* à mare navigator, et *liturgy* liturgia.

Si varia hominum scripta præsertim privata consulamus, tantam libertatem, tantam varietatem, tantam incongruentiam et imperitiam videamus; quod satis hujusmodi suscepti tum necessitatem tum utilitatem demonstrare possit: In quo analogia et optimè scribendi regulæ exhibeantur. Legitur
apricock *abricot* malum armenium
balet *balad* canticum
bankrupt *bankrout* decoctor
butcher *boucher* lanio
butler *boiteler* promus
budget *bouget* bulga
charet *chariot* currus
clot *clod* gleba
cumber *comber* impedio
curd *crud* coagulum
faign *feign* flagro
fraight *frait* velatura
hartchoak *artichoak* cynara
imposthume *apostem* *apostema*
licorice *liquorish* *glycyrrhiza*
plaight *pleit* plico
slabber *slaver* conspergo
squinsy *squinnacy* angina
vat *fat* labrum
yelk *yolk* vitellus

Cum plurimis aliis; in quibus omnibus *relegare* literas supervacancas, atque eas, quæ veram pronunciationem proximè attingunt, *seligere* debemus; nisi quedam alia *privata* ratio aliter suadet; ut in sequentibus observationibus.

I.

Voces quæ *eandem* habent *pronunciationem*, sed *diversam significationem* et scribendi modum.

A

All omnes, *awl* subula.
altar altare, *alter* muto
are sunt, *air* aer, *heir*, hæres, *ere* long
statim
ant formica, *aunt* amita
ascent ascensus, *assent* assensus
assault invado, *a salt bit* bolus salitus

B

baies lauri, *baiz* pannus villosus
ball pila, *bawl* vocifero
bare nudus, *bear* fero.
be sum, *bee* apes
berry bacca, *bury* sepelio
bil'd rostratus, *build* ædificio
bitter amarus, *bittour* butio
bows torquet, *boughs* rami, *bowze*
perpoto
bread panis, *bred* nutritus
browz frondo, *brows* palpebræ
borne portatus, *bourn* rivulus
buy emo, *by* per

C

calender levitas præsertim pauni,
Calendar calendarium
call voco, *caul* omentum
censer thuribulum, *ensor* censor, *en-*
sure judicio
century herba centaria, *century* cen-
turia sive spatium centum annorum
chair cathedra, *chare* negotiolum
chas'd fugatus, *chast* castus
chews masticat, *chuse* eligo
clause clausula, *claws* unguis
coat tunica, *quote* cito
eosen illudo, *cousin* germanus
chord chorda subtensa, *cord* funis
collar capistrum, *choller* bilis
comming veniens, *cummin* enminum
cool'd refrigeratus, *could* possem
coughing tussiens, *coffin* sandapila
coarse levidensis, *course* cursus
counsel consilium, *council* curia
colors colores, *cullers* ovis rejicula
car'd curabam, *card* pectino.

D

dam mater, *damm* condemnio
dear carus, *deer* fera
dissension dissensio [no second word
 given]

doe dama, *do* ago, *dow* massa farinaria
don factus, *dun* fuscus
dew ros, *due* debētus

E

emerald smaragdus, *emrōds* hæmorrhoides

F

flea pulex, *flay* vel *flea* exeorio
flam phlebotomum, *phlegm* vel *fleam*
 phlegma
forth ex, *fourth* quartus
fair pulcher, *fare* ligurio
far abies, *fur* pellis, *far* longè, *furz*
 genista spinosa
fit aptus, *fight* pugnabat

G

gest gesta, *jest* jocus,
jester jocator, *gesture* gestus
go'st vadis, *ghost* spiritus
grone gemo, *groun* aceritus

H

hair crinis, *hare* lepus
hake serco, *hawk* accipiter
hart cervus, *heart* cor
hard durus, *heard* auditus, *herd* grex
hear audio, *here* hic
holy sanctus, *wholy* totaliter
hue scindo, *hue* color
hy festino, *high* altus
higher altior, *hire* stipendium
hollo vocifero, *hollow* concavus

I

ire ira, *cycr* observator
insight prospectus, *incite* incito
it's volo, *Isl* insula, *oil* oleum
in in, *im* diversorium
jerkin tunica, *jirking* flagellatus

L

lamb agnus, *lamn* verbero
lead plumbum, *led* ductus
lease charta redemptionis, *leash* ternio
 canum
leper saltator, *leper* leprosus
leson diminuo, *lesson* lectio
lest minimus, *lest* that ne; (sed potius
 vice versà *least* ne)
leman pellex, *lemon* malum hesperium
limb membrum, *limn* miniculator
low en, *low* humilis
line linea, *loin* lumbus
lustre splendor, *luster* lustrum

M

manner mos, *manour* prædium
mail mas, *mail* lorica

meat cibus, *mete* metior
message nuncium, *messuage* villa
mouze (*mouze*) mures capto, *mours*
 fenilia
mouse editor, *mues* accipitrem in er-
 gastulum compingit, *sea meus* fulicæ,
myfe cum *f'* foramen per sepimentum

N

netter inferior, *neither* nec
naught malus, *nought* nihil
a notion notio, *an ocean* oceanus

O

O interjectio vocandi, *oh* doloris vel
 vehementiæ, *ow* debeo
oar remus, *oar ore* balluca, *o'ra* super
our noster, *hour* hora
own agnosco, *one* unus
order ordo, *ordure* steruus

P

pair par, *pare* rescindo, *pear* pyrus
pause pauso, *paws* unguis
pastor, *pasture* pascuum
pleas causa, *please* placeo
pickt her eam elegit, *picture* pictura
prophet propheta, *profit* commodum
pray precor, *prey* preda
plum prunum, *plumb* perpendicularis
pour fundo, *power* potestas

R

rain pluvia, *reign* regno, *reins* reues
raise suscito, *raies* radii
ranker olidior, *rancour* odium
race stadium, *rase* expungo
rare rarus, *rear* attollo
read lectus, *red* ruber
read lego, *reed* arundo
raisin uva passa, *reason* ratio
right rectus, *rite* ceremonia, *write* scribo,
cart-wright carpentarius
ry secale, *wry* obliquus
roe capreolus, *row* series
rote memoriter, *wrote* scripsi
ruff sinus, *rough* asper

S

say loquor, *sey* pannus rarus
saver parsimonicus, *savor* sapor
seas maria, *seize* apprehendo
sell vendo, *cell* cellula
seller venditor, *cellar* cella
sight visus, *site* situs, *cite* cito
sise senio, *size* glutino
season tempestas, *seisin* possessio
seat sedes, *deceit* fraus
share pars, *shear* tondco
shoo calceus, *shew* demonstro

slo prunum sylvestre, *slow* tardus
stairs gradus, *stares* aspectat
so sic, *sow* suo
soar subvolo, *sore* ulcus
sought quæsitus, *saw't* id vidi
spider aranea, *spi'd* her observabam
ipsam
sucker antha, *succour* suppetior
some body aliquis, *sum* summa
sun sol, *son* filius
sure certus, *suer* candidatus, *sewer* præ-
 gustator
sweep verro, *swoipe* tolonus

T

tacks clavi, *affligit*, *tack* uncina, *tax*
 tributum
tenor, *tenure* tenura
their suus, *there* ibi
time tempus, *thyme* thymus
tide fluxus et refluxus maris, *ti'd* ligatus
to ad, *tore* stupa
toes digitus pedis, *toze* gradatim solvo
tower turris, *tozre* subvolo
tract tractatus, *track't* per vestigia
 secutus
throne solium, *thrown* jactus
tire lasso, *ty her* ligato illam

V

vein vena, *vain* inanis
vial phiala, *viol* pandura

W

ware merces, *wear* tero, *were* essent
weigh libro, *way* via
weight pondus, *wait* expecto, *waits*
 spondianles
woe proco, *wor* calamitas
whoop ehodum, *hoop* vico
wse usus, *use* utor, *ews* oves femineæ
ever aqualis, *wre* assuetudo
yea ita, *ye* vos

Sequentes item *distinguan-*
tur, quæ autem *omnes* non *dis-*
tinguunt.

bruit fama, *brute* brutum
desert meritum, *desart* eremus
doun lanugo, *doun* deorsum
foul sordidus, *fovl* volucris
frieze pannus villosus, *freez* congelo,
 semper *frees* liberat
moat fossa, *mote* atomos
savoury satureia, *savoury* sapidus vel
 odoratus

II.

Voces quæ *diversum* habent
sonum et *sensum* sed *eandem*
 plerumque *scripturam*; quæ ta-
 men melius *hoc modo* semper *dis-*
tinguantur

acorn glans, *a corn* granum
attack obsideo, *attach* prehendo
bore ferebam, *boar* aper
born parturit, *borne* latus
bow torqueo, *bove* arcus
boul globus, *bowel* patera
convert converto, *convert* proselytes
form forma, *foorm* classis
quest hospes, *gest* gesta, *jest* jocus
got adipiscor, *jet* gagates
gives dat, *gives* compedes
lead plumbum, *leade* duco
light residui, *light* lux
live vivo, *alive* vivus; *lived* vixi, *long-*
lived longævus; *lives* vivit, *lives* vitæ
mow acervus, *moze* meto
past præteritus, *paste* pastillus
rebel rebello, *rebbel* rebellator
Rome Roma, *roam* vago
sow sus, *sowe* suo
sing cano, *singe* amburo
tear lacryma, *teare* lacero
tost agitatus, *toste* panis tostus
wast eras, *waste* consumo
wild efferatus, *wil'd* volui
jill triental, *gils* branchie

Exemplorum sequentium *pri-*
ora sonum habent *f*, *posteriora*,
 quæ scribuntur cum *s* finali,
 sonum *z*.

Use usus, *use* utor: *abuse* abusus, *abuse*
 abutor

close clausus, *close* claudio
cruse pocillum, *cruse* prædor
diverse diversi, *divers* urinatores
dose dosis, *dose* dormito
else præterea, *ells* ulnæ
excuse apologia, *excuse* excuso
false falsus, *falls* cadit
hifs sibilo, *his* suus
loose remissus, *loose* solvo
promise præmissæ, *promise* præmitto
refuse quisquilæ, *refuse* abuo
house domus, *house* stabulo
mouse mus, *mouse* mures capto
louse pediculus, *louse* pediculos capto
brafs vs, *braze* subæro
glafs vitreum, *glaze* invitreo
grafs gramen, *graze* pasco

III.

Propria nomina cum *commun-*
ibus, quæ eundem vel *affinem*
 habent *sonum*.

Achor, *acre* iuger
Bede, *head* corona, *bode* tree azedarach
Barbara barberry oxyacantha
Brue, *brooks* rivuli
Cain, *cane* canna

Diep, deep profundus
Francis mas, Frances femina
Joice, joys gaudia
Eaton, eaten pastus
James, Jams parastades
Marshal, Martial Martialis
Martin, Marten cypselus
Mede, mead hydromelum
More, moor maurus, palus, more plus
Maurice vel Morrice, morris dance
chironomica saltatio
Nash, gnash strido
Noahs, nose nasus
Ny, nigh propè
Paul, pall palla, patid mucidus
Pilate, pilot naclerus
Rhode, road via publica, rode equitavi
Rome Roma, room spatium
Styr flumen infernale, sticks bacilli
Thamar, tamer mansuetior
Walter, water aqua

IV.

Voces quæ affinem habent
sonum sed diversum sensum et
scripturam.

A

alone solus, a loan vel lone mutuatum
advice consilium, advise consulo
device inventum, devise communiuiscor
adieu vale, adoo conatus
alley ambulatorum, ally affinis
arose resurrexit, arrows sagittæ

B

baren sterilis, baron baro
begin incipio, biggin capital
battle pinguesco, battel prælium
beholding aspiciens, beholden obligatus
bor'd terebratus, board tabula
bos't gibbus, boast glorior
bile ulcus, boil coquo
bauble nuga, buble garrio

C

candid candidus, candied conditus sac-
charo
causeys vie stratae, causes causæ
carriion cadaver, carrying portans
champion pugil, champain campus
cithern cithara, citron citreum
colleague socius, collegly collegium
colours, colures coluri
coppis exemplar, coppis nemus
currents uvie corinthiæ, currents amnes
crown corona, coroner, crowner quæstor
crauen pusillanimus, craving rogatus

D

Dauphin primogenitus regis Galliæ,
dolphin delphinus
decent decens, descent descensus
dwer actor, door ostium

E

exercise exerceo, exorise conjuro

F

fellows socii, fellies apsidæ
file limo, foil sterno
fence sepimentum, fenns paludes
find invenio, fiend daemon
flax linum, flakes floeculi
floor pavementum, flower flos, flour
pollen
fold plico, foal'd peperit equa
froz vel phrase fricta, phrase phrasis

G

glister mico, glyster vel clyster
garner granarium, gardian gardianus,
gurdener hortulanus

H

hence hinc, hens gallinæ
home domus, whom quem
hollow cavus, hallow sanctifico
hose caliga, whose ejus

I

idol idolum, idle ignarus
employ impendo, imply intimo
ingenious ingeniosus, ingenious in-
genius
inure assuesco, in your in vestra
juice succus, joice transtrum

L

lain positus, lane viculus
latin latinitas, lattin orichalcum
lettice lactuca, lattice transenna
leasour locator, lesser minor
laud laudo, out-law'd proscriptus
leaf folium, leave libertas

M

may'st possis, mast malus
medal sigillum fusile, medle tracto
minus fodina, minds mentes
mole talpa, mold humus
moan gemo, mown messus
mouer messor, more plus
melon melo, million 1000000 sive
centum myriades
mote atomos, moth tinca
mîle miliaria, moil laboro

N

neigh hinnie, nay non

P

pallat pallatum, pallet grabatus
parasite parasitus, paricide homicidium
parson pastor, person persona
patent literæ patentes, patine patina,
pattens subcalceus
peee frustum, peace pax, peas pisa
place locus, plaice passer marinus
poplar populus, popular popularis
potion potio, portion dos
president exemplum, precedent precedens
princes principes, princess princeps
principal principalis, principle principium
price pretium, prize præda
prouess virtus, prose prosa
pulls vellit, pulse pulsus

Q

quan scrapta, queen regina

R

race progenies, raze oblitero
rice oryza, rise orior, rife origo
wro'e scripsi, wrought operatus
raiser suscitator, rafor novacula
royal regalis, rial nobilis rosatus
rough asper, roof palatum tectum

S

saphire saphirus, safer tutior
seam sutura, scheme schema
cease cesso, cess taxo
ceased cessatus, seized apprehensus
serious serius, serous serosus
shire comitatus, shear tondeo, share
partio
sighs suspiria, sithes falces messorie
sows sues, souse omasum
sex sexus, sects divisiones
sorel trimus, sorrel acetosa

spies emissarii, spice aromata
saws serræ, sauce condimentum
soled solea affixa, sold venditus
sound sanus, swoon lypothimia
sore ulcus, sower sator, sour acidus,
swore juravi
seal sigillum, seel camero
steak offula, stake depignero
symbol -um, cymbal -um
stricter severior, stricture ligamentum

T

tongs forceps, tongues linguæ
treatise traetatus, treaties pacta
throw't projice istud, throat jugulum

V

vale vallis, vail velum
value valor, volley bombardarum simul
explosio
vane triton, vain vanus
vitals vitalia, victuals victus

W

wer't esses, wart verruca
wile stratagema, wild indomitus
wehy serum, way via

Y

your vester, euer aqualis
yield præbeo, guild gild societas inaurō.

Quædam ex his aliter scribuntur, nec in omnibus semper observatur eadem distinctio; scribitur enim *gesses* pitacia pro *jesses*; et *gesses* cum *g* dura vel *guesses* conjecturam facit; *get jet jeat* gagates, et *get* cum *g* durâ acquirō; *gelosy jealousy jealousy* zelotypia, *girk jirk* flagello, *gelly jelly* coagulum, etc. *Corants corinths currants* uvæ corinthiæ. Tantâ itaque ruderis mole semotâ: istam scripturam quæ nativam scribendi rationem, et linguæ analogiam maximè adstruit; elegi.

§ 3. Conjectured Pronunciation of DRYDEN, with an Examination of his Rhymes.

Dryden was born in 1631 and died in 1700. The date of his pronunciation, acquired when he was a young man, therefore coincided with the publication of Wallis's grammar, 1653. But as his chief poetical works did not appear till much later, it is possible that he took advantage of the change of pronunciation going on to give greater freedom to his rhymes. Still his own pronunciation must certainly be looked upon as that of Wallis or Wilkins. As

Wallis is the last of those who advocate the use of (yy) in English to the exclusion of (iu), it will be perhaps safest to assume that Dryden agreed with Wilkins and subsequent orthoepists, in saying (iu) and not (yy). He lived at a time during which long *a* passed from (wæ) to (ee), but he most probably retained his youthful habit (ææ) to the last. His use of *e*, *ea* could not have inclined more to (ii) than Jones's, perhaps not so much. But we may perhaps assume that all the words with *ea* collected above, p. 86, were generally pronounced with (ii), though in any case of necessity they retained their older sound of (ee). He probably read *ai*, *ei* always as (ee) or (EE).

With regard to Dryden's rhymes, the notices on p. 87 show that, although he allowed himself much liberty, they were not so imperfect as our present pronunciation would lead us to conclude. But as those notes referred to a particular case of *ea*, it will be convenient here to review the rhymes in one of Dryden's most finished poems. For this purpose I select the first part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, containing about 1000 lines, written in 1681, just about the time (1685) that Cooper published his grammar.

1. *W* did not act on the following *a* to labialise it, so that *wand land*, *wars scars*, are perfect rhymes (wænd lænd, wærz skærz), and in *care war*, *declar'd barr'd* (kæær wær, dekheærd bærd) we have only a long and short vowel rhyming, as is constantly the case. *Embrae'd taste* rhymed perfectly as (embraeæst tææst), not according to our present pronunciation.

2. The proclain rhyme *name fame tune*, that is, according to Cooper, (-ELU) rhymes to (-EELU), or, if we give the older pronunciation, (-EEM) rhymes to (-ææm), which was certainly sufficiently close for Dryden, who may even have called the first (-æim). There are only three such lines in the whole piece.

3. The rhymes *theme dream*, *please these*, *break weak*, *great repeat*, *bear heir*, are perfect (ee, ee). Again, *fears cars*, *fiar hear* are perfect (ii, ii). But *fiar bear* (ii, ee) is imperfect, unless he here took the liberty of giving *fear* its older sound (feær). In the rhyme *spurs tears* (wæ, ii), he may have also taken the liberty to say (teærz). The rhymes *care bear*, *wear care*, (wæ, ee), were sufficiently close for Dryden. *Appear where* (ii, ee) present a decidedly bad rhyme, unless he chose to say (whiir), which is possible, as the pronunciation still exists dialectically.

4. The group *years petitioners*, *fears pensioners*, *please images*, *please griev-*

ances, *great yet*, *supreme them*, *declaim Jerusalem them*, must all be considered forms of (ee, e), or long and short vowels rhyming, although at that time *years fears* were (jiirz, fiirz). In *receive prerogative* (ee, i), *sweet fit* (ii, i), the intention was the same, the wide (i) being made to do duty as either (e) or (i).

5. *Civil devil* was a perfect rhyme (i, i); but *sense prince*, *pretence prince*, (e, i), seem to point to a well-known Irishism, and the close connection of Irish pronunciation with the xviii century leads us to suppose that such words would be generally accepted as rhymes.

6. The Y final seems to have been doubtful in value. From Spenser's time to our own we have found poets taking the liberty to rhyme it as (oi) or (ii), and as the Irish of the present day are said to pronounce final *y* as (ii), we may, as usual, presume that this pronunciation was rife in the xviii century. In the present poem we have *y* final taken as (ii) in *free liberty*, *be democracy*, *decree royalty*, *me liberty*, *degree university*, *be lunacy*; and as (oi) in *tie posterity*, *sky nativity*, *why property*, *wise enemies*, *by husbandry*, *cry theocracy*, *eye royalty*, *high extremity*, *despise indignities*, *cry tyranny*, *die posterity*, *high destiny*, *I liberty*, *cry liberty*, *try anarchy*, *by company*.

7. The following rhymes were per-

feet (oi, oi) according to a prevalent use in the xvii th century, *smiles toils, design join, join coin*. Gill gives (wound) for wind, *ventus*, and poets have always taken the liberty to rhyme it, as Dryden does, with *bind, behind*. The rhyme *flight height* was perfect (oi, oi) according to Miegé, but Cooper has (HEET), Jones (heet, heetth). Clearly there was a diversity of pronunciation of which the poet availed himself.

8. The (ouu) of the xvii th century, when generated by a following *l* or *w*, was so often considered as (oo) by the orthoepists of the xviii th century, although the usage varies, that we need feel no surprise at the rhymes *soul pole, grown throne, own throne, mould bold, overthrow foe, soul control, blow forego*. But *gold sold, gold old*, were at that time (guuld, oould ould oold), and the rhymes belong to the same category as *choose depose, poor more* = (uu, oo), (though, as the Expert Orthographist, 1704, says that *poor* is pronounced as *o* long, the two last words may have been perfect rhymes to Dryden), or *good load, shook broke yoke, look spoke* = (u, oo), of which *took flock* = (u, A), would scarcely be deemed a variant. Cooper heard *blood, flood* as (blud, flud), so that that pronunciation must have been sufficiently prevalent to pass the rhyming of *blood* with *flood, wood, good*. And as a *wound* is still often called a (wound), we need not wonder at finding *bound wound*.

9. No distinction was made in rhyme between (eu, iu), if indeed the distinction had not become altogether obsolete. Poets allow (iu, uu) to rhyme, considering the first as (iuu) or (juu), but the fact that they are now felt not to be genuine rhymes at once discredits the common theory that long *u* is now (juu). The first element receives so much stress that it cannot degenerate into (j). Accordingly we find the rhymes *ancw pursue, Jews accuse, few true, muse choose, rul'd cool'd*.

10. The rhyme *remove love* was at that time perfect in some mouths as (ə, ə), but *thong tongue, song strung*, were probably quite imperfect as (A, ə), although (thaq, taq) may still be occasionally heard, and in some dialects all these words end in (-əq). But *son crown* (səu krəu) was altogether unjustifiable at that period.

11. The *r* seems to have excused many indifferent rhymes. *Afford sword*, which now rhyme as (æfoəd soəd), then rhymed as (æfuəd suəd), but *affords words, mourn'd return'd*, were (uu, ə), *sword lord, court sort*, were (uu, A), *scorn return, born turn*, were (A, ə), *board abhor'd, restor'd lord*, were (oo A). *First curs'd* was probably perfect as (ə ə). *Art desert* was perhaps considered a perfect rhyme. In none *Absalom* the vowels perhaps agreed as (oo), but as the consonants were different, the result is only an assonance.

The following rhymes of Dryden, and other authors, who, having acquired their pronunciation in the xviii th century, must be reckoned in that period for the present purpose, have been taken from the appendix to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, where they are given as "allowable rhymes," or Prof. Haldeman's Felix Ago (suprà p. 866 note), where they are cited as anomalies. The authors with their dates are as follows:

Addison, 1672—1719.
Blackmore, 1650—1729.
Butler, 1612—1680.
Cowley, 1618—1667.
Crashaw, d. 1659.
Creech, 1659—1700.
Davenant, 1605—1668.
Dryden, 1631—1700.
Garth, 1672—1719.
Granville, 1667—1735.

Herrick, 1591—1674.
Milton, 1608—1674.
Oldham, 1653—1683.
Philips, 1676—1708.
Farnell, 1679—1717.
Prior, 1664—1721.
Roscommon, 1633—1684.
Rowe, 1673—1718.
Waller, 1605—1687.
Wycherley, 1640—1715.

The rhymes are arranged, very nearly, in the same categories as those just considered, and the numbers prefixed to the groups will therefore generally be sufficient to point out their nature. This

review will shew, that it would not be possible to infer identity of vowel sound in apparently rhyming words in the xvii th century.

1. Wan man, *Dryden*. care war, *Garth*. hard reward, *Parnell*. prepares Mars, *Granville*. marr'd spar'd, *Waller*. plac'd last, *Dryden*. haste last, *Waller*. made bad, *Dryden*. This is the common rhyme of a long and short vowel (ææ, æ).

2. Complaint elephant, *Prior*. faint pant, *Addison*. These differ only from *proclaim name* in having the second vowel (æ) short, instead of (ææ) long.

3. They sea, *Dryden*. defeat great, *Garth*. great heat, *Parnell*. neat great, *Parnell*. please ease images, *Wycherley*. praise ease, *Parnell*. train scene, *Parnell*. steal fail, *Parnell*. bears shears, *Garth*—are all practically perfect (ee, ee) or (ee, ææ). State treat, *Dryden*. errs cares, *Prior*. retreat gate, *Parnell*. place peace, *Parnell*. theme fame, *Parnell*. are wear, *Wycherley*—are only (ee, ææ) here share, *Garth*. years shares, *Garth*. hear air, *Milton*—may have been taken as (ee, ææ) and (ee, ee), instead of (ii, ææ) and (ii, ee).

4. Ear, murderer, *Dryden*. great debt, *Dryden*. express cease, *Dryden*. rest feast, *Dryden*. contemns streams, *Dryden*. dress'd feast, *Dryden*. express cease, *Dryden*. eat regret, *Prior*. digest feast, *Prior*. reveal tell, *Prior*. east, west, *Addison*. threats beats, *Creech*—are all cases of (ee, e) or long and short vowels rhyming. chin unclean, *Dryden*, uses (i) for (e). distress place, *Garth*, uses (ææ) for (ee). compelled field, *Dryden*. held field, *Garth*. well steel, *Dryden*. freed head, *Dryden*—have (ii, e) for (ee, e).

5. Dress'd fist, *Dryden*. flesh dish, *Dryden*. heaven given, *Prior*—are the usual (e, i).

6. See energy, *Roscommon*.

7. Defile spoil, *Dryden*. declin'd join'd, *Dryden*. decline disjoin, *Garth*. join design, *Butler*. vine join, *Cowley*—were perfect rhymes; and weight flight, *Dryden*, may be compared with height flight.

8. Doom Rome, *Butler*. throne gone, *Dryden*. load abroad, *Dryden*. food good, *Parnell*—were probably perfect rhymes, and : stood blood, *Butler*, *Dryden*, may have been so, but: floods gods, *Dryden*. along hung, *Dryden*—were anomalous, yet evidently not felt as very bad; to these belong: strow'd blood, *Dryden*. rode blood, *Dryden*. and: sow plough, *Dryden*. shew bough, *Dryden*. inclose brows, *Dryden*. flow'd vow'd, *Dryden*. plow low, *Philips*. stone down, *Waller*, were perhaps felt as (oo ouu) rather than (oo æu), and were therefore not far from (uu, æu) in: soon town, *Dryden*. you allow, *Blackmore*. now you, *Crashaw*. pow'r secure, *Garth*, so that they connect the former with: grout shut, *Dryden*. prond blood, *Garth*, or (æu, æ). The rhyme (oo, uu) or (oo, u) is found in: home Rome, *Butler*. looks provokes, *Dryden*. gone soon, *Dryden*. store poor, *Dryden*. throne moon, *Dryden*. look yoke, *Dryden*. spoke took, *Prior*. Rome home, *Rowe*. door poor, *Parnell*. shoals, fools, *Garth*.

9. No example.

10. In: rock smoke, *Dryden*, which was really (A, oo), the intention was (o, oo), and this led readily to tolerating (æ, oo) or (æ, u) in: home plum, *Dryden*. home comb gum, *Dryden*. come home, *Herriek*. struck oak, *Dryden*. grove love, *Garth*. moves loves *Waller*. come Rome, *Dryden*. come Rome, *Butler*. come Rome, *Garth*. shut foot, *Davenant*.

11. Heard bard, *Garth*, was perfect; but curd hoard, *Philips*. forth worth, *Dryden*. where clear, *Prior*. cord bird, *Dryden*—show the influence of r.

12. The following seem rather to be oversights than intentional anomalies: ground swoon, *Dryden*. unbought draught, *Dryden*. form man, *Dryden*. wish bliss, *Dryden*. views boughs, *Addison*. tree by, *Oldham*. I she, *Oldham*.

The character of the good parson has been selected as a specimen of the conjectured pronunciation of Dryden, because it can be compared directly with the original of Chaucer, Chapter VII, p. 704, both as to matter and sound, and Dryden's version scarcely differs from Chaucer's more in the first than in the second, if the results of the preceding investigation be adopted.

Æ Gad Pær'sn,

im·itææted fram TshAA·sær ænd enlær·dzhd.

Æ pær'ish priist wæz af dhe pîl·grîm treen;
 Æn AA·ful, rev'rend, ænd relîdzh·os mæn.
 Hîz ôiz dîfiuzd· æ ven·aræbl græes,
 Ænd tshær·iti itsêlf wæz in hîz fæes. 4
 Rîtsh wæz hîz sool, dhoo hîz ætêir wæz puur;
 (Æz Gad hæd klooldhd hîz oon æmbæs·ædêr;)
 Far sôts h an erth hîz blest Redii·môr boor.
 :Af sîks·ti jîirz hîi siimd; ænd wêl mait læst 8
 Tu sîks·ti mōor, bôt dhæt hîi livd tuu fæst;
 Refôind· hîmself tu sool, tu kôrb dhe sens,
 Ænd mææd AAlmoost· æ sîn af æb·stîmens.
 Jet hæd hîz æs·pêkt nêth·iq af sevêe·r, 12
 Bôt sôts h æ fæes æz pram·ist hîm sînsêe·r.
 Nêth·iq rezervd· ar sôlen wæz tu sîi,
 Bôt swiit regæardz· and pleez·iq sæqk·tîti:
 Moidl wæz hîz æk·sent, ænd hîz æk shên frii. 16
 Wîth êl·okwens înnæet hîz tēq wæz æærmð,
 Dhoo hærs h dhe preç·sept, jet dhe preç·tshôr tshæærmð.
 Far, let·iq doun dhe guuld·n tsheen fram hōi,
 Hîi driu hîz au·diens ôp·wôrd tuu dhe skōi: 20
 Ænd aft wîdh hoo·li hîmz hîi tshæærmð dheer iirz,
 (Æ miu·zik mōor meloo·diæs dhæn dhe sferz).
 Far Dææ·vid left hîm, when hîi went tu rest,
 Hîz lōir; ænd æft·ôr hîm, hîi sēq dhe best. 24
 Hîi boor hîz greet kômîsh·ôn in hîz lek,
 Bôt swiit·li tēm·pôrd AA, ænd saft·nd AAl hîi spook.
 Hîi preçtsht dhe dzhaiz af hev·n ænd pēenz af hêl,
 Ænd wærnd dhe sîn·ôr wîth bekôm·iq zeel; 28
 Bôt an eternæl mer·si lōvd tu dwel.
 Hîi tAAt dhe gas·pel rædh·ôr dhæn dhe lAA,
 Ænd fōorst hîmself tu drōiv·, bôt lōvd tu draa.
 Far fiir bôt friiz·ez mæindz; bôt lōv lōik heet, 32
 :Egzæælz· dhe sool sôbloim tu siik hōr nææ·tîv seet.

Tu threts dhe stôb·ørn sîn·ôr aft iz hæærd:
 Ræpt in hîz krōimz, ægeenst dhe starm prepæærd·;
 Bôt when dhe mōild·ôr beemz af mer·si pleē, 36
 Hîi melts, ænd throouz hîz kôm·bræs klook æwêe·.
 Lōit·nîq ænd thôn·dôr (hev·nz ærtîl·ôrêi).
 Æz hær·bîndzhôrz bîfōor dh· :AAlmōi·tî flōi:
 Dhooz bôt prōklēem· hîz stōil, and disæpiir·, 40
 Dhe stîl·ôr sôund sôksîidz·, ænd Gad iz dheer.

Dhe tōidhz hîz pær'ish frii·li pēed, hîi tuk,
 Bôt nev·er siud, ar kōrst wîth bēl ænd buk;
 Wîth pææ·shens beç·iq raq, bôt af·rîq nōon, 44
 Sîns ev·ri mæn iz frii tu luuz hîz ooun.

Dhe kən'tri tshərlz, ækər'diŋ tu dheer kəind,
 (Huu grədzh dheer dīnz, ænd ləv tu biɪ bīnəind;)
 Dhe lɛs miɪ sɑ:t nɪz əfrɪŋz, pɪnsht dhe moor,
 And prɛ:zɔd æ priɪst kəntən'tɛd tu bi puor. 48

Jɛt əf nɪz lɪ'tl miɪ hæd səm tu spæər,
 Tu fiɪd dhe fæm'ɪsh, ænd tu kləʊdli dhe bæər;
 Fər mɑ:tɪfəɪd miɪ wæz tu dɪæt dɪgrɪɪ,
 ɛ pʊərər dhæn mɪnsɛlf miɪ wud nɑt siɪ. 52
 Triu priɪsts (miɪ sɛ:ɪd), ænd prɛ:tshərəz əf dhe wɔ:rd,
 Wɛr ʊn'li stɪnərədz əf dheer sɔ:vən lɑ:d;
 Nəθ'ɪŋ wæz dheerz, bət aal dhe pəb'lik stoor,
 ɪntɹəstɛd rɪtshərəz tu rɛli:v dhe puor;
 Huu, shəd dheɪ stɛ:l, fər wɛnt əf nɪz rɛli:f,
 Hiɪ dʒhədʒhd mɪnsɛlf ækəm'plɪs wɪθ dhe θi:f. 56

Wəɪd wæz nɪz pær'ɪsh, nɑt kən'træktɛd kləʊs
 ɪn stri:ts, bət miɪr ænd dheer æ stræglɪŋ həʊs;
 Jɛt stɪl miɪ wæz æt hænd, wɪθəʊt rɛk'wɛst,
 Tə sɛrv dhe sɪk, tu sək'ər dhe dɪstɹɛst,
 Tɛmp'tɪŋ, ən fʊt, ələʊn, wɪθəʊt æfrəɪt,
 Dhe dæən'dʒhərəz əf æ dærk tɛmpɛ'stɪʊs nəɪt. 60 64

:Aal dhɪs dhe gʊd ɔ:ld mæn pɛfəʊrmd ələʊn,
 Nər spæərɪd nɪs pɛɛnz; fər ki:ɹæ:t hæd miɪ nɔ:n;
 Nər dɔ:st miɪ tɹɛst ænəðhərəz wɪθ nɪz kæər;
 Nər rɔ:ð mɪnsɛlf tu pʊ:lz, dhe pəb'lik fɛər,
 Tu tshæf'ər fər pɹɛfər'mɛnt wɪθ nɪz gu:ld,
 Wheer bɪsh'ɔ:pɹɪks and sɔɪ'nɪkiʊrz ær sɔ:ld;
 Bət di:ɹli wætsht nɪz flæk bəɪ nəɪt ænd dɛɛ,
 ɛnd frəm dhe pɹəʊ'lɪŋ wɔ:ld rɛdɪɪmd' dhe pɹɛɛ,
 ɛnd hɔŋ'grɪ sɛnt dhe wəɪ'li fæks æwɛɛ. 68
 Dhe pɹəʊd miɪ tæəmɪd, dhe pɛn'ɪtɛnt miɪ tshiɪrd,
 Nər tu rɛbi:kt dhe rɪtsh əfɛndər fiɪrd. 72 76
 Nɪz pɹɛ:tsh'ɪŋ mɔ:tsh, bət moor nɪz pɹækt'ɪs rɑ:t,
 (ɛ lɪv'ɪŋ sɛr mən əf dhe tɹi:θs miɪ tɑ:t:)
 Fər dhɪs bəɪ ri:ɹlz sɛvɛər nɪz ləɪf miɪ skɛwɛərɪd,
 Dhæt aal məɪt siɪ dhe dæk'trɪn whɪtsh dheɪ hæərɪd. 80
 Fər priɪsts, miɪ sɛ:ɪd, ær pæt'ɔ:nz fər dhe rɛst,
 (Dhe gu:ld əf hɛv'n, huu bɛər dhe Gɑd ɪmpɹɛst:)
 Bət wɛn dhe pɹɛsh'əs kəɪn ɪz kɛpt ɔ:nklɛn,
 Dhe sɔ:vɛɛnz ɪm'ɹɛdʒh ɪz nɔ: lɑŋ'gɔ:r siɪn. 84
 ɪf dheɪ biɪ fəʊl, ən hu:ɪm dhe pi:p'l tɹɔ:st,
 Wɛl mɛɛ dhe bæəs'ər bræs kən'trækt' æ rɔ:st.

Dhe pɹɛl'æ:t fər nɪz hɔ:li ləɪf miɪ pɹəɪzd;
 Dhe wɔ:li pɔmp əv pɹɛl'æsi dɛspəɪzd.
 Nɪz Sæ:vɪər kæəm nɑt wɪθ æ gɑ:di shoo,
 Nər wæz nɪz kɪŋ'dəm əf dhe wɔ:ld biləʊ. 88

Pææ'shens in wænt, ænd pavv'rti af mæind,
 Dheez mæarks af tshørtsh ænd tshørtsh'men nii desøind·, 92
 Ænd liv'iq taat, ænd dæi'iq left biihøind·.
 Dhe krøun nii woor wæz af dhe point'ed tharn;
 In pør'pl nii wæz krius'sfoid, nat barn.
 Dhee nuu kantend· far plææs ænd hoi digrii·,
 Æear nat niz sænz, bæt dhoos af Zeb'edii. 96
 Nat bæt nii niu dhe sæinz af erth'li pøur
 Møit wel biikøm· seent Piit'ørz sæk'sesør·:
 Dhe hoo'li fæærdhør hoooldz æ dæb'l reën:
 Dhe prins mee kiip niz pømp—dhe fish'ør mæst biï pleen. 100

 Sætsh wæz dhe seent, nuu shoön with ev'ri grææs,
 Reflekt'iq, Moo'zez-løik, niz Mææ'kørz fææs.
 Gad sAA niz in'ædzh løy'li wæz ekspræst·,
 Ænd nis øoun wørk, æz in krææ'shøun blest. 104

It has not been considered necessary to add the original, as the orthography of the first edition was not readily accessible, and other editions are easily consulted.

As contrasted with the Shaksperian examples pp. 986–996, observe, the change of (a, aa) into (æ, ææ), the separation of (o, oo) into (A, øø), the entire absence of (yy) and of the guttural (kh), the complete change of (ei) into (øi), and (ou) into (øu), with the absence of (ai, au), or rather their absorption into (EE, AA).

As contrasted with our modern pronunciation, observe the existence of (ææ), still heard in Bath and Ireland, in place of (ee, ee'), the existence of words like (heet seet) v. 32, still heard in Ireland and the provinces, in place of (hiit siit), and similarly (seveer sinseer) v. 12, *these* (dheez), the broad (EE) which has quite given way to (ee, ee') except before (A), where it does not usually exceed (ee), the pure (iir, oor, uur) in place of our modern (iia, ooa, uua). The use of (A) in place of (ø) is probably more theoretical than real; indeed many orthoepists still regard (ø, A) as identical. The clear (æ) after (w), as in (wær), not (war), is noticeable, together with a few special words, as: *of* (af) still used by elderly speakers, *last fast* (læst fæst) still often used by refined speakers in the north, *golden* (guuld'n) still heard from elderly speakers, *artillery* (ærti'l:ørøi) now hardly ever used in educated speech, *true* (triin), *truth* (triinth), *rule* (riul) not unfrequent, at least in intention, provincially, *sovereign* (søvræn) an obsolescent but not quite obsolete pronunciation. *Paul's* (Poolz) is quite lost, and so is *worldly* (wør'li), at least in intention. Of course many peculiarities, as pointed out in the vocabulary, do not occur in this example, such as *-ture* (-tør). The transitional character of the pronunciation is very transparent.

CHAPTER X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *Some English Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

The pronunciation of the XVIIIth century is peculiarly interesting as forming the transition to that now in use, and as being the "old-fashioned" habit of speech which we may still hear occasionally from octogenarians. Those who, like the author, can recollect how very old people spoke forty or fifty years ago, will still better understand the indications, unhappily rather indistinct, which are furnished by the numerous orthoepists of the latter half of the XVIIIth century. In the present section some of those which had not been consulted in Chap. III. will be noticed, and a specimen of Buchanan's pronunciation will be given. In the next, two American orthoepists will be considered. These are especially interesting, because the pronunciation preserved in New England is older than that of the mother-country.

To Mr. Payne I am indebted for an acquaintance with Lediard's Grammar, which devotes 270 pages to a consideration of English pronunciation and orthography in 1725. As the author had studied Wallis's treatise, and explains the pronunciation by German letters, it seems advisable to give rather a full account of his conclusions.

T. LEDIARD'S ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, 1725.

From: *Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englischen Sprache, in welcher . . . eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kurtzer Zeit zu erlangen, anzeigt . . . wird . . . durch Thomas Lediard, N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725, 8vo. pp. 976, and 82 unnumbered introductory pages of dedication, preface, contents and laudatory German verses!*

In the preface he complains of Theod. Arnold, who, in his *Neue Engl. Grammatica*, Hanover, 1718, endeavours to distinguish the (to Lediard) identical vowel sounds in: *fear dear, heap cheap, meal deal, food root, mould shoulder*; while he confuses as identities the (to Lediard) distinct vowels in: *year pear, door blood, porter border, rash watch, dead heart, seize their,*

feign height, few new, fewel brewer, winter pint, mother modest, Rome come, good root, foot tooth, round mourn, could mould, youth young, fume tune, burn pull, pulse bull, due spue.

Lediard remarks that "the English pronounce more in the front of the mouth and softer, than the Germans, who rather use the back part of the mouth, while the French are intermediate. In rapidity the French are fastest, Germans slowest, and English intermediate." The following citations are abridgments, except when the words are between inverted commas, in which case they are full translations; the palaeotype and passages in [] are interpretations or interpolations.

A

I. 1. Long *a* like German *äh* or French *ai* in *mais*; [that is, (æ), in-

tended for (ææ), because he uses *ä* without the prolonging *h*, for a short in *glad*, *had*, yet this (ææ) is suspicious because of Wallis,] as *name* nähm, *shade* schähd, *face* fähs, etc. When unaccented, as short *ä* or *e*, [that is, (æ, e)], as *private* preivät, *courage* kurrädsch (kø-redzh), *desolate* dessolät. 2. *many* mähi, to *quadrate* quähdrähte [the *e* is not meant to be sounded], *Mary* Mähri, except *water* wahter, [ah should be (aa), but is meant for (AA). Observe *many* (mææ-ni). Only the principal examples are given.] 3. *huzzu* hössüh (hö-seæ). 4. *plague* plähgh. 5. In *-ange*, as *change* tschähndsch, *range* rähdndsch, *angel* ändschel. In *angelical*, *orange* only as short *ä* (æ). 6. In *-aste* = ähst (ææst), as *chaste* paste, *haste*, *waste*.

II. Like German *a*, or rather more lengthened almost like German *ah*, [meant for (AA)], 1. in *-all* = -ahl (-AAI), as *all*, *call*, *vall*, *small*. But *Mall* in the *mail* game, and *shall* have short *ä* (æ). 2. in derivatives as *already*, *walnut* wahlnot; but *challenge*, *tschällendsch*, *tallow*, *tällo*, *gallows* gällus [possibly (græ-lus) and not (græ-lus), but observe *not* (gar-looz), and see OW below], *callos* källus. 3. in *bald* bahld, *scalded* skahlded. 4. in *walk* wahlk, *talk* tahlk, *chalk* tschahlk, but in these and similar words *l* is not heard in "rapid" pronunciation. 5. in *false*, *balsom*, *palsy*. 6. in *malt*, *salt*, *halt*, *exalt*, but *shalt* schält. 7. in *-war* in one syllable, as *war*, *warm*, *toward* tuwährd (tuwAArd), *reward*, *waru*, *dwarf*; but in *warren*, *warrant* with a (A) short. 8. in *quart*, *quarter*.

III. These two principal sounds of *A* are long, and each has its short sound, as short *äh* and short *a* in German, thus: as short *ä* (æ) in *can*, *man*, *rash*, but as long *a* (AA) in *watch*, *was*, *wash* [meant for short (A), see V. below]. "The short *ä* (æ) really approaches short *a*, and has as it were a middle sound between *ä* and *a*, [that is, (æ), lies between (E) and (a),] and the difference is therefore best heard *ex usu* or from a native Englishman."

IV. Short *a* as a short *ä* (æ). 1. In monosyllables, as *glad*, *had*, *man*, *rash*, *hard* härd, *march* märtsb, *branch* bräntsch, *dance* dāns [i.e. these words have short (æ), and this generally before *r*, *n*]. 2. in derivatives German *Dschermān*, *gentleman* dschentelmān; *barley* bārli, *partridge* pātridsch,

chamber tschämber, [compare Moore's rhyme: *amber chamber*, *suprà* p. 859], 3. in *-arge*, *-chance*. 4. in *-al*, as *general* dscheneräl, *altar* altär. 5. in *a-*, as *again* ägän (ægæn) *abroad* äbrahd (æbraAd).

V. Short *a* is sometimes pronounced as German *a*, [properly (a), meant for (A) or (ö)]. 1. After *qu*, as *qualify* qualifei, *quality* qualiti, [here (kææ) was certainly also in use, see vocabulary] *qualm* qualm, *quantity*, *quarrel*, *squabble*, *squander*. 2. after *w*, as *wad*, *wallow*, *wan*, *wand*, *wander*, *want*, *was*, *wash*, *watch*, *swab*, *swaddle*, *swallow*, *swan*. Except, *quack*, *quadrate*, *quay*, *quandary**, *quash**, *squash**, *waft**, *wag*, *waggon*, *war*, which belong to IV., [that is have (æ); observe * words.]

E

I. Alphabetic name *ih* (ii) has the sound of long German *i*, and is then called *e* masculine. 1. in *-e*, as *be*, *he*, *me*, *she*, *we*, *ye* jih, except only *the*, which has short *e* (e), not to distinguish it from *thee*, but because it is always atonic. 2. in *e-* as *Ere*, *even*, *evil* ihvil, *Eden*, *Egypt*, *equal* ihqual. 3. before a following vowel, as *idea* eidihä, *Chaldeans*, *Deity*, *Mausoleum* mosolihum [probably (moosoliiröm)]. 4. ending a syllable, as in *Peter* Pihter, etc. 5. in the following monosyllables *here* hier, *Mede* Mihd, *Crete* Kriht [compare Jones, 1701, *suprà* p. 85], *a mere*, *to mete*, *re-admiral*, *scene* sihn, *scheme* skihm, *sphere*, *these* dhihs [pronoun]. "To these should be added *there*, *were*, *where*, which by bad habit are called dhähr, währ, hwähr." [Lediard was therefore of the school of the Expert Orthographist, *suprà* p. 88.] 6. in *adhere*, *austere* astihr, *blaspheme*, *cohere*, *complete*, *concede*, *concrete*, *convene*, *extreme*, *impede*, *intercede*, *interfere*, *Nicene*, *obscene* absihn, *proceed*, *recede*, *replete*, *revere*, *severe*, *sincere*, *supersede*, *supreme*. Except *extremity*, *severity*, *supremacy*, *spherical*, *discretion*, etc., which have German *e* (e).

II. *E* masculine is pronounced short as German *i* [probably (i), in Hamburg and North Germany (i) for (i) is common in closed syllables]. 1. in *em-*, as *embark* imbarck, *encourage* inkurredsch, *English* Inglish, *enjoy* indschai, *ensue* insu. Except *embers*, *emblem*, *embryo*, *emperor*, *emphasis*, *empire*, *empirical*, *encomiast*, *enmity*, *ennoble*, *enter*, *enthusiasm*, *entity*, *entrails*, *envoy*, *envy* and derivatives. 2.

Ending a first syllable, as *elect* ilect. Also in *yes*, *yesterday*, *devil*, *Scivil* [observe this (*jēs*, *dēvil*, *Sīvil*), but (*jēs*) occurs below]. 3. in -e when heard. 4. in the middle of polysyllables, "where it is read quite short, or is almost quite bitten off," as *atheist* althiist, *countess* kortius, *every* eviri, *piety* peiti, *righteous* reitiis, *sovereign* sovrain.

III. E feminine, like the French, only before *r*, where it has "an obscure sound almost like German *ö* (*o*), or a very short obscure *e* as in *her*, *virtue*," etc.

IV. E neuter as German *e* [I interpret by (e), but really (ɛ) is common in Germany, as however Lediard uses *ä* confesssly (ɛ) for (e), I think it best to sink (ɛ) altogether and use (e, e) in the interpretations], as in *and*, etc. 1. in -en very short, bitten off, and little heard, as *open* op'n, *often* oft'n [observe the *t*]. 2. Short or elided in -ed.

V. [About *e* mute, -le, -re, genitive -es, etc.]

I

I. Long *i* as German *ei* [(ai), as many in England still pronounce, but we are not to suppose that Lediard would have distinguished (ai, ai, ahi, ai). The examples agree with present usage, except that *live-long* has *i* short in Lediard, and sometimes *i* long now]. "*Firepeace* is commonly but wrongly called *tuppens*" (tɪpɪns?). In *child*, *mild*, *wild*, *find*, *bind*, *behind*, *kind*, *grind*, *blind* blind. But *build* bild, *guilt* gild, *windlass* windlæss, *Windsor*, *rescind*. Use *i* when *ld*, *nd* belong to two syllables. Some call *the wind* wind, others *weind*. 4. before *gh* which is then mute. "The Scots, and some Northerners retain the guttural sound of *gh*, but this is considered a fault and should not be imitated. In *sigh*, *g* is by some pronounced in the throat, but with a sound not unlike English *th*" [supra p. 213, note]. *Diamond* deymond [in two syllables]. 9. *Fire* feir, etc., but *shire* schihr, *cashire* laschihr, *frontire* frantihir [that is *cashire* (kashii'r), *frontier* (frantii'r)]. 10. *Christ* Kreist, *climb* kleim, *indictment* inditment, *paint* peint, *teeth* teith, *writh* reith [now (widh, raidh)].

II. [Short *i* generally possesses no interest. Notice] long *ih* (ii) in *Friee* [explained as German *boy*, a kind of baize], *gentile* or *gentiel*, *oblige* some

say *obleidsch* according to rule, *pique*, *shire*, *fatigue* fatiegg, *intrigue* intriegg.

III. A middle sound between French *e* feminine and German *ö*, before *r* only, as in *bird*, etc. In *sirrah*, *i* is almost pronounced as short *ä* (sier æ), in *hither*, *thither*, *arithmetie*, *mithridate*, the *i* before *th* is almost short *e*. The *i* is quite "swallowed" in *business* bissness, *chariot* tsherrot (tsher-ət), *carriage* kærredsch, *marriage*, *medicine* medsin, *parliament*, *ordinary* ahrdinärri, *spaniel* spännel, *venison* vensén.

O

I. As a "long German *o* or *oh*, a Greek *ω*, or the French *au*" [probably (oo), possibly (oo), certainly not (oou)]. 1. [The usual rule], as *alone* alohn, etc. Exc. *above*, *dove*, *glove*, *love*, *shove*, with "a short *u*, but somewhat obscure, almost as a middle sound between short *o* and short *u*" [that is, (ə, a) as between (o, u)]. Also except in *atome*, *come*, *custome*, *done*, *none*, [not (noon) but (nan)], *shone* (shon), *some*. Except when *o* sounds as long German *u* or *uh* (uu) in *behove*, *more*, *remove*, *prove*, *approve*, *disprove*, *improve*, *reprove*, *lose*, *done*, *Rome*, *whose*; and as *a* in *gone* gan (gan). 5. In -*dome*, -*some* as (ə). 3. Use *o* in *o*, *bo*, *fro*, *go*, *ago*, *ho*, *lo*, *mo*, *no*, *pro*, *so*, *to*, *unto*, *tho'* *altho'*; "the words *to*, *unto* seem to belong to the other rule [II. 2]; but as the majority bring them under this rule, I content myself with noting the difference" [this sound of *to* as (tə) or (tə) should be noted, it is not uncommon still in America]. Except, *to do*, *two*, *who* with long *u* (uu); *twopence* is tuppens (tɪpɪns). Use *o* long [and not the diphthong (ou, au)] in *old*, *bold*, etc., and *o* long, not short, [that is (oo) not (a, ə) or (aa)] in *ford*, *hord*, *sword*, *divorec*, *forec*, *porch*, *forge*, *pork*, *form* a bench, *forlorn*, *shorn*, *sworn*, *torn*, *worn*, *forth*, *fort*, *port*, *deport*, *effort**, *export*, *import**, *purport**, *support**, *transport**, *sport*, except when the * words are accented, as by some, on the first syllable.

II. Short *o* like short German *o* [properly (o), or (ø), not (a) or (ə)], and Lediard clearly means to distinguish the sounds]. 1. at the end of an unaccented syllable, as *absolute* äbsoluht, 2. in *o*-, as *obey* obäh, etc. 3. "In the beginning and middle of the following words, although they have the short accent, and must hence be

excepted from rule III.; *obit, ocean, omen, once, onion, oral, other, toward, towards, associate.*" [That is, these words have (o) or (ə) short, not long, (oo), nor (ə), as some have now, and not (A, ə), as in the next rule.]

III. Short *o* is pronounced as "a short quick German *a*, not as M. Ludwig thinks from the palate, but from the throat, like German *a*, but short and quick" [properly (*a*), meant for (A) or (ə)]. 1. *on an, or aches, etc.*, except *amber, ombage* and *only*. 2. in *com-, con-, contra-, cor-, non-*, except when *com-* is followed by *b* or *f*, as in *combat*, combine*, confit, comfort, etc.*, and also in *compact*, compuny, compass, compassion*, compatible*, compendious*, compile*, complexion*, comply*, compleat*, compliance**, etc., in which *o* is an obscure *u* (ə) [the * words have now (ə)]. In other words short *a* is used, as *competent kampetent, complement, comprehend, etc.* *Conduit kundit* (kəndit). 2. [Rules for *o* before two consonants as (A, ə)] except the following when *o* is a short *u* (ə), *borough, brother, chronicle*, colony*, colour, columbine*, cony, coral*, covenant, covet, dozen, florin*, govern, honey, mony, mother, plover, slove, smother*, [the * words have now (ə)] *woman* "in which *o* is not so obscurely uttered as in the others," except *women* *wimmen*. 5. [Much is passed over as of no interest, hence the numbers of the rules, which are those of the original for convenience of reference, are not always consecutive.] The short *u* (ə) is also heard in *affront, among, amongst, attorney, Monday, monger, mongrel, monkey, pommel* [as now].

IV. English *o* is pronounced as a short obscure *u* (ə). 1. in *-dow, -som*, 2. see exceptions to I. 1. 3. after *w*, as *wolf* [this and *woman* seem to belong to the same category, but *wood* is further on said to have short *u*, so that short *u* (*u*) and short obscure *u* (ə) are sometimes confused by Lediard], *won, wonder, word, etc.*, except *wore wolv, won't wohnt, worn wohrn, wont want* [often (want)], *wot wat, womb wuhm*. 6. Rather short and obscure in the last syllables of *almond, bishop, buttock, etc.* 7. In *front* [some say (front) even now], *monk, month, son, sponge, gouge* [?], *yolk* [jolk] [?].

V. English *o* is a long *u* or *uh* (uu), 3, in *toub, womb, whom*, and words otherwise excepted.

VI. "Finally English *o* is pronounced like German *e*, but very short, obscure and almost bitten off." 1. in *-on, including -ion, -or, -ot*, as *bacon bähken or bähk'n, button butt'n, lesson less'n, anchor ank'r, senator senat'r, faggot fagg't*. 2. in the terminations *-dron, -fron, -pron, -tron*, in which *ro* is pronounced as *er*, but rather quick and obscure, as *chaldron tshälern* [(tshæ'dərn)?], *saffron saffern* [(sə'fərn)?] *apron äpərn, citron* sittern, patron* pätern* [no longer usual in the * words]. The *o* is almost mute in *damsel dämsel, fullconer fahkner, ordonnance ordnäs, poisonous, prisoner, reasoning, reckoning, rhetorick, seasonable*; and *one, once*, are *wun, wuns* (wən, wouns).

U

Rule (a.) Long *U* is pronounced *iu* (iü) after *b, c, f, g, h, j, m, p, s*, but *su* may sometimes be *suh*.

Rule (b.) Long *U* is a long German *u* or *uh* (uu) after *d, t, n, r, l*. In *gradual, valuable, annual, mutual, u* may be either *iu* or *uh*.

I. Long English *u* is pronounced as *iu, u, or uh*, more or less rapidly according to accent. 1. according to rule (a.) as *iu* in *abuse abjuhs, huge himdsch, June Dschuhn*, as *uh* in *seduce seduhs, exclude, minute minuhit, rude, Brute, conclude, obtrude*. 2. as *iu* or rather *juh* (juu) in the beginning of words, as *union juhuion*. 3. except *ducat, punish, punice, study, tuly* [?], short and like obscure *o* (ə), in *busy bissi, bury herri*.

II. English short *u* has an obscure sound between German *u* short, and *o* short (ə) [in the usual places, I only mark a few]. 2. in *bulk, bumast*; except where it is a German short *u* (*u*), as in *bull, buildace, bullet, bullion, bullock, bully, bulrush, bulwark, bush, bushel, butcher, cushion, full, fullage, fuller, fully, pudding, pull, pullet, pully* [all as now]. 3. in *-uin, -us*.

III. English short *u* is very short, obscure, and almost like an obscure *e*, in *-ule, -ure*, as *glandule, globule, macule*, pustule, schedule, spatule, verule*; *adventure, manufacture, ensure, conjecture, conjure** magically, *disposure, failure, future, grandure, inclosure, manufacture, nature, p'p'ure*, posture, rapture, s'cripture, sculpture, tincture, torture, venture, verdure, vesture*, etc. [all now with (iu) except the * words occasionally]. Except *rule** and the following in *-ure*, which follow rule

(a.), *abjure, adjure, allure, assure, azure, conjure entreat, cure, demure, dure, endure, epicure, impure, insure, inure, lure, mature, obscure, procure, pure, secure, sure** [all now with (iu) except the * words (ruul, shuu)].

[After thus going through the vowels by the spelling, he proceeds to describe their formation; but as he has scarcely done more than translate Wallis, apparently ignorant that Wallis's pronunciation was a century older, I feel it useless to cite more than the following remark in an abbreviated form.] "According to Mr. Brightland and others, the English express the sound of French *u* by their long *u*, and sometimes by *eu* and *ew*. I cannot agree with this opinion, for although the English perhaps do not give the full sound of German *u* to their long *u* after *d, l, n, r, t*, yet their sound certainly approaches to this more closely than to the French *u*, which has induced me to give the German *u* as its sound, contrary to the opinion of some writers. After other consonants English long *u* is *iu*, and has nothing in common with French *u*."

Digraphs.

Æ, as *ih* or *ie* (ii) in: *æra ihra, Cærus, Cæsar ssilsär, perincæum*, etc.; as *e* (e) in *æquinox, equinox, æstival, æcily, calibate, quæstor, præmnire*, etc.; as *i* short, when unaccented, in *æquator, æquilibrium, æquinoxial, ænigmatical*.

AI, "as *äh* or English long *a*, with a little aftersound of a short *i*" [is this from Wallis, *suprà* p. 124? it is very suspicious]. 1. in *aid ähd, ail, aim, air*, etc. 2. in *affair affähr, bail, complain*, etc. Except as *e* (e) in *again, against, wainscot wennskät*; as short *ä* (æ) in *railly rälli, raillery räleri*; as long *e* (ee) in *raisins rehins*, and as *ie* (ii) in *chair tshier* (tshir). As a short *e* or *i* or a sound between them in the middle or end of words, especially in *-ain*, as *complaisance kamplisäns* (komplisäns), *curtail körtil* (körtil), *captain kaptin, chamberlain tshämberlin* (tshämberlin), *fountain, mountain, plantain, purslain, villain*, etc. *Afraid* is erroneously called *äferd* (æfiird).

AU. I. like *äh* (ää) in *audience, vault*, etc.; like *äh* [(æe), marked long] in *aud ähnt, daughter* [ʔ], *daunt dähnt, draught drähft, flaunt, haunt, jaunt, laugh, santer, taunt, vaunt*; like short

a (A, o) in *faucet fasset, sausage sas-sidsch* (sɔːsidzh). Some call *St. Paul's Church* Pohls Tschortsch, but it is a pure corruption of pronunciation among the vulgar [but see *suprà* p. 266]. II. unaccented, like short German *a*, as *causality kasälliti*.

AW as AU, but *Lawrence* is Larrens.

AY as AI, in *Sunday, Monday*, etc., the *ay* is very short, almost like a short *e* or *i*, as also in *holy-day hallide* (hoːlide.)

EA. I. The commonest pronunciation of *ea* is that of German *ih* or *ie* (ii), when long and accented, als *appeal, appease, bead, bequath, cheap, conceal, dear, decease, eat, entreat, feast, fever, grease, hear, heave, impeach, leaf, league, mead, measels, near, pea, peace, quazi-ness, reap, reason, sea, season, teach, treason, veal, veal, weak, weapon*, yea*, year, zeal*, etc. [see *suprà* p. 88, observe the * words.] "Most grammars err greatly in the pronunciation of this diphthong, but rather where this first rule applies, than where, in the opinion of some, *ea* should be pronounced *eh* (ee). Perhaps, as Mr. Brightland observes, this, with an aftersound of English *a*, was the old natural pronunciation. I know also that at the present day *ea* is so pronounced in the north of England. For the usual pure pronunciation of English, however, it is a *ritium*. . . How Herr König, . . . who had been established for many years as a teacher of languages in London, could have missed it, I cannot understand." Except in *bear, beard*, break, earl*, early*, great, pear, steak, swear, wear*, which are pronounced with long *e* (ee). [Observe the * words.] II. Short, or unaccented, like short German *e* (e), as, *already, bread, cleanse, dead, endeavour, feather, head, lead, leather, limeage* [ʔ], *meadow, pleasure, potsherd, realm, sergeant, steady, treat, treasure, wealth, weather*. III. But if short *ea* is followed by *r*, it is called *ä* (æ), as *earn* ärn*, wrongly pronounced *jern* (jörn) by some, *earnest*, earth*, hearken, heart, hearth, learn*, pearl**, etc. [Observe the * words.]

EAC. is *juk* (jua) in *beauty biuhti*, etc., but *beau* is *boh* (bo).

EE, generally long, as *ih, ie* (ii), as in *bleed blidh*, etc.; short or unaccented as short *i* (i) in *been* bin, creek* krick, breach, serech* owl skritsch-aul, sick*, three-pence, coffee, committee*, conge*, eleemosinary, florice, levee*, pedigree*,*

*Pharisee**, *raree-show*, *Saducee**; [Observe the * words, here and in future.]

EI, 1. as *ih* or *ie* (ii) in *conceit*, *conceive*, *deceit*, *deceive*, *inveigle** invihgel, *leisure**, *perceive*, *recede*, *receive*, *seize* [observe * words]; 2. as *eh* (ec), or as some say *üh* (æe) in *deign*, *eight*, *feign*, *freight*, *heinous*, *heir*, *inveigh*, *neigh*, *neighbour*, *reign*, *rein*, *streight* *straight* *strait*, *their*, *vein*, *weigh*, *weight*. 3. as *ei* (ai) in *eilet-hole*, *height*, *sleight* *slight*. 4. as short *e* (e) in *either*, *edher*, *neither* *nedher*, *foreign* *farren*, *heifer*. 5. as short *i* (i) in *counterfeit*, *forfeit*, *surfeit*, *seignior*.

EO (e) in *Goffrey* *Dscheffri*, *jeopardy*, *leopard*, (ii) in *people*, (AA) in *George* *Dschahrdsch*; *yeoman* *jemman* or *jie-man* (je-man, jii-man).

EU, EW, as long U, namely (iu) or (uu) according to preceding consonant, but in *chew**, *sew*, *shew*, *sewer*, by some as *oh* (oo).

EY, accented as (ee) in *convey*, *grey*, *obey*, *prey*, *purvey*, *survey*, *they*, *wey*; as (ai) in *eylet-hole*, *hey-day**; and as (ii) in *key*; unaccented as (i) in *abbey* *abbi*, etc.

EYE, as (ai) in *eye*.

IE. I. as (ai) in *erie*, *die*, *drie*, *fie*, *flie*, *lie*, *pie*, *tie*, *trie*, *vie*, etc.; *eries*, etc.; II. as (ii) in *aggrieve*, *achieve*, *believe*, *believe*, *chief*, *cieling*, *field*, *grief*, *grieve*, *liege*, *mischievous* (mîstshî-vôs), *piece*, *relieve*, *shrick*, *thief*, *thiere*, *wieldy*, *yield*, longer in the verbs in *-ieve*, than in the substantives in *-ief*. As short (i) in *mischiev*, *orgies*, *friend**. *Handkerchief* *hänkerteher*. III. as short (i) in *armie*, *bodie*, etc., better written with *-y*.

IEU, only in foreign words, as (iu) in *lieu*, *adieu*, as (ii) in *monsieur**, and as (if) in *lieutenant**.

IEW also as (iu), as in *view* *viuh*.

OA as (oo) in *abroach*, etc.; as AA in *broad*, *abroad*, *groat* *grah*; as (æe) in *goal*, *goaler*, which [according to Lediard, p. 94, n. 55] is the right spelling, not *goal*; as (A) short, in *oatmeal** *attmihl*, and as *e* (æ) in *cupboard* *cobbert*.

OE, initial as (ii), as *economy*; final as (oo), as *crow* [a crow-bar], *due*, *foe*, *roe*, *shoe*, *toe*, *woe*; as (uu) in *canoe*, to *coe* [to coo], *shoe*, to *woe* [to woo].

OI, OY, "are pronounced as *ay* [possibly (a+ai), meaning (Ai)] in one sound," as *avoid*, *boisterous*, *choive*, *cloister*, *exploit*, *moist*, *noise*, *oister*, *poise*, *rejoice*, *soil*; *boy* *bacy*, *coy*, *destroy*, *employ*, *hoboy* [hautbois], *joy*, *toy*, *Troy*,

etc. Except as *ei* (ai) in *anoint* *an-ineint*, *appoint* *äppoint*, *boil* *beil*, *broil* *breil*, *coil* *keil*, *coin* by some *kuein* (kuein), *embroil*, *foil*, *hoist*, *join*, *joint*, *joine*, *jointure*, *joist*, *loin*, *loiter*, *point*, *poison*, *rejoinder*, *spoil*, *toilet* by some *tueilet* (twai-let).

OO never at end of a word except *too*; long as (nu) in *aloof*, *galoon*, *patatoon*, etc.; as (oo) in *door*, *floor*, *moor*, *mohr*; short as (u) in *book*, *brook*, *foot*, *forsooth*, *good*, etc. [as now]; as short *o* (æ) in *blood*, *flood* sometimes written *bloud*, *floud*. *Swoon* *ssau* [(saun), or (swaun)? which is common now] and its derivatives.

OU. I. long and accented as German *au* (au), in *about*, *doughty*, *drught**, *plough*, *a wound**, etc. Except as *o* or *oh* (oo) in *although*, *boulster*, *boult*, *controul*, *course*, *court*, *courtier*, *discourse*, *dough*, *four*, *fourth*, *joul**, *joult*, *mould*, *mouldy*, *mourn*, *moult*, *moult*, *poultice*, *poultry*, *to pour*, *recourse*, *shoulder*, *slough** a bog, for *slow*, not quick, has a *w*, *soul*, *souldier*, *though*; and as long *a* or *ah* (AA) in *fourty*, *fourtieth*, *cough*, *trough*, *bought*, *brought*, *nought*, *ought*, *sought*, *thought*, *wrought*; and as long *u* or *uh* (uu) in *to accoutre*, *bouge**, *cartouch*, *could*, *gouge*, *groupe*, *rendevous*, *should*, *surtout*, *through*, *would*, *you*, *your*, *youth*. It is now customary to write *con'd*, *shou'd*, *wou'd* and pronounce as *good*, *shood*, and *wood* with the short accent. *Comp*, *scoop*, *soop*, *troup* are now written with *oo*. II. as an obscure *u* or middletone between *o* and *u* (æ), 1. in *adjourn*, *bloud* *blood*, *country*, *couple*, *courage*, *double*, *enough*, *floud* *flood*, *flourish*, *journy*, *nourish*, *rough*, *scourge*, *touch*, *tough*, *trouble*, *young*. 2. In *-our*, *-ous* as *armour*, *behaviour* *behähviur*, *courteous* *kurtius*, *dubious* *dubbius*, etc.; except *deavour* *divaur*, *hour* *aur*, *flour* *flaur*, *our* *aur*, and *disflour* *diflohr*, *four* *fohr*, *pour* *pohr*. 3. In *-mouth* as in *Dartmouth*, etc. In *borough*, *concourse* as short *o*.

OW. I. as *au* (au) in *adrow*, *bow* *bend*, *rowel*, etc. [as now]. except as (oo) in *bow* *arcus*, *bowel* a cup, *jowl*, *shower* [one who shews? meaning not given, and others as now]. II. as short (æ) in *arrow*, *gallows* [written (gæ-lôs), under A. II. 2, the rest as now]. *Knowledge* *hualledsch*, *acknowledge* *ackhualledsch*.

OWE, now generally *ow*.

UE at end of words, as long U.

UI as (iu) in *cuirass* *kuibrass*, *juice*,

pursuit, *suit* siuht, *suitor* siutor, etc., "although these last three may be just as correctly pronounced *pursuht*, *suht*, *suhtor*," [that is (suu) as well as (siu)]; as (uu) in *bruise*, *bruht* bruht, *cruise*, *fruit*, *recruit* rekruht; as short (i) in *build* bild, *circuit* sörkit, *conduit* kundit, *verjuice* verdshis.

UOY is pronounced by some *aeý* (ai) and by others incorrectly *ey* (ai), only found in *buoy*.

UY as (ai) in *buy*, etc.

YE, used to be written for *ie* in *dye*, *lye*, etc.

Consonants.

[Of the consonants it is not necessary to give so full an account, but a few words may be noted.]

C. *Verdict* verdit, *indict* indeit, *vietuals* vittels. *Ancient* änschi-ent, *species* spieschi-es, *ocean* osche-an. *Vicious* visschi-us, *physician* phisisschi-en, *sufficient* sutfisschi-ent, *precious* presschi-us, but *society* sosseietie. *Scene* ssien, *scepter* ssepter, but *skeleton* sskeleton, *sceptick* sskeptick. *Drachm* dräm, *yacht* jät (jæct). *Schism* ssissm.

D. *Almond* amon, *handsome* hänsüm, *friendship* frennschíp, *ribbon* ribbän, *worldly* [worldly?] worlli, *hand-maid* hánmahd, *Wednesday* Wensdäh. *Come* and see kum än sih, *go* and *feteh* goh än fetsch, *stay* and try stäh än trey, etc.

F. In *housewife*, *sherrif*, *f* is soft like *v*, and in *of* the *f* is omitted, and *o* is pronounced as a very rapid *a* (A). *Gemini* dschemini.

G=(g) in *gibbous*, *heterogeneous*, *homogeneous*. GH initial (g), final, or followed by *t* is not pronounced, except in *enough*, *chough*, *enough*, *rough*, *tough*, *trough*, *draught*, where it is ff (f), and *sigh**, *drought**, *hright**, where it is th. *Apothegm* äppothem, *phlegm** flihm (fliim). Initial *g* before *n* sounds as an aspiration or *h*, not like a hard *g*, as *gnash** hnäsch not gnäsch, *gnat** hnät not gnät, *gnaw** hnah not gnah, *gnomon*, *gnostick*. See under K. *G* is hard (g) in *impugn*, *oppugn*, *repugn*. In *baguio*, *seignior*, *gu* retains the sound of Spanish *ñ*, Italian *gn* (nj).

H is not pronounced in *hair*, *honest*, *honour*, *hospital*, *hostler*, *hostile*, *hour*, *humble*, *humour*, *Humphrey* and derivatives, but is pronounced by some in *hereditary*; *herb* is called *erb* by some, and *hyerb* in one sound, (yhärb?) by others. H is also not pronounced in *John*, *Ah*, *Shiloh*, *Sirrah*, etc.

K before *n* at the beginning of a

word is only aspirated, and spoken as an *h*; as *knack* hnäck, *knave* hnäve, *knife* hneif, *knee* hnie, *knot*, *know*, *knuckle*, etc. "M. Ludwick says that *k* before *n* is called *t*; Arnold and others declare that it is pronounced *d*. But any one experienced in English pronunciation must own, that only a pure gentle aspiration is observable, and by no means so hard and unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing *d* or *t* to *n*." Did he mean (nhni) for *knee*? Compare Cooper, *supra* p. 208 and p. 544, n. 2.

L is not pronounced in *colf*, *half*, *balk*, *talk*, *walk*, *folk*, *balm*, *calm*, *calve*, *to halve*, etc., *almond*, *chaldron*, *falcon*, *falconer*, *falcon**, *malikin**, *salmon*, *salvager**, *solder*, *halfpenny-worth* hähpöth (hææpöth). In *could*, *should*, *would*, *l* is heard only in sustained pronunciation.

N is not pronounced in *-mn*, in *kill*(n), in *tene*(n)*t*, *gover*(n)*ment*.

PH is *p* in *phlebotomy**, *diphthong*, *triphthong*, and *v* in *nephew*, *phial* *vial*, *Stephen*. *Phantasm*, *phantastick*, *phantasy*, are now written with *f*.

QU is *k* in *banquet**, *conquer*, *conqueror*, *liquor*, *equipage**, *exchequer*, *masquerade*, *musquet* *musket*, *paraqueto*, *piquet*, *piquant*, and a few others. *C* is now written in *quoil*, *quines* *coines*, *quoit*, *quintal*, but *que* remains in *cinque*, *opaque*, *oblique*.

R agrees entirely with German *r*, except that it is not heard in *marsh*, *marshy*, *harslets* *haslets*; nor in the first syllable of *parlour*, *partridge*. RH in *rhapsody*, *rhetoric*, *rhime*, *rhomb*, *rhume*, etc., is pronounced as *r*.

S is hard=(s) in *design*, *resign*, *cisar*, *desolate*, *lysard* [lizard], *rosin*, *pleasant*, *risit* [this is according to a rule, certainly not now observed, that *s* after a short accented vowel or diphthong is doubled in pronunciation]. S is hard=(s) in *dis-arm*, *trans-act*, *wis-dom*. In *island*, *viscount*, *s* is mute and *i*=(ai). S is hissed, almost like German *sch* (sh) in *sur*, *sut*, *suit*, *sugar*, *sure*, and compounds, but some say *ssiu* (siu) and others *ssuh* (suu); and in *nauseate*, *nauseous*, *Asia*, *Silesian*, *enthusiasm**, *enthusiast**, *effusion*, *occasion*, *hostier*, *rosier*, and their derivatives **Asiatick*, etc.; also in *Persia*, *transient*, *mansion*, *Russia*, *passion*. "After a shortly accented vowel or diphthong the reduplication of *sch* must be observed, especially in the termination *sion*, as in *decision*,

provision." [Did he say (disi'shən) and not (disi'zhən) ?]

T is sounded (sh) in *patience*, *portion*, etc., but (t) in *fustion*, *mixture*, etc., and as (tsh) in *righteous reitschius*, *courteous*, *bounteous*, *covetous kovatschius*, *virtuous vörtschius*, etc., and is not pronounced in *facts fäks*, *neglects* and similar -*ets*, nor in -*sten*, -*stle*, as *often ahf'n*, *soften sahf'n*, *hasten hähss'n*, *listen*, *castle käss'l*, *pestle*, *whistle*, *bustle*, etc., and also in *malster*, *mortgage*. [There is no mention of -*ture*, -*duce*=(tsher, dzher), but the inference from the *u* rules is that they were called (-tər, -dər), and this is confirmed by *gesture dschester*, *ordure ahrdur*, *pasture pästur*, *century ssenturi*, given below, p. 1049, in the words of the same sound, etc.]

TH in "rapid speech" is pronounced as *d* or *dd* in *apothecary**, [t not *d* below] *burthen*, *fathom**, *father*, *murther*, *potter**. *Th* is "for euphony" pronounced *t* in *fifth**, *sixth**, *twelfth**. *Th* is (th) in *with*. *Th* is (dh) in *than*, *that*, *tho' though*, etc. [that is, (thoo), as in Scotch, was unknown to him.] *Th* is (t) in *Thames*, *Thanet**, *Theobald**, *Thomas*, *Thomson*, etc., in *thill*, *thiller*, [till, tiller?], *thyme*, and, "according to some," in *anthem**, *apothecary**, [see *th* as (d) above], *authority**, *authorize** [not *author*?].

"*I*, in English called *ju* consonant, is not merely much softer than *f*, but also than the German *v*, but not so soft as the English or German *w*, and is therefore better to be explained as French *v*. German beginners in French find some difficulty with this French *v*. All German grammars which I have seen express English *w* by German *w*, without indicating any distinction. But I find a sensible difference, namely, that the English *w* is not so hard, so that I am able to regard German *w* as a middle sound between English *v* and *w*, and hence, in order to indicate the sound of German *w* to an Englishman, I would express it in English by *vw*, and I am certain that he would hit it off better than if I were to write a simple *w*. Pronounce *p* and allow the breath to escape from the mouth, and you have *f*, *ph* or Greek *φ*. Pronounce *b*, and allow the breath to escape through a horizontal slit or split, and you form *v*. The difference between German and English *v* consists in the greater

compression of the breath, and its passage through a narrower opening for the German sound, which makes it harder, so that it approaches *f* more nearly." [He really heard the same sound for German *v* as for *f*.] "On the contrary, the English in pronouncing their *v* give the breath greater freedom and compress it less, on allowing it to escape. The Spaniards make such a little difference between their *b* and *v* in speaking, that they often use them promiscuously in writing. This sound was unknown in Greek, where *φ* most nearly approaches it. The English *w* is made by allowing the breath to escape by a round hole. The German *w* seems to be a medium between English *v* and *w*, the air escaping through a rounder hole than for English *v*, and a flatter hole than for English *w*." [See the descriptions of (*w*, *bh*, *v*) *supra* p. 513, note 2. I have quoted this passage at length from pp. 149 and 156 of Lediard, because his observations were made at Hamburg, and Lepsius and Brücke ascribe the sound of (*v*) instead of (*bh*) to North German *w*. This careful distinction shews that (*bh*) was certainly heard in Hamburg in 1725.]

W is not pronounced in *answer* änsər, *aukward** ahkerd, *housewife* housewife hössiv, *sweltry* ssultri, *swoon** ssaun, *sword* ssöhrd, "but in *swear*, *swore*, *sworn*, some consider it to be distinctly spoken."

In *WR* the *w* is "little or scarcely heard, as in *wrack*, *wrench*, *wrist*, *wrong*, *wrung*, in which I can only find a soft aspiration (*eine sehr gelinde aspiration*) before *r*, so that *w* must not be pronounced, as Herr Ludwick thinks, like *wr* in the Germ. *Wrangel*" (*bhra:ql*).

"*WH* is pronounced as *hw*, or rather as German *hu*, but so that the *u* rapidly yields to the sound of the following vowel, as *what* huat, *when* huen, *which* huids[h]?, *who* huuh[?], *why* huwy." Except *whole*, *wholsome*, *where*, in which *w* is not pronounced.

X is *ksh* (*ksh*) in *complexion* kumplekschion, *anxious* ankshius[? ä], etc.

"*Y* as a consonant at the beginning of a word, or syllable, sounds as German *jota* but somewhat softer, and not so guttural as it is heard from some Germans especially in Saxony, but almost like a short German *i* when it is rapidly pronounced as a separate syllable, as *yard*, *yes*, *you*, *jard*, *jes*, *yuh*, or better

i ärd, i-es, i-uh, with a very rapid and scarcely perceptible *i*'' [that is (*x*) and not (*gh*)].

Z is a soft (*gelindex*) sch [that is (*zh*)] in *brazier*, *glazier*, *grazier*, *ozier*.

Accent.

[As some 50 pages are devoted to accent, I shall note all those words in which any peculiarity is observable. He distinguishes a *long accent* which he marks *â* with the grave, but as in a note he says that others use the circumflex *â*, employing the grave for his *â* acute or short accent, I shall for convenience use *â* for his long, and *â* for his short accent. I do not consider it necessary to give his rules. I merely cite the words.]

Härd [observe that he has always made the vowel in *ar* short], länd, shört. Acérb, acéril, agäin [where he made the vowel short], äfter, anchöve, anémoue. Balcöny, böisterous, bölder. Carät, cockäll, colöss, coröllary. Döcible, Eäger, éarrest, éaster[?], éilet, éither, émpirick, émpiricism, énigm, éssay, éternize, éucharist, éuphony[?]. Föuntain. Görgeous. Heteröclite, hümane. Leviathan, lodemänge. Mäcerate[?], mandüicable, mausolécum [modern American mausöleum, müseum], methéglin. Orängery, orchéstre. Phantästry, philäuty, placéet[?], plebéjan, presbütry [the accent is not written when it falls on a *y*] pulmönary, pyromancy. Quédrangle, quadripartite[?]. Rápier, ramböoze, rhétörick, ritüal. Sepüchral, similitude, sölemnize, stätuary, stomächick, strangüllion, syllogism. Tábernacle, tabéllion, tantüvy, tarpäwlin, théater. Valedictory, valetüdinäry, venéous, vernäcular. Volüptuäry [ü?], vülnerary.

Äzitate, ävery, äbdieate, äbjeet, äblative, &c., äccessory, ädjvate, ädversary, ägerandise, ingrivate, alcöve, äleali, änarchy, ändiron, äppanage, archängél, archdüke, coercion, coercive, [? ö], colléague, cömmissary, cömplaisance, cömplaisant, cöngy, cönsistory, cönstellate, cöntrary, cöntriariwise, cöntrary, cöntroversy, cöntumacy, cöntumely, cönvörsant, cönvoyed, cörrigible, cörrösive, cörrösiveness. Déspicable, désüined, désuetude, diligénce, diligént, dimissory, diocess, directory, divident, disciplinable, diseretive, dissoluble, distribüte, distributive. E'dict, édifíce,

égress, éligible, émissary, épiceñe, épiceure, épilepsy, évent, évidence, évident, éfort, émpirick, éssöin, excellency, éxcerable, éxorcism. Förféit, föreceast, föreceastle, föredoor, förefäthers, förefinger, etc., forthécöming, forthwith. Ignominy, illäpse, illüstrate, immanent, incensory, industry, infinite, intricacy, inventory. Mischief, miscreancy. Néfändous, nouéntity, nöñage. Objéct v., öbdurate, öbligatory, öccült, öffertory, öutlandish. Pérféct, pérspirable, pós-thume, préamble, prébend, précedent, précept, précinet, prédicament, préfactory, prémunire, prépuce, présage, préscience, préscrip, prévious, process, prócuray, pródigally, próduet, prófile, prólignite, prógress, prójéct, prólogue, prótoeol, pürsuivant, pürvieu. Récent, récitative, récommence, récreant, récreate, réfectory, régency, régicide, régiment, région, régister, rélegate, reliquary, répertory, rétribuite. Sécret, sécretary, süblünary, süteranny, surcéase, surnäme v., sürcingle, sürcoat, süurname n., süspicable. Träditive, tráverted, transpört v. transport n. Vicéädmiral, vicechäncellour, viceroy, viscount for vicecount, viscountess.

Spécífick, heröick, satürnal. Caläinity, sanguinity, majörity.

Extraväsate, exträneous, extravagance. Rétrograde. Benefäctor, acädémick, législätour.

Debonäir, romäñce, levánt, bombard, nsquebäugh, octäve, cochenäl, huméet, apogüe, raperies, intire, turnöil, memöirs, chamöis, ragöu, scrutöre, tamböur, capüch, cadüke, ridicüle, importüne, noctürn. Awöwe, grantée, legatée, etc.

Stupefäctive, benefäctor, pomänder, législätour, nomenclätüre, ünäsil, chimära, domésticy, claudéstine, muschêto, doctrinal, agricültre, bitümen.

Philäctery, amphithéater, celébrious, celébriety, cömédian, acädémian, solémnial, stupéñdious, homogéñcal, homogéñuous, hyménial, dyséntery, majéstative, longévity, libidinous, fastidious, concupiscible, chirürgeon, chirürgery, epicürian.

Vesicatory, modifiable. Propitiatory, supererogatory, monösyllable, référendary, spiritualize. Cöñscienceableness, párliañmentary.

Cöñjure cöñjüre, äugust n. äugüst a., äbjeet n. äbjeét, cément n., cöñserve n., cöñsult n., cöñvoy n. cöñvöy v., éssay n. éssäy v., fréquent a. fréquent v., mäñure n. mäñüre v., övermatch n. övermäteñ

v., ðoutlaw n. outlāw v., rébel n. rebél v., triúmph n. triúmph v.

Words of same (or different) sound and different (or same) spelling. [I cite only some of those that Lediard has written in German letters.]

August ahgost, *augúst* agost. *Bable* bahlel bahbel, *bable* bábl. *Báth* báldh, *báth* báth. *Born* (natus) bahrn, *born* (latus) bohrrn. *Bówe* (fletere) bau, *bów* (areus) boh. *Bréath* breth, *bréath* briedh. *Denier* (denarius) denihr, *denier* (negator) deneyer. *Géntile* (paganus) dschentil, *gentile* genteel dschentiel. *Jób* dschab, *Jób* dschohb. *Léad* (plumbum) led, *lead* lied. *Liver* (jecur) livver, *livre* (French coin) leiver*. *Lives* leivs, *lives* livs. *Loose* (laxus) luhss, *loose* (perdere) luhs. *Lóth* lohth (to have a disgust at), *lóth* lath (unwilling). *Móuse* (mus) maus, *móuse* v. mauhs, *móuth* n. mauth, *móuth* v. maundh, *mow* (meto) moh, *mow* (to make a face) mau. *Réad* ried, *réad* red. *Sewer* (a carver) ssuer, (a drain) schohr. *Singer* (who sings) singer, (who sings) sindscher. *Sów* (sus) ssau, *sów* (sero) ssoh. *Tear* (lacryma) tier, (lacerare) tehr. *Tóst* (of bread) tohst, *tóst* (tossed) tasst. *Week* (seven days) wick, *week* (wick of a candle) wick.

Alley (street) álli, (friend) álley; *ant* änt, *ant* ähnt; *arrant* ärrént, *errand* erránd; *barley* bárlí, *barely* báhrli. *Centaury* ssenturi, *century* ssenturi* *centry* sentry ssentri. *Chair* tschähr and tschier (tschæer, tshiir), *chare* tschähr (tschæer). *Chear* echeer tschier, *jeer*

dschier. *Chains* tschähns, *chance* tschänss, *change* tschähndseh, *chin* tschiinn, *gindschiinn*. *Decent* dess-sseht, also diessent, *deseent* des-sseht. *Duke* duhk, *duck* dock. *Each* ihdsh [?:], *edge* edsch. *Fair* fáhr, *fare* fáhr, *far* fáhr. *Fir* för, *für* för. *Grass* grähhs, *grass* gräss, *grease* grihs. *Grote* (grotto) gratt, *groat* gráht [?:gráht]. *Gesture* dschestur, *jester* dschester. *Haven* háhv, *heaven* hevv. *Heard* hiehrd (niird), *herd* herd. *Hoar* hohr (hoor), *whore* huohr (whoor); *hole* hohl, *whole* huohl (whool); *holty* hohli, *wholly* huolli (who-li), *hally* halli (hali). *Knave* huähv, *nave* nähv; *knead* hnied, *need* nief; *knight* hneit, *night* neit; *knout* hnaut, *not* natt. *Manner* mánnér, *mannour* (manor) mánnor, *manure* mánnur, [theoretic distinctions, all (mánnur)]. *Message*, *messuage*, both messedsch. *Morning* máhrning, *mourning* mohrning. *Muscle* mosskel, *muzzle* mossel. *Order* áhrd'r, *ordure* áhrdur*. *Pastor* pástor, *pasture* pástur*. *Peace*, *piece*, *piehss*, *peas* piehs. *Précédent* (exemplum) pressie-lent, *président* pressie-lent. *Quarry* quárri, *query* quieri. *Queen* quienn, *queen* quieln. *Retch* wretch, both retsch. *Rome*, *room*. *Seizin* ssiesin, *season*, *ssies'n*. *Sewer* (drain) schoer [schohr, in last list], *shore* schohr. *Só* sso, *sów* (sero) ssoh. *Fíal* veyal, *viol* veyol, *vile* veyl. *Wales* wáhl's, *whales* huähls (whæalz). *Which* huitsch, *witch* witsch. *Wrap* hráp, *rap* ráp; *wrest* hrest, *rest* rest; *wry* hrey, *rye* rey. *You* ju, *ew* iuh, *yew* iuh; *your* jur, *ewer* iuhr. *Ye*, *yea*.

As Lediard agrees so much with the Expert Orthographist in respect to EA, it is interesting to compare the two following extracts, one only 1 year later, and the other about 30 years later. These diversities of opinion and experience are most instructive in shewing, first the overlapping of pronunciations, and secondly the ignorance of orthoepists as to varieties of pronunciation, or their habit of simply discrediting as "vulgar" or "faulty" all pronunciations with which they are themselves not familiar.

I. From "An introduction to the English Tongue. By N. Bailey φιλόλογος." 8vo. 1726. pp. 96, 60. Part 2, p. 15.

T. What is the proper sound of the diphthong *ea*?

L. *Ea* has the sound of *á* long, in *bear*, *pear*, *near*, *sear*, *wear*, etc. [that is, as *a* in *mate*, *pate*, etc.]

2d. *A* short in *earl*, *heart*, *learn*, *pearl*, *search* [that is, as *a* in *mat*, *mart*, *cart*].

3d. *Ea* has the sound of *e* long in *appear*, *dream*, *read*, *sea*, *seam*, *spake*, *veal*, [Bailey has not mentioned what the sound of *e* long is, but as he says *e* is sounded like *ee* in certain words, *he*, *me*, *we*, *here*, *these*, *even*, *besom*, *Ely*, *Ev*, *fealty*, *Peter*, we must presume he means (ee), and not (ii)]; but some of this last kind have the *a* changed with the *e* final, as *compleat* [complete], *supream* [supreme; this confirms the view just taken, compare also *óth*.]

4th. *Ea* has the sound of *e* short in *brēast*, etc.

5th. *Ea* has sometimes the sound of *ee* in *beam*, *dear*, *hear*, *stead*, *year*. [This is therefore the exceptional, not the general pronunciation, compare 3rd.]

II. From a "Narrative of the Journey of an Irish Gentleman through England in the year 1752, p. 156. Privately printed for Mr. Hy. Huth, 1869." Mr. Furnivall, who kindly furnished me with this extract, remarks that the Additional MS. 27951 in the British Museum is probably by the same writer, and gives an account of his visits to England in 1758, 1761, and 1772. "By listening to her conversation [that of a lady passenger, in whom "the court lady reigned in every action"], I gained a better taste for the polite world, except-

ing one point in pronunciation, to wit, that of calling A E, and saying EE for E; but this was a thing I could not readily reconcile myself to, for I remember when I first went to school my mistress made me begin with my great A. Whether it was that the letter was bigger in dimensions than its brother vowel E that follows it, I cannot tell; but I am very certain she never made me say E. I was so very defective, or [failed] by too blunt a clipping, that my fair tutoress said she was afraid I would never make any hand on't. She assured me she was not above eight or ten months arriving at that perfection, which I am sure would cost me my whole life without making half the progress."

Buchanan has already been frequently referred to. He was much ridiculed by Kenrick,¹ who is particularly severe on his Scotticisms, and very unnecessarily abuses his method of indicating sounds. Kenrick himself is not too distinct; but as he does not trust entirely to key-words, and endeavours to indicate sounds by a reference to other languages,—the sounds of which he probably appreciated very indifferently,—it will be best to give extracts from his explanations of the vowels. The conjectured values are inserted in palacotype, and some passing observations are bracketed. Among these remarks are introduced a few quotations from Granville Sharp.²

DR. KENRICK'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1773.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. cur sir her monk blood earth = (ə) | 14. meet meat deceit = (ii) |
| 2. town noun how bough ... = (au) | 15. fit yes busy women English |
| 3. bull wool wolf push = (u) | guilt = (i) |
| 4. pool groupe troop = (uu) | 16. why nigh I buy join lyre hire = (ai) |
| 5. call hawl eaul soft oft George | |
| cloth = (AA) | |
| 6. new eube duty beauty = (eu, yy) | |
| 7. not what gone swan war was = (A) | |
| 8. no beau foe moan blown roan = (oo) | |
| 9. boy joy toil = (Ai) | |
| 10. hard part earve laugh heart = (aa) | |
| 11. and hat erag bar = (a) | |
| 12. bay they weigh fail tale... = (ee) | |
| 13. met sweat head bread ... = (e) | |

Add to the above the indistinct sound, marked with a cypher thus [o], as practised in the colloquial utterance of the particles *a* and *the*, the last syllables of the words ending in *en*, *le* and *re*; as *a garden*, *the castle*, etc., also in the syllable frequently sunk in the middle of words of three syllables, as *every*, *memory*, *favourite*, etc., which are in

¹ *William Kenrick, LL.D.* A New Dictionary of the English Language; containing not only the *Explanation* of Words, with their *Orthography*, *Etymology*, and *Idiomatical Use in Writing*; but likewise their *Orthoepia* or Pronunciation in *SPEECH*, according to the present Practice of polished Speakers in the Metropolis, which is rendered

obvious at sight in a manner perfectly simple and principally new. Lond. 1773. 4to.

² An English Alphabet for the use of Foreigners, wherein the pronunciation of the Vowels or Voice-letters is explained in Twelve Short general Rules with their several Exceptions. 1786. Svo. pp. 76.

versification sometimes formally omitted in writing, by the mark of elision.

Under one or other of the numbers composing the above table, are comprehended all the species of distinct articulate sounds contained in the English language. Not that they differ altogether equally in quality; several differing only in time. There are no more than eleven distinct vowel sounds of different qualities in English; ten of the numbers specified in the table being expressed by the long and short modes of uttering our five vowels; as exemplified in the following words:

A.	} short in	barr'd	} in	bard
E.		met		mate
I.		hit		heat
O.		not		naught
U.	} long in	pull		pool

The other six sounds are either always short as *u* in *eur*, or always long as *o* in *note*, or double as *i* or *y* in *hire tyre*; *u* in *lure*; *ow* in *town* and *oi* in *joy*: most of which long sounds seem to partake of two qualities, not so equally blended in them all, as to pass without our perceiving the ingredients of the compound. Thus *I* or *Y* appear to be a commixture of the long *e* [previously defined as *a* in *mate*] and short *i* [in *hit*]; *U* of the long *e* [*a* in *mate*] and short *u* [in *pull*]; *OW* of the short *o* [in *not*] and long *u* [*oo* in *pool*]; and *OI* most palpably of the short *o* [in *not*] and *i* [in *hit*].

[Dr. Kenrick's appreciation of diphthongs was evidently very inexact. See numbers 2, 6, 9, 16, in the following explanatory remarks on the vowels in preceding table.]

1. [U in *eur*.] It is always short, and bears a near, if not exact, resemblance to the sound of the French *leur*, *ceur*, if it were contracted in point of time. [It is not to be supposed that the sound was exactly the French (æ) or (ə). It is more probable that Kenrick pronounced the French sounds as (ə) or (æ). G. Sharp says: "O has the sound of a short *u* in *af-front*, etc. (In the dialects of Lancashire and some other places the *o* is pronounced according to rule in many of these words) . . . *côv-er* . . . etc., and their compounds, etc., except *dis-côv-er*, *re-côv-er*, which are pronounced according to rule. . . . *One* is pronounced as if spelt *won*."

2. [OW in *town*.] The long and broad *ow*, *ou*, and *u*, as in *town*, *noun*,

eu-cumber [the old sound of this word remaining, notwithstanding the change of spelling. Sharp also says: "U is like the English *ou* in the first syllable of *eu-cumber*," p. 13.] This sound greatly resembles the barking of a full-mouthed mastiff, and is perhaps so clearly and distinctly pronounced by no nation as by the English and the Low Dutch. The nicer distinguishers in the qualities of vocal sounds consider it as a compound; but it has sufficient unity, when properly pronounced, to be uttered with a single impulse of the voice, and to pass for a distinct sound or syllable, I consider it only as such.

3. [U in *bull*.] The French have this sound in *fol*, *sol*, *trou*, *clou*; the Italians I think everywhere in their *u*.

4. [OO in *pool*.] Nearly as the sound of *douze*, *epouse*, *pouce*, *roux*, *doux*, and the plurals, *sols*, *fols*, do from *sol*, *fol*, *trou*, etc. [The difference between 3 and 4 is only meant to be one of length. The French generally recognize the lengthening of the vowel as the mark of the plural. G. Sharp says: "OO is not pronounced so full, but partakes a little of the sound of a short *u* in *blood*, *flood*, *foot*, *good*, *hood*, *stood*, *soot*, *wood* and *wool*. OO has the sound of *o* long in *door* and *floor*. *Door* and *floor* are pronounced by the vulgar in the Northern parts of England as they are spelt, for they give the *oor*, in these words, the same sound that it has in *boor*, *moor*, *poor*," and "O is sounded like *oo* in *tomb* and *womb*, (wherein *b* is silent.) *lo-sev*, *gold*, *whom*, and *whose*. In the northern parts of England the words *gold*, *who*, *whom*, and *whose*, are pronounced properly as they are spelt."]

5 and 7. [A in *call* and O in *not*.] This sound is common in many languages, although the distinction of long and short is preserved in few or none but the English. The French have it exactly in the words *ame*, *pas*, *las*, etc. [This is a distinct recognition of the English habit of pronouncing French. See Sir William Jones's phonetic French, *suprà* p. 835. But it does not follow that the French said anything broader than (a). Mr. Murray, a native of Hawick, informed me that when he and a friend first studied my Essentials of Phonetics, they were exceedingly puzzled with the distinction I drew between (aa) and (AA). They could find no distinction

at all, and thought it must be fancy on my part. Mr. Murray now recognizes that he then pronounced (*aa*) in place of both sounds. Compare Prof. Blackie's confusion of (*aa*, *AA*), *suprà* p. 69, n. 3. G. Sharp calls the French *a* the "English diphthong *aw*," and says that *a* "has a medium sound between *aw* and the English *a*, in *fa-ther*, and the last syllable of *pa-pa*, *mam-ma*, and also in *han't* (for *have not*), *más-ter* and *plús-ter*; and is like *aw* in *hal-ser* (wherein *l* is mute), *false* and *pal-sy*. *A* has the sound of *aw* likewise before *ll* and *ll*, as in *ballé*, *cal-dron*, *al-tar*, etc., in all primitive monosyllables ending in *ll* (except *shall* and *mall*, which are pronounced according to rule), as in *all*, *gall*, *full*, etc., and before *lk* (wherein *l* is mute), as *balk*, *stalk*, *walk*, *talk*, etc., but before *lf*, *lm*, *lve*, and before *nd* in words derived from the Latin word *mando*, it is sounded like the Italian *a*, only somewhat shorter, as in *half*, *calm*, *salve*, *command*, *demand*, etc." Here "English *a*" seems to mean (*æ*) and (*aa*) to be considered intermediate between (*æ*) and (*AA*).]

6. [EW in *new*.] This sound, variously denoted in letters, by *u*, *eu*, *ue*, *ew*, and even *eau*, as in *duty*, *feud*, *true*, *new*, *beauty*, when slowly uttered, is evidently a compound of the long *i* [*ea* in *heat*] and short *u* [*u* in *pull*]; but when pronounced sharp and quick with a single effort of the voice, is no longer a diphthong, but a sufficiently single and uniform syllable; whose quality is distinctly heard in the words above mentioned; as also in the French words *du*, *me*, *unir*, *prune*, *eu* (*yy*). [Now here we observe first that the analysis of the diphthongal sound is (*iu*), instead of (*eu*), as before, *suprà* p. 1051 c. 1, and secondly that the recognition of French *u* does not perhaps imply more than that the diphthong became extremely close (that is, both the elements and the connecting glide very short), and that Dr. Kenrick did not know any better way of pronouncing French *u*. That Dr. Kenrick generally recognized a close and open pronunciation of the diphthongs is evident from his remarks on 2 and 16. Still the cropping up of the French *u* a century after Wallis had apparently noted it for the last time, is curious and interesting. I have myself heard it sporadically, not reckoning provincialisms.]

8. [O in *no*.] The French have it in *Dôme*, *os*, *repos*, *faîne*, *maur*, *faulx*. [This indicates a long (*oo*).]

9. [OY in *joy*.] This sound approaches the nearest to a practical diphthong of any in our language. . . . A vicious custom prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound entirely, or rather of converting both into the sound of *i* or *y*, No. 16; thus *oil*, *toil*, are frequently pronounced exactly like *isle*, *tile*. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhyme to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which, by long use, have almost lost their true sound. Such are *boil*, *join*, and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than *bile*, *jine*. [This is important in reference to rhymes.]

10, 11. [A in *hard* and *and*.] The French have it short in *alla*, *race*, *fasse*; long in *abattre*, *grace*, *age*, etc. The Italians have it long in *padre*, *madre*, and short in *ma*, *la*, *allegro*, etc. It is somewhat surprising that men of letters, and some of them even residing in the Metropolis, should mistake the simple and genuine application of this sound. "The native sound of *A*," says Dr. Bayly, "is broad, deep and long, as in *all*, *aw*, *wear*, *daub*; but it hath generally a mixed sound, as in *man*, *Bath*, *Mary*, *fair*, which are sounded as if written *maen*, *baeth*, etc." But who, except flirting females and affected fops, pronounce *man* and *Bath* as if they were written *maen*, *baeth*, or like *Mary*, *fair*, etc. [Dr. Kenrick would seem therefore to have really pronounced (*a*) and not (*æ*), considering the latter sound as effeminate. It is curious to see Gill's *Mopseys* and Smith's *malierende* and *urbanus loquentes* (*suprà* p. 90) cropping up as Kenrick's *flirting females* and *affected fops*. In all ages refinement has apparently led to the same mincing, that is, closer form of vowel sounds, with the tongue more raised, or brought more forward. G. Sharp ought to agree with Kenrick, when he says: "*A* has a short articulation of the English *aw*, or rather of the Italian *a*, as in *add*, *bad*, *lad*, *mad*," for this seems to preclude (*æ*). He also says that *e* is like short *a* in *yellow*, known yet, but only as vulgarity.]

12, 13. [AY in *bay* and E in *met*.] The short sound is nearly or quite the

same as the French give to their *e* in the words *elle*, *net*, *poët*, etc. At the same time it is observable they give it to the combinations *ei* and *ai* and *oi*, as in *pleine*, *plaine*, *disoit*. The French extend it also nearly as much as the English long sound in the words *nès*, *déz*, *elès*, *parler*, *fondés*, *amai*, *dirai*, etc. The protracted or long sound of the short *e* as in *met*, *let*, etc., is in fact the slender sound of the *a*. [This confuses the close and open sounds, and renders it probable that Kenrick pronounced (ee, e), and not (e, e).] *Break* is generally sounded like *brake*, *make*, *take*, but few, except the natives of Ireland or the provinces, say *ate*, *spake*; but *eat*, *speak*, agreeably to No. 14. [Here we have a recognition of the (ee) sound of *ea* still remaining, and of the occasional (ii) sound of *ea* in *break*, *suprà* p. 89. G. Sharp says that "a is like the French *ai* in *ân-gel*, *bass*, *câm-brick*, *Câm-bridge*, *dân-ger*, and *mân-ger*:" that *are* is spoken "as if spelt *air*," and that in *a-ny*, *ma-ny*, *a* "sounds like a short *e* or foreign *e*."]

14. [EE in *meet*. This was clearly (ii).]

15. [I in *fit*.] A contraction of the long sound of *e* or *ee* in *me* or *meet*. This is plain by repeating the words *fit* and *fiet*, *pit* and *peat*, *mit* and *meat*; in which the similarity of sound is very perceptible. [This ought to give (i) and not (è), yet there is very little doubt that (i) was said, and the distinction not recognized. G. Sharp says that *e* is like *i* short in *England*, *pretty*, *yes* and *yet*.]

16. [Y in *why*.] As at present

uttered by the best speakers in the metropolis, it is the sharpest, shrillest, and clearest vowel in our language; altho it has the appearance, when slowly pronounced, of being a compound of the *a* or *e* and *i*. I do not know that any other language has it equally clear, single and distinct. I have elsewhere observed that our Scottish linguists say it has the sound usually denoted by *avee*, but the error of this is obvious to every Englishman. The French however come near it in the interjection *ahi*! which they pronounce quickly as one syllable, without the nasal twang that attends the words *fin*, *vin*, and some others, bearing a near resemblance. [Kenrick is very peculiar about his diphthongs. Many Englishmen, however, as we have seen in the case of Smith (p. 112) and Gill (p. 114), considered long *i* as a single sound. Kenrick's admissions point to (ai), rather than (æi) as his diphthong. G. Sharp is very peculiar, and would seem to have two pronunciations, possibly (ei, ai), or thereabouts, as in the present Scotch-English; he says: "There are two ways of sounding the long *i* and *y* (though both long), the one a little different from the other, and requiring a little extension of the mouth, as may be seen by comparing the following words, viz. *I* and *aye*, *high* and *high-ho*, *by't* (for *by it*) and *bite*, *sigh'd* and *side*, *strive* and *strife*, etc., but this difference, being so nice, is not to be attained but by much practice, neither is it very material. . . *I i* English, or long, like the Greek *ei*, or something like the French *i* before *n* in *prince*."]]

It did not enter into the scheme of either Buchanan or Kenrick to give specimens of pronunciation in a connected form, but an example of their two systems of pronunciation is furnished by the following transcription of the passage from *As you Like it*, which was given in Shakspeare's conjectured pronunciation on p. 986, and is here rendered according to the best interpretations I can effect of the symbolized pronunciation of each separate word in Buchanan's Vocabulary and Kenrick's Dictionary.

BUCHANAN, 1766.

:Aal dhii wòrld -z æ steedzh
Ænd aal dhii men ænd wim'ân
miir'li plee'arz.
Dhee hæv dheer ek'sits ænd
dheer en'transez,

KENRICK, 1773.

:Aal dhii wòrld-z ee steedzh
And aal dhii men and wim'en
miir'li plee'orz :
Dhee hav dheer egzits ænd
dheer en'transez,

BUCHANAN.

Ænd wæn mæn in nîz taim pleez
 mæn'î pæarts,
 Hîz ækts biî'iq sev'n eedzh'ez.
 Æt fôrst dhîi in'fânt
 Miî'liq ænd piuk'îq in nîz
 nœrs'ez æærmz,
 Ænd dhen dhîi whœin'iq skuul'boi
 wiðh nîz sætsh'el
 Ænd shœin'iq marn'iq fees,
 kriip'iq laik sneel
 Ʒnwil'iqli tu skuul. Ænd dhen
 dhîi lœv'îr
 Sæith'iq¹ laik fœrnîs wiðh æ
 woo'ful bæ'l'id
 Meed tu nîz mis'tris œi-brœu.
 Dhen, æ sœuld'îr
 Ful œv streendzh oodhz, ænd
 beerded laik æ pærd,
 Dzheh'œs œv œn'îr sœd'n ænd
 kwik in kwær'el
 Siik'iq dhîi bœb'l repiutee'shœn
 Iiv'n in dhîi kæn'œnz mœuth.
 Ænd dhen dhîi dzhœst'is
 In feer rœund bel'î wiðh guud
 keep'n loind,
 Wiðh œiz siviir' ænd beerd œv
 fœarmæl kœt,
 Ful œf wœiz SAAZ ænd mœd'œrn
 in'stœnsez,
 Ænd soo miî pleez nîz pæært.
 Dhîi sîkst eedzh shifts
 In'tu dhîi liin ænd slîp'œrd pœn-
 tœluun,
 Wiðh spek'tikl'z œn nooz, ænd
 pœutsh œn sœid,
 Hîz juth'ful nooz wel seevd, æ
 wœrld tuu wœid
 Fœr nîz shrœqk shœqk, ænd nîz
 big mæn'li vœis,
 Tœrn'iq ægen' tu tshœild'ish
 treb'l, pœips
 Ænd whîs'lz in nîz saund. Lœst
 siin œv aal,
 Dhœt endz dhîs streendzh ivent-
 ful nîst'œri
 Iz sek'œnd tshœild'ishnes ænd
 miir œbliv'œn,
 Sanz tiith, sanz œiz, sanz teest,
 sanz ev'ri thiîq.

KENRICK.

And wœn man in nîz taim pleez
 man'î paarts
 Hîz ækts biî'iq sev'n eedzh'ez.
 At fôrst dhîi in'fant
 Myy'ling and pyy'k'iq in dhîi
 nœrs ez æærmz.
 And dhen dhîi wain'iq skuul'bai
 wiðh² nîz satsh'el
 And shain'iq mæarn'iq fees,
 kriip'iq laik sneel
 Ʒnwil'iqli too³ skuul. And dhen
 dhîi lœv'œr
 Sæi'iq laik fœrnas, wiðh a
 woo'fœl bal'ad
 Meed too nîz mis'tris æi-bræn.
 Dhen œe sœul'jœr
 Fuul æv streendzh oodhz⁴ and
 biird'œd⁵ laik dhîi paard,
 Dzheh'œs in hæn'ur,⁶ sœd'œn ænd
 kwik in kwææ'rel,
 Siik'iq dhîi bœb'l repyytee'shœn
 Ii'v'n in dhîi kæn'œnz mœuth.
 And dhen dhîi dzhœst'is,
 In feer raund bel'î wiðh guud
 keep'n laind,
 Wiðh æiz seviir' and biird æv
 fæarmæl kœt,
 Fuul æv wæiz SAAZ and mœd'œrn
 in'stansez;
 And soo miî⁷ pleez nîz paart.
 Dhîi sîkst⁸ eedzh shifts
 Inta dhîi liin and slîp'œrd pœn-
 taluun,
 Wiðh spek'tak'lz æn nooz and
 pœutsh æn sœid,
 Hîz jyyth'fœl⁹ nooz, wel seevd, œe
 wœrld tuu wœid
 Fær nîz shrœqk shaqk; and nîz
 big mæn'li vœis,
 Tœrn'iq ægen' tooord¹⁰ tshœild'ish
 treb'l, pœips
 And wiist'lz¹¹ in nîz saund. Last
 siin æv aal,
 Dhœt endz dhîs streendzh event-
 fœl nîst'œri
 Iz sek'œnd tsheild'ishnes, and
 miir œbliv'œn,¹²
 Sanz tiith, sanz æiz, sanz teest,
 sanz ev'ri thiîq.

Notes on the Preceding Specimens.

¹ This is the first sound Buchanan gives, but he adds that (soi'iq) is a better pronunciation.

² Kenrick says (with) or (widh), hence the first must be regarded as the pronunciation he prefers.

³ Kenrick says (too) or (ta), by the latter possibly meaning (to).

⁴ Kenrick gives (ooth) as the singular, but says nothing of the change of the sound of *th* in the plural. He notes the change in the plural of *youth*, but not in those of *half*, *wolf*.

⁵ "(Biird), and sometimes, but I think wrongly (bærd)."—Kenrick.

⁶ Kenrick marks *h* mute in *honest*, but not in *honour*. This is probably the misprint of a Roman *H* for an italic *H*.

⁷ Kenrick has neglected to mark the pronunciation of this word.

⁸ Kenrick merely says: "from the adjective," and hence leaves it in doubt whether he said (sikst) or (siksth).

⁹ The initial (*j*) is retained, as Kenrick has not marked it mute.

¹⁰ Kenrick writes: "To'WARD, To'-WARDS," and adds: "This word is not usually pronounced as one syllable." But then immediately writes "To'-WARDS," which should imply one syllable having the vowel in *no*.

¹¹ Kenrick writes *WH*, but as he has nowhere explained what he means by this combination, and as almost all the words beginning with *wh* are spelled *WH*, where the *H* indicates that it is silent, it has been so assumed here.

¹² "Or (Abliv-jæn)."—Kenrick.

JOSHUA STEELE'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1775.

Joshua Steele was an ingenious orthoepist, who, with much success, endeavoured to write down speech in respect to accent, quantity, emphasis, pause and force. It did not enter into his scheme to represent quality, but in the preface to his work he makes the following remarks, already partially quoted (suprà p. 980, note 1, col. 1), for the recognition of the French *u* in English, and worth preserving in their connection.

The complete title of the work is: *Prosodia Rationalis; or, an Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols*. The second edition amended and enlarged. 4to. pp. xviii. 243. London, 1779. With dedication to Sir John Pringle, Bart., President of the Royal Society, from *Joshua Steele*, the author, dated Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, Sept. 25, 1775. It is in the form of remarks on "the musical part of a very curious and ingenious work lately published at Edinburgh, on *The Origin and Progress of Language*," and correspondence with the author of the same, who is not named, but only called 'his l—p.'" A transcription of some of his examples of writing the melody of speech is given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis, art. 20, n. 1, *Philol. Trans.* 1873 4, p. 129. The following extract is from the preface of Steele's work, pp. viii–xiii.

The puzzling obscurity relative to the *melody and measure* of speech, which has hitherto existed between modern critics and ancient grammarians, has been chiefly owing to a want

of terms and characters, sufficient to distinguish clearly the several properties or accidents belonging to language; such as, *accent, emphasis, quantity, pause, and force*; instead of which *five terms*, they have generally made use of *two* only, *accent* and *quantity*, with some loose hints concerning *pauses*, but without any clear and sufficient rules for their use and admeasurement; so that the definitions required for distinguishing between the expressions of *force* (or loudness) and *emphasis*, with their several degrees, were worse than lost; their difference being tacitly felt, though not explained or reduced to rule, was the cause of confounding all the rest.

In like manner, there still exists another defect in literal language of a similar kind; that is, there are in nature, neither more, nor less, than seven *vowel sounds*, besides diphthongs; for which seven sounds, the principal nations in Europe use only five characters (for the *y* has, with us, no sound distinct from the *i*), and this defect throws the orthography and pronunciation of the whole into uncertainty and confusion.

In order to distinguish what are **VOWELS** and what are not, let this be the definition of a *vowel sound*; *videlicet*, a simple sound capable of being continued invariably the same for a long time (for example, as long as the breath lasts), without any change of the organs; that is, without any movement of the throat, tongue, lips, or jaws. [Mr. Melville Bell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the knowledge and use of this curious book, apparently had this passage in view when he wrote (*Visible Speech*, p. 71): "A 'Vowel' is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily *fixed*, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a 'fixed' configuration loses its syllabic effect, and becomes a 'glide'; and a 'glide' with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a 'consonant.' Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds; but their configurations may be 'held' so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables." Both definitions miss the distinctive character of vowels, given *suprà* p. 51, and now capable of further discrimination, by Donders's and Merkel's recognition of a constant pitch for each vowel which modifies the *timbre* of the vowel at other pitches.]

But a *diphthong sound* is made by blending two *vowel sounds*, by a very quick pronunciation, into *one*.

So that to try, according to the foregoing definition, to continue a diphthong sound, the voice most commonly changes immediately from the first vowel sound of which the diphthong is composed, by a small movement in some of the organs, to the sound of the vowel which makes the latter part of the said diphthong, the sound of the first vowel being heard only for one instant. For example, to make this experiment on the English sound of *u*, as in the word *USE*, which is really a *diphthong* composed of these two English sounds *EE* and *OO*; the voice begins on the sound *EE*, but instantly dwindles into, and ends in, *OO*. [Presumably (*iu*).]

The other English sound of *u*, as in the words *UGLY*, *UNDONE*, *BUT* and *GUT*, is composed of the English sounds *AU* and *OO*; but they require to be pronounced so extremely short and

close together that, in the endeavour to prolong the sound for this experiment, the voice will be in a continual confused struggle between the two component sounds, without making either of them, or any other sound, distinct; so that the true English sound of this diphthong can never be expressed but by the aid of a short energetic aspiration, something like a short cough, which makes it very difficult to our Southern neighbours in Europe. [Here he seems to confuse a diphthong, in which there is a real succession of vowel sounds and a connecting glide (*suprà* p. 51), with the attempt to pronounce two vowels simultaneously. Hence this sound of *u* should rather be written (*A*u*) with the link (*) p. 11, than (*Au*), which is a diphthong into which we have seen that many orthoepists analyse *our*, certainly a very different sound from any value ever given to *u*. Now (*A*u*), if we omit the labial character of both vowels, as there is certainly nothing labial in *u*, gives nearly (*æ*u*), which can scarcely differ from the sound (*æ*), which lies between them, as may be seen best by the diagrams on p. 14. Hence we must take this sound to be (*æ*), which still exists in very wide use.]

To try the like experiment on the English sound of *i* or *x*, as *i* in the first person, and in the words *MY*, *BY*, *IDLE*, and *FINE* (both of which letters are the marks of one and the same *diphthong sound* composed of the English sounds *AU* and *EE*), the voice begins on the sound *AU*, and immediately changes to *EE*, on which it continues and ends. [Presumably (*ai*), as defined also by Sheridan. It is curious that Steele has altogether omitted to notice *oy*, and hence escaped falling under the necessity of distinguishing *by*, *boy*, for example. Possibly he would have written (*baii*, *baai*), *suprà* p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text. He was presumably an Irishman.]

The English sound of *e*, in the words *met*, *let*, *men*, *get*, is a diphthong composed of the vocal sounds *A* and *E* (being the second and third vowels in the following arrangement), and pronounced very short. [Here again his diphthong is used for a link, and the result seems meant for (*a*e*), and although this should give (*ah*), it is possible he meant (*e*), see diagrams p. 14. He does not seem to have been

aware of the sound of (æ), or at any rate to have confused the sounds (a, æ).]

In order the better to ascertain the tones of the seven vocal sounds, I have ventured to add a few French words in the exemplification; in the pronunciation of which, I hope, I am not mistaken. If I had not thought it absolutely necessary, I would not have

presumed to meddle with any living language but my own; the candid reader will therefore forgive and correct my errors, if I have made any in this place, by substituting such other French syllables as will answer the end proposed. [A palæotypic interpretation is annexed. We must suppose that his French pronunciation was imperfect.]

The seven natural vowel sounds may be thus marked and explained to sound

in English as the words.
 α = all, small, or, for, knock, lock,
 occur = (A, a)
 a = man, can, eat, rat = (a)
 e = may, day, take, nation = (ee)
 i = evil, keen, it, be, iniquity = (ii)
 o = open, only, broke, hole = (oo)
 ω = fool, two, rule, tool, do = (un)
 u = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{superfluous,} \\ \text{tune, supreme,} \\ \text{credulity} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{very} \\ \text{rare in} \\ \text{English} \end{array} \right\} = (y)$

in French as the words.

en, grande.
 Paris, habit, pardon.
 ses, et.
 Paris, habit, ris, dit, il.
 soldat, côtes, offrir.
 ou, vous, jour, jaloux.
 du, plus, une.

Diphthong sounds in English.

ai = I, fine, hire, life, ride, spy, fly (a long sound) = (aii)

ae = met, let, get, men (a short sound) = (a* e, e)

iw = you, use, new, due, few (a long sound) = (iuu)

αω $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{makes the English sound} \\ \text{of ui or ug, and is pro-} \\ \text{nounced extremely short} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{unkind, undone, begun} \\ \text{ugly, but, shut, gut} \end{array} \right\} = (A^* u, \bar{u})$

ow = how, bough, sow, hour, gown, town (this diphthong is sounded long, dwelling chiefly on the latter vowel) = (Auu).

The letters and sounds, which in modern languages pass under the names of diphthongs, are of such different kinds, that they cannot properly be known by any definition I have seen: for, according to my sense, the greatest part of them are not diphthongs. Therefore, that I may not be misunderstood, I will define a *proper diphthong* to be made in speech, by the blending of *two vowel sounds* so intimately into *one*, that the ear shall hardly be able to distinguish more than one uniform sound; though, if produced for a longer time than usual, it will be found to continue in a sound different from that on which it began, or from its *diphthong sound*. [This shews a perfect confusion between linking two sounds into one, and gliding on from one sound on to another.]

And therefore the vowels, which are joined to make diphthongs in English, are pronounced much shorter, when so joined, than as single vowels; for if the vowel sounds, of which they are

composed, especially the initials, are pronounced so as to be easily and distinctly heard separately, they cease to be diphthongs, and become distinct syllables.

Though the grammarians have divided the vowels into three classes; long, short, and doubtful; I am of opinion, that every one of the seven has both a longer and shorter sound: as α is long in *all*, and short in *lock* and *oe* (læck and æc) = (AA, A ?).

A is long in *arm*, and short in *eat* = (aa, a ?).

e is long in *may* and *make*, and short in *nation* = (ee, e ?).

i is long in *be*, and short in *it* = (ii, i ?).

o is longer in *hole* than in *open* [often (ap'n) dialectally]; long in *corrode*, short in *corrosive* [which Lediard accents corrosive suprâ p. 1048, c. 1, l. 5 from bottom.] = (oo, o ?).

ω is long in *fool*, short (by comparison) in *foolish* = (uu, u ?).

u is long in *tune* and *plus*, and short in *super* and *du* = (iu, y ?).

But the shortest sounds of α , ω , and υ are long in comparison with the short sounds of the four first vowels [that is, are medial ?].

The French, the Scotch, and the Welsh, use all these vowel sounds in their common pronunciation; but the English seldom or never sound the υ in the French tone (which I have set down as the last in the foregoing list, and which, I believe, was the sound of the Greek $\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\lambda\delta\nu$), except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words.

I have been told the most correct Italians use only five vowel sounds, omitting the first and seventh, or the α and the υ . Perhaps the Romans did the same: for it appears by the words which they borrowed from the Greeks in latter times, that they were at a loss

how to write the η and the υ in Latin letters.

As the Greeks had all the seven marks, it is to be presumed that at some period they must have used them to express so many different sounds. But having had the opportunity of conversing with a learned modern Greek, I find, though they still use all the seven marks, they are very far from making the distinction among their sounds which nature admits of, and which a perfect language requires: but all nations are continually changing both their language and their pronunciation; tho that people, who have marks for seven vowels, which are according to nature the competent number, are the least excusable in suffering any change, whereby the proper distinction is lost.

§ 2. *Two American Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

i. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S PHONETIC WRITING, 1768.

Dr. Franklin's scheme of phonetic writing (suprà p. 48), though hasty and unrevised, is too interesting to be omitted. His correspondence with Miss Stephenson contains a common sense, practical view of the necessity and usefulness of some phonetic scheme, and gives short convincing answers to the objections usually urged against it. The spelling would have required careful reconsideration, which it evidently never received. But in the following transcript it is followed exactly. As a specimen of the English pronunciation of the earlier part, although written after the middle, of the XVIIIth century, it is of sufficient importance to justify the insertion of the paper at length in this place. The symbols are, as usual, replaced by their palaeotypic equivalents, and for convenience of printing the following table given by Franklin is somewhat differently arranged, although the matter is unaltered.

Table of the Reformed Alphabet.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds.</i>
(o)	old. The first VOWEL naturally, and deepest sound; requires only to open the mouth and breathe through it.		quires the <i>lips</i> to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.
(A)	John, folly; awl, ball. The next requiring the mouth opened a little more, or hollower.	(a)	un, un; as in <i>umbrage</i> , <i>unto</i> , etc., and as in <i>er</i> . The next a very short vowel, the sound of which we should express in our present letters, thus <i>uh</i> ; a short, and not very strong <i>aspiration</i> .
(æ)	man, can. The next, a little more.	(u)	hunter, happy, high. A stronger or more forcible <i>aspiration</i> .
(e)	men, lend, name, lane. The next requires the <i>tongue</i> to be a little more elevated.	(gi)	give, gather. The first CONSONANT; being formed by the <i>root of the tongue</i> ; this is the present hard <i>g</i> .
(i)	dail, sin, deed, seen. The next still more.		
(u)	tool, fool, rule. The next re-		

- (ki) *keep, kick*. A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of hard *c*.
- (ish) [sh] *ship, wish*. A new letter wanted in our language; our *sh*, separately taken, not being the proper elements of the sound.
- (iq) [ng] *ing, repeating, among*. A new letter wanted for the same reason. These are formed *back in the mouth*.
- (en) *end*. Formed *more forward* in the mouth; the *tip of the tongue* to the *roof* of the mouth.
- (r) *art*. The same; the *tip of the tongue* a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.
- (ti) *teeth*. The *tip of the tongue* more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.
- (di) *deed*. The same; touching a little fuller.
- (el) *ell, tell*. The same; touching

- just about the *gums* of the *upper teeth*.
- (es) *essence*. This sound is formed by the breath passing *between* the moist end of the *tongue* and the *upper teeth*.
- (ez) [es] *wages*. The same; a little denser and duller.
- (eth) [th] *think*. The *tongue* under, and a little *behind*, the *upper teeth*; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.
- (edh) [dh] *thy*. The same; a little fuller.
- (ef) *effect*. Formed by the *lower lip* against the *upper teeth*.
- (ev) *ever*. The same; fuller and duller.
- (b) *bers*. The *lips full together*, and opened as the air passes out.
- (pi) *peep*. The same; but a thinner sound.
- (em) *ember*. The *closing* of the *lips*, while the *e* is sounding.

REMARKS [by Franklin, on the above table].

- (e) to (hə). It is endeavoured to give the alphabet a *more natural order*; beginning first with the simple sounds formed by the breath, with none or very little help of tongue, teeth, and lips, and produced chiefly in the windpipe.
- (g, k). Then coming forward to those, formed by the roof of the tongue next to the windpipe.
- (r, n, t, d). Then to those, formed more forward, by the forepart of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.
- (l, s, z). Then those, formed still more forward in the mouth, by the tip of the tongue applied first to the roots of the upper teeth.
- (th, dh). Then to those, formed by the tip of the tongue applied to the ends or edges of the upper teeth.
- (f, v). Then to those, formed still more forward, by the under lip applied to the upper teeth.
- (b, p). Then to those, formed yet more forward, by the upper and under lip opening to let out the sounding breath.
- (m). And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the mouth, or closing the lips while any vowel is sounding.

In this alphabet *e* is omitted as unnecessary; *k* supplying its hard sound, and *s* the soft; *k* also supplies well the place of *z* [evidently a misprint for *q*],

and with an *s* added in the place of *x*: *q* and *x* are therefore omitted. The vowel *u* being sounded as *oo* (*uu*) makes the *w* unnecessary. The *y*, where used simply, is supplied by *i*, and where as a diphthong [so spelled in the original], by two vowels; that letter is therefore omitted as useless. The jod *j* is also omitted, its sound being supplied by the new letter (sh) *ish*, which serves other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds;—thus the (sh) with a (d) before it gives the sound of the jod *j* and soft *g* as in “James, January, giant, gentle” (*dshceems, dshænueri, dshœient, dshentel*); with a (t) before it, it gives the sound of *ch*, as in “cherry, chip” (*tsheri, tship*); and with a (z) before it, the French sound of the jod *j*, as in “jamais” (*zshæme*). [Dr. Franklin’s knowledge of the French sound must have been very inexact.] Thus the *q* has no longer two different sounds, which occasioned confusion, but is, as every letter ought to be, confined to one. The same is to be observed in all the letters, vowels, and consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever company, their sound is always the same. It is also intended, that there be no superfluous letters used in spelling; i.e. no letter that is not sounded; and this alphabet, by six new letters [meaning

(a, ə, sh, q, th, dh)], provides that there be no distinct sounds in the language, *without letters* to express them. As to the difference between *short and long vowels*, it is naturally expressed by a single vowel where short, a double one where long; as for "mend" write (mend), but for "remain'd" write (remcen'd); for "did" write (did), but for "deed" write (diid), etc.

What in our common alphabet is supposed the third vowel, *i*, as we sound it, is as a *diphthong*, consisting of two of our vowels joined; (ə) as sounded

in "unto" and (i) in its true sound. Any one will be sensible of this who sounds those two vowels (ə i) quick after each other; the sound begins (ə) and ends (i). The true sound of the (i) is that we now give to *e* in the words "deed, keep" [Here the editor observes: "The copy, from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. B. V."]

EXAMPLES.

Sø¹ hwen səm Endshel, bəi divəin kāmænd,
Uidh rəiziɔ tempests sheeks e gilti Lænd;
(Sətsh əz əv leet ər peel Britæniæ pæst,)
Kælm and siriin hi drəivs dhi fiuriəs blæst;
And, pliiz'd dh' Almeitis ardərs tu pərfarm,
Rəids in dhi Hwərluind and dəirekts dhi Starm.

¹ Dr. Franklin is not consistent in marking the long and short vowels. His peculiarities and errors are here all reproduced. Sir William Jones (Works, 4to. ed. 1799, i. 205), after giving his analysis of sound for the purpose of transliterating the Indian languages, adds: "Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *English* orthography, I should write *Addison's* description of the angel in the following manner, distinguishing the *simple breathing* or first element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our first or second vowel:

Sò hwen sm énjel, bai divain
cāmánd,
Widh raisiñ tempests shées a
gilti land,
Sch az əv lét ór pél Britanya
pást,
Cálm and sirín hi draivz dhi
fyúryas blást,
And plíz'd dh' álmaítiz ārderz
tu perfórm,
Raids in dhi hwərwind and
dairekts dhi stárm.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of *perform*."

The following is probably the meaning to be attached to Jones's symbols, leaving his errors as they stand, but supplying the (ə) occasionally omitted in accordance with Sanscrit custom, and not inserting accents. It is very possible that though he *wrote* signs equivalent to (a, i, ee, r), he actually *said* (ə, i, ee, x).

(Soo hwen səm eendzhel, bai
divain kamaand,
Widh raisiq tempests sheeks a
gilti land,
Sətsh az əv leet oor peel Britan-
ja paast,
Kaalm and siriin hi draivz dhi
fruuryas blaast,
And, pliizd dh- aalmaitiz aarderz
tu perfoorm,
Raids in the hwərwind and
dairekts dhi staarm.)

So dhi piur limpid striim, huen faul with steens
 Av ræshiq Tarents ænd disendiq Reens,
 Uorks itself kliir; ænd æz it ræns rifæins,
 Til bœi digriis, dhe fløtiq mirør shæins,
 Riflekts iitsh flaur dhæt an its bardør grøz,
 And e nu hev'n in its feer Bøzøm shøz.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MISS STEPHENSON AND DR. FRANKLIN.

Diir Sør,

Kensiqton, Septembør 26, 1768.

oi hæv trænskrob'd iur ælfæbet, &c., miitsh oi think mæit bi av særvis tu dhøz, nu uish tæ ækuæir æn ækiuret prønænsieshøn, if dhæt kuld bi fiks'd; bæt oi si meni inkanviniensis, æz uel oz difi-kæltis, dhæt uuld¹ ætend dhi briqiq iur letørs and Arthagræfi intu kamøn iæs. Aal aur etimalødshiz uuld be last, kansikuentli ui kuld nat asørteen dhi miiniq av meni uørds; dhi distinkshøn tu, bituiin uørds av diførent miiniq ænd simiker saund uuld bi dis-træoid, ænd aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi² iusles, ønles ui liviq ræiters pøblish nu iidishøns. In shart oi biliiv ui mæst let piipil spel an in dheer old ue, ænd (æz ui fæind it iisiiest) du dhi seem aurselves. *With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way, subscribe myself, Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate Servant,*

Dr. Franklin.

M. S.

ANSWER TO MISS S * * * *

Diir Mædæm,³

dhi Abdshekshøn iu meek to rektiføiiq aur ælfæbet, dhæt it uil bi ætended widh inkanviniensiz ænd difi-kæltiz, iz e næturæl uøn; far it aluæz akørz huen eni refar-

Probably the difference between Franklin and Jones was more apparent than real. In *perform*, however, Franklin evidently adopted the pronunciation which Jones disliked. On Jones's sensitiveness to rhyme see *suprà* p. 866, note, where a line has been unfortunately omitted. For the sentence beginning on l. 7, col. 2, of that note, read: "THE SEVEN FOUNTAINS of 542 lines has only *afford-Lord*. THE PALACE OF FORTUNE of 506 lines has only *shone-sun*, and *stood-blood*."

The passage selected as an example by both Franklin and Jones is from Addison's *Campaign*, lines 287-291; and is parodied thus in Pope's *Dunciad*, 3, 261-264:

Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
 'Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of peace;
 And proud his Mistress' orders to perform
 Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

¹ Probably meant for (wuld). It is one of the inconveniences of the use of (i, u) for (j, w), together with (ii, uu)

for the long vowels, as in Franklin's scheme, that *ye*, *woo* (jii, wuu) must be written (ii, uu) or (iii, uuu). The latter form I have never seen employed. Hence there is always an ambiguity in such words.

² The words (distræoid, ænd aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi) are omitted in the copy of this letter in Franklin's works, vol. 2, p. 361, and are here restored from the quotations of Miss Stephenson's words in Dr. Franklin's reply, pp. 364-5, so that they contain his spelling rather than hers.

³ There are several letters preserved in Franklin's works addressed to Miss Stephenson or Stevenson. One dated 17th May, 1760, begins: "I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night," and gives advice in reading, shewing that she was then very young, but that Franklin had been in the habit of talking with her about literature and language.

meshən iz *propozed*; muedhər in rilidshən, gəvərnment, laz, and iven daun æz lo æz rōds ænd mil kærishiz. dhi tru kuestshən dhen, is nat muedhər dhæer nil bi nō difikəltiz ar inkənviniensiz, bət muedher dhi difikəltiz mē nat bi sərmauntəd; and muedheər¹ dhi kənviniensiz nil nat, an dhi ruol, bi grētər dhan dhi inkənviniensiz. In dhis kes, dhi difikəltiz er ōnli in dhi biginiq av dhi præktils: muen dhē er uōns ōvərkəm, dhi advāntedshez er læstiq.—Tō əidhər iu ar mi, nu spel uel in dhi prezēt mōd, əi imædshin dhi difikəlti av tshendiq² dhat mōd fər dhi nu, iz nat sō grēt, bət dhæt ui mōit pərfektli git ōvər it in a uiiks rōitiq. Æz tō dhōz hu du nat spel uel, if dhi tu difikəltiz er kōmpərd, viz., dhæt av titshiq dhem tru speliq in dhi prezēt mōd, ænd dhæt av titshiq dhem dhi nu ælfæbet ænd dhi nu speliq ækardiq tō it, əi æm kənfident dhæt dhi lətər uuld bi byi³ fər dhi liist. dhē nætəræli fəl into dhi nu methəd ælreadi, æz mətsh æz dhi imperfekshən av dher ælfæbet nil ædmit av; dhēr prezēt bəd speliq iz ōnli bəd, bikaz kəntreri tō dhi prezēt bəd ruls: əndər dhi nu ruls it uuld bi gud.—dhi difikəlti av lōrniq tō spel uel in dhi ōld nē iz sō grēt, dhæt fiu ætēn it; thauzənds ænd thauzənds rōitiq an tō ōld edsh, uidhənt ever biiq ebil tō æknəir it. 'Tiz, bisəidz, e difikəlti kəntinuəli inkriisiq, æz dhi saund græduəli veriz mōr ænd mōr frām dhi speliq; ænd tō fərənərz⁴ it mēks dhi lōrniq tō prənəns aur læquedsh, æz riten in aur buks, ælmost impasibil.

Nau æz tō dhi inkənviniensiz iu mēshən.—dhi fōrst iz, dhæt aal aur etiməlōdshiz uuld bi last, kənsikuentli ui kuld nat asərteen dhi miiniq av mēni uōrds.—etiməlōdshiz er æt present veri ōnsərteen; bət sətsh æz dhē er, dhi ōld buks nuld stil prizərv dhem, ænd etiməlōdshiz⁵ uuld dhēr fōind dhem. Uōrds in dhi kōrs av tȳim,⁶ tshendsh dher miiniqs, æz uel æz dher speliq ænd prənənsiəshən; ænd ui du nat luk tō etiməlōdshi fər dher prezēt miiniqs. If əi shuld kəl ē mæn e Neev ænde Vilen, ni uuld nærdli bi sətisfōid with⁷ mōi teliq nīm, dhæt uōn av dhi uōrds ōridshinæli signifōid ōnli e ləd ar sərviənt; ænd dhi ədhər, æn əndər pləumæn, ar dhi inhəbitənt av e viledsh. It iz frām prezēt insedsh ōnli, dhi miiniq av uōrds iz tō bi dētərmind.

¹ This word seems to have exercised the Doctor very much, this is the third orthography in a few lines. He meant (wuedhər) of course.

² Meaning (tsheendzhiq) *changing*.

³ Franklin's character for (s) is *y*, and consequently his printer easily confuses it with *y*; (byi) is an error for (bai). Several of the errors here copied may be due to his printer, and cannot be corrected by the original MS.

⁴ "Dr. Franklin used to lay some little stress on this circumstance, when he occasionally spoke on the subject. 'A dictionary, formed on this model, would have been serviceable to him, he

said, even as an American;' because, from the want of public examples of pronunciation in his own country, it was often difficult to learn the proper sound of certain words, which occurred very frequently in our English writings, and which of course every American very well understood as to their meaning. B. V."—Note to Dr. F.'s Works, vol. 2, p. 363.

⁵ Meaning, probably *etymologists* (etiməlōdshists) in his spelling.

⁶ Meaning (toim) *time*. See above, note 3.

⁷ The (w) and the (th) are both slips. He meant (uidh) in his spelling.

Iur sekönd inkanviniens iz, dhæt dhi distinkshön bituiin uörds av diförent miiniq and similær saund uuld bi distraoid.—dhæt distinkshön iz already distraoid in pronauinsiq dhem; ænd ui rilöi an dhi sens ælon av dhi sentens to æsorteen, huitsh av dhi severæl uörds, simikær in saund, ui intend. If dhis iz söfishent in dhi räpiditi av diskörs, it uil bi mutsh mör so in riten sentenses, huitsh më bi red lezshurli, ænd ætended to mör pärtikularli in kes av difikölti, dhæn ui kæn ætend to e päst sentens, huöl e spikör iz höryüiq¹ æs ælaq with nu uöns.

Iur thörd inkanviniens iz, dhæt aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi iusles.—dhis inkanviniens uuld önlü këm an græduæli, in e körs av edshes. In ænd öi, ænd ödhör nau liviq ridörs, uuld härdli farget dhi ius av dhem. Piipil uuld löng lörn to riid dhi öld röitiq, dhö dhê präktist dhi nu.—Ænd dhi inkanviniens is nat greater, dhæn huæt nes æktuæli næpend in æ simikær kes, in Iteli. Farmerli its inhäbitäents aal spok and röt Lætin: æz dhi læquedsh tshendshd, dhi speliq falö'd it. It iz tru dhæt æt präzent, e miir önläern'd Italien knat² riid dhi Lætin buks; dhö dhe er stil red ænd öndörstud böi meni. Böt, if dhi speliq hæd nevör bin 'tshendshed, hi uuld nau hev faund it mötsh mör difikölt to riid and ryt³ hiz ön laquædsh; fär riten uörds uuld hev hæd nö rilëshön to saunds, dhe uuld önlü hev stud fär thiqs; so dhæt if hi uuld ekspres in röitiq dhi öidia hi hev, huen hi saunds dhi uörd *Vescoro*, hi möst iuz dhi leterz *Episcopus*.—In shart, huætever dhi difiköltiz ænd inkanviniensiz nau er, dhe uil bi mör iizili sömmaunted nau, dhan nüræftör; ænd sëm töim ar ödhör, it möst bi döu; ar aur röitiq uil biköm dhi seem uildh dhi Tshäniiz, æz to dhi difikölti av lörniq and iuziq it. Ænd it uuld ælredi hev bin sötsh, if ui hæd kantinud dhi Saksön speliq and röitiq, iuzed böi öur förfadhers. öi æm, möi diir frind, iurs æfekshonetli, B. Franklin.

London, Kreven-strit, Sept. 28, 1768.

II. NOAH WEBSTER'S REMARKS ON AMERICAN ENGLISH.

Noah Webster's *English Dictionary* has so recently become popular in England that we can scarcely look upon him as belonging to the xviii th century. But having been born in Connecticut in 1758, his associations with English pronunciation in America are referable to a period of English pronunciation in England belonging quite to the beginning of the xviii th, if not even to the latter half of the xvii th century. The recent editions of the Dictionary all shew a "revised" pronunciation, so that the historical character of the work in this respect is destroyed. The following extracts from a special and little known work by the same author are valuable for our purpose, as they convey much information on the archaisms which were at least then prevalent in America, and distinguish in many cases between American and English pronunciation.

¹ Either (hæriiq) meaning (hær-öi, iq) or (hæriiq) meaning (hær'i)iq).

² Probably (kænat) cannot.

³ Meaning (röit) write, see p. 1062, n. 3.

Title. Dissertations on the English Language: with notes, historical and critical. To which is added, by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that Subject. By Noah Webster, Jun., Esquire. Printed at Boston for the Author, 1789. 8vo., pp. xvi., 410. Press-mark at British Museum, 825 g. 27. Dedicated "to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Hartford.

In Franklin's Works (London, 1806, vol. 2, p. 351), under date 26 Dec. 1789, there is a letter from Franklin to Webster, acknowledging and praising this book, and drawing attention to the following Americanisms as having been adopted subsequently to 1723. *Improved* for employed or used, as "a country house many years *improved* as a tavern; a country gentleman for more than thirty years *improved* as a justice of the peace." "A verb from the substantive *notice*. I should not have *noticed* this, were it not that the gentleman, etc. Also another verb from the substantive *advocate*: The gentleman

who *advocates* or who has *advocated* that motive, etc. Another from the substantive *progress*, the most awkward and abominable of the three: the committee having *progressed*, resolved to adjourn. The word *opposed*, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, the gentlemen who are *opposed* to this measure, to which I have also myself always been *opposed*. If," continues Franklin, addressing Webster, "you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them." The words are still all in use in America; and to *notice*, to *advocate*, and *opposed* are common in England, where even to *progress* is heard. The point of interest is that in the use as well as in the pronunciation of words, elderly people are being continually offended by innovations which they look upon as deteriorations, but which constantly prevail in spite of such denunciations.

In the following paragraphs all is Webster's writing, except the passages between brackets and in paleotype. The pages of the original are also inserted in brackets as they arise.

[Note at back of contents, p. xvi.]

The sounds of the vowels, marked or referred to in the second and third dissertations, are according to the Key in the First Part of the Institute. Thus:

	a	e	i	o	u	y
First sound,	late,	feet,	night,	note,	tune,	sky
Second	hat,	let,	tin,		tun,	glory
Third		law,	fraud			
Fourth		ask,	father			
Fifth		not,	what			
Sixth		prove,	room			

[p. 83] Thus *i* in *fit* has the same quality of sound as *ee* in *feet*. . . The other vowels have also their short or abrupt sounds; *a* in *late* [p. 84] has its short sound in *let*; *a* in *cart* has its short sound in *carry*; *a* in *fall* has its short sound in *fully*; *oo* in *fool* its short sound in *full*. *O* is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in *colt*; but the distinction between *o* in *coal* and *colt* seems to be accidental or caused by the final consonant, and not sufficiently settled or important to require a separate consideration. . . . [Here we have the usual difficulties (*ii*, *i*) or (*ii*, *i*)? (*aa*, *a*) or (*aa*, *æ*)? (*AA*, *A*) or (*AA*, *a*)? (*uu*, *u*) or (*uu*, *u*)? Perhaps *colt* was (*kolt*), not (*kolt*), in the pronunciation referred to. This point will

be again alluded to when touching on present American English, Chap. XI. § 1.]

The letters, *i*, *u* and *y* are usually classed among the vowels; but the first or long sound of each requires, in pronunciation, two positions of the organs of speech, or rather a transition from the position necessary to form one simple sound, to the position necessary to form another simple sound. We begin the sound of *i* nearly with the same aperture of the glottis, [a mere error arising from necessary ignorance of the mechanism of speech, the glottis being closed for all vowels,] as we do the broad *a* or *aw*. The aperture however is not quite so great. We rapidly close the mouth to the position where

we pronounce *ee*, and there stop the sound (*ai*?). This letter is therefore a diphthong.

U also is not strictly a vowel; nor is it, as it is commonly represented, composed [p. 85] of *e* and *oo*. We do not begin the sound in the position necessary to sound *ee*, as is obvious in the words *salute*, *salubrious*, *revolution*; but with a greater aperture of the mouth and with a position perfectly easy and natural. From that position we pass to the position with which we pronounce *oo*, and there close the sound. It must however be observed that when these letters *i*, *u*, are followed by a consonant, the two sounds of the diphthong are not clearly distinguishable. We do not, in *fight*, hear the sound of *ee*; nor the sound of *oo* in *cube*. The consonant compresses the organs and closes the sound of the word so suddenly, that the ear can distinguish but a simple vocal sound. And notwithstanding these letters are diphthongs, when considered by themselves, yet in combination with consonants, they are often marks of simple sounds or vowels. [This may only indicate an insufficient power of analysis. The diphthongs were perhaps only much shorter in these cases, that is, had the second element, and the connecting glide much shorter, giving a compressed effect. But *cube*, which is now really (*kiúb*), with a long second element, may have been squeezed into (*kyb*), by the "linking" of its elements as (*i*u*=*y*) very nearly. Similarly *fight* may have reached (*fet*), as (*a*v*)=(*E*) very nearly. See further remarks on long *u* near the end of these extracts, *infra* p. 1069.]

The short sound of *i* and *y* is merely short *ee*. The sound of *u* in *tune* is a separate vowel, which has no affinity to any other sound in the language. [Can this be (*yy*)? Compare Steele's *tune*, p. 1057, and Kenrick, p. 1052, No. 6.]

The sound of *oi* or *oy* is diphthongal, composed of the third or broad *a* and *ee*. [We have then the old difficulty in separating long *i* from *oy*, both being made (*ai*) or (*ai*). p. 86] The sound of *ou* or *ow* is also diphthongal, compounded of third *a* and *oo*. The sound however does not require quite so great an aperture of the mouth as broad *a*; the position is more natural, and the articulation requires less exertion (*au*?).

[p. 88] The vowels therefore in

English are all heard in the following words, late, half, hall, feet, pool, note, tun, fight, truth. The five first have short sounds or duplicates, which may be heard in let, hat, hot, fit, pull; and the letters *i* and *u* are but accidentally vowels. The pure primitive vowels in English are therefore seven.

The diphthongs may be heard in the following words: lie or defy, due, voice or joy, round or now. To these we may add *ua* in *persuade*; and perhaps the combinations of *w* and the vowels, in *well*, *will*, etc.

[p. 92 Webster remarks that *i* has its first sound in bind, find, mind, kind, blind, grind. But *wind* has the second short sound of *i*. Then in a footnote, p. 93, he adds:] On the stage, it is sometimes pronounced with *i* long, either for the sake of rhyme, or in order to be heard. Mr. Sheridan marks it both ways; yet in common discourse he pronounces it with *i* short, as do the nation in general.

[Cambridge, danger, and perhaps manger. Also angel, ancient have (*ee*).] In this all the standard authors [p. 94] agree, except Kenrick and Burn, who mark *a* in *ancient* both long and short. The English pronunciation is followed in the middle and southern states [of America]; but the eastern universities have restored these words to the analogy of the language, and give *a* its second sound (*æ*). It is presumed that no reason can be given for making these words exceptions to the general rule, but practice; and this is far from being universal, there being many of the best speakers in America, who give *a* in the words mentioned the same sound as in *anguish*, *annals*, *angelic*, *antiquity*.

In the word *chamber*, *a* has its fourth sound (*aa*). It is necessary to remark this, as [p. 95] there are many people in America who give *a* its first sound (*ee*), which is contrary to analogy and to all the English authorities. [Mr. White, *supra* p. 968, c. 1, in a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), says: "The isolation of the Englishmen of New England, and their consequent protection from exterior influences, caused changes in pronunciation, as well as in idiom, to take place more slowly among them than among their brethren who remained in the mother-country; and the orthoepy for which the worthy pedant contends, is not very far removed from that of the grandfathers

and great-grandfathers of the present generation in the more sequestered parts of the eastern states. The scholars among these, as well as those who had received only that common-school education which no Yankee is allowed to lack, did not, for instance, in Holofernian phrase, speak *could* and *would* fine, but pronounced all the consonants, *could* and *would*; they said *sword*, not *sorid*; they pronounced 'have' to rhyme with 'rave,' not *har*, —'jest,' which used to be written *jeast*, *jeat* to rhyme with 'yeast,' — 'pert,' which of old was spelled *pear t*, *peert*: and in compound words they said for instance 'clean-ly,' not *clen-ty*, and, correctly, 'an-gel,' 'cham-ber,' 'dan-ger,' not *ane-gel*, *chame-ber*, *dane-ger*. Their accents yet linger in the ears of some of us, and make the words of Shakespeare's pedagogue not altogether strange." As regards *chamber* see Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, *suprà* p. 859, col. 1.]

[p. 96] I consider these terminations *tion*, *sion*, *cion*, *cial*, *cian*, as single syllables.

[p. 103] In the eastern states there is a practice prevailing among the body of the people of prolonging the sound of *i* in the termination *ive*. In such words as *motive*, *relative*, etc., the people, excepting the more polished part, give *i* its first sound (*ai*?). This is a local practice, opposed to the general [p. 104] pronunciation of English on both sides of the Atlantic. . . . [In footnote to p. 104] The final *e* must be considered as the cause of this vulgar dialect. It is wished that some bold genius would dare to be right, and spell this class of words without *e*, *motiv*. . . .

[p. 105] In the middle states . . . many people pronounce *practise*, *prejudice* with *i* long. I know of no authority for this beyond the limits of two or three states.

Another very common error, among the yeomanry of America, and particularly in New England, is the pronouncing of *e* before *r*, like *a*; as *marey* for *mercy*. This mistake must have originated principally in the name of the letter *r*, which, in most of our school-books, is called *ar*. This single mistake has spread a false pronunciation of several hundred words among millions of people. [In a footnote] To remedy the evil in some degree, this letter is named *er*, in the Institute.

In a few instances this pronunciation is become general among polite speakers, as clerks, sergeant, etc. [In text] To avoid this disagreeable singularity, some fine speakers have run into another extreme, by pronouncing *e* before *r*, like *u*, *marcy*. This is an error. The true sound of the short *e*, as in *let*, is the correct and elegant pronunciation of this letter in all words of this class. [But (*merci*) can now only be heard in Scotland.]

[p. 106] There is a vulgar singularity in the pronunciation of the eastern people, which is very incorrect, and disagreeable to strangers, that of prefixing the sound of *i* short or *e*, before the diphthong *ow*; as *kiow*, *piower* or *peover*. This fault usually occurs after *p*, *e* hard, or those other consonants which are formed near the seat of *ee* in the mouth. . . . But the most awkward countryman pronounces *round*, *ground*, etc., with tolerably propriety.

[Webster then remarks on the New England drawl, and attributes it to its "political institutions" !]

[p. 108, note, he speaks of] the surprising similarity between the idioms of the New England people and those of Chaucer, Shakespear, Congreve, etc., who wrote in the true English style.

[p. 109, he speaks of] the very modern pronunciation of *kind*, *sky*, *guide*, etc., in which we hear the short *i* before *k*, *kind*, or *kyine*, *skye*, etc. [he compares it to the eastern *know*, *reow*, and adds :] Yet, strange as it may seem, it is the elegant pronunciation of the fashionable people both in England and America [but he strongly disapproves of it].

[p. 110] Some of the southern people, particularly in Virginia, almost omit the sound of *r*, as in *ware*, *there*. In the best English pronunciation the sound of *r* is much softer than in some of the neighbouring languages, particularly the Irish and Spanish, and probably much softer than in the ancient Greek. . . . [This omission of the *r*, or its degradation to (*a*, *o*, '), is still very prevalent in America as in England, if we may judge from Yankee books of drollery, but its prevalence in Webster's time indicates that it was at least well known in England in the xvii th century. See *suprà* p. 974.]

It is a custom very prevalent in the middle states, even among some well-bred people, to pronounce *off*, *soft*, *drop*,

crop, with the sound of *a*, *aff*, *saft*, *drap*, *erap*. [p. 111] This seems to be a foreign and local dialect; and cannot be advocated by any person who understands correct English. [In a note on this passage, p. 383, he adds:] The dialect in America is peculiar to the descendants of the Scotch Irish. [In Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, acted in 1777, a refashionment of Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, 1697, we still meet with, *rat*, *lard*, *stap*, *Gud* in oaths, and *Tam* in an address; *egad* is in the *School for Scandal*, and may be heard still, and in Dorsetshire we shall find many such cases.]

[p. 111] In the middle states also, many people pronounce a *t* at the end of *once* and *twice*, *oncet* and *twicet*. This gross impropriety would not be mentioned, but for its prevalence among a class of very well educated people; particularly in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Foteh for *fitch* is very common, in several states, but not among the better classes of people. *Catched* for *caught* is more frequent, and equally barbarous.

Skroud and *skrouge* for *croud*, are sometimes heard among people that should be ashamed of the least vulgarity.

Mought for *might* is heard in most of the states, but not frequently, except in a few towns.

Holpe for *help* I have rarely heard, except in Virginia, [where, in a note, p. 384, he says] it is pronounced *hope*. "Shall I hope you, sir?"

Tote is local in Virginia and its neighbourhood. In meaning it is nearly equivalent to *carry*.

Chore, a corruption of *char*, is perhaps confined to New England.

[In a note on this passage, p. 385, he remarks the use of *dern* pronounced *durn* for *great*, *severe* in New England; also *ax* for *ask* there.]

[p. 388] *Shet* for *shut* is now become vulgar. In New England we frequently hear *becase* to this day. It is pronounced *beaze*. The vulgar pronunciation of *such* is *sich*.

[p. 112] The pronunciation of *w* for *v* is a prevailing practice in England and America; it is particularly prevalent in Boston and Philadelphia. [p. 113] Many people say *veal*, *vessel*, for *veal*, *vessel*. [In a footnote he says:] I am at a loss to determine why this practice should prevail in Boston and

not in Connecticut. The first and principal settlers in Hartford came from the vicinity of Boston. Vast numbers of people in Boston and the neighbourhood use *w* for *v*, yet I never once heard this pronunciation in Connecticut.

[p. 114] The words *shall*, *quality*, *quantity*, *qualify*, *quandary*, *quadrant*, are differently pronounced by good speakers. Some give *a* a broad sound as *shol*, *quolity*, and others its second sound as in *hat*. With respect to the four first almost all the standard writers [who in a footnote are named as Kenrick, Sheridan, Burn, Perry and Scott] agree to pronounce *a* short as in *hat*, and this is [p. 115] the stage pronunciation. It is correct, for it is more agreeable to the analogy of the language; that being the proper sound of the English *a* which is heard in *hat* or *bar*. [Hence Webster *ought* to have said (*hat*) and not (*uat*), like Kenrick.] With respect to the two last, authors differ; some give the first (*æ*), some the second (*æ*), and others the fifth sound (*ə*). They all pretend to give us the court pronunciation, and as they differ so widely, we must suppose that eminent speakers differ in practice. In such a case, we can hardly hesitate a moment to call in analogy to decide the question, and give *a* in all these words, as also in *quash*, its second sound (*æ*). [In a footnote he observes:] The distinction in the pronunciation of *a* in *quality* when it signifies the property of some body (*ə*?), and when it is used for high rank (*æ*?), appears to me without foundation in rule or practice.

[p. 115 text] The words *either*, *neither*, *deceit*, *conceit*, *receipt*, are generally pronounced by the eastern people *ither*, *nither*, *desate*, *consate*, *resate*. These are errors; all the standard authors agree to give *ei* in these words the sound of *ee*. This is the practice in England, in the middle and southern States.

[p. 116] *Importance* is by a few people pronounced *impo'trance*, with the first sound of *o* (*oo*). . . . It seems however to be affectation, for the standard writers and general practice are opposed to it.

Decis-ive for *deci-sive* is mere affectation.

Reesin for *raisin* is very prevalent in two or three principal towns in America.

Leisure is sometimes pronounced

leisure and sometimes *lezsure*; the latter is the [p. 117] most general pronunciation in America.

Dictionary has been usually pronounced *dicsionary*.

One author of eminence pronounces *defile* in three syllables *def-i-le*. In this he is singular; . . . all the other authorities are against him.

With respect to *oblige*, authorities differ. The standard writers give us both *oblige* and *obleege*, and it is impossible to determine on which side the weight of authority lies.

[p. 118] Some people very erroneously pronounce *chaise*, *sha* in the singular and *shaze* in the plural. [The pronunciation (poo shee) for *post chaise* was familiar to me in London fifty years ago.]

Our modern fashionable speakers accent *European* on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. [p. 119] Analogy requires *Euro-pean* and this is supported by as good authorities as the other. [Footnote p. 118] *Hymenean* and *hymeneal* are, by some writers, accented on the last syllable but one, but erroneously; other authorities preserve the analogy.

[p. 119] *Rome* is very frequently pronounced *Room*, and that by people of every class. The authors I have consulted give no light upon this word except Perry, who directs to that pronunciation. The practice however is by no means general in America. There are many good speakers who give *o* its first sound (*oo*). It seems very absurd to give *o* its first sound (*oo*) in *Romish*, *Romans*, and pronounce it *oo* in *Rome*, the radical word.

[p. 120] In the pronunciation of *arch* in many compound words, people are not uniform. The disputed words are *archangel*, *archetype*, *architecture*, *architrave*, *archives*. . . . The sound of *ch* in *chart* is likewise disputed.

[p. 121] There are many people who omit the aspirate in most words which begin with *wh*, as *white*, *whip*, etc., which they pronounce *wite*, *wip*, etc. To such it is necessary to observe that in the pure English pronunciation both in Great Britain and New England, for it is exactly the same in both, *h* is not silent in a single word beginning with *wh*. In this point our standard authors differ; two of them aspirating the whole of these words, and three mark-

ing *h* in most of them as mute. [Kenrick always marks *h* as mute, or *wh*=(w).] But the omission of *h* seems to be a foreign corruption; for in America it is not known among the unmixed descendants of the English. . . In this class of words *w* is silent in four only, with their derivatives; viz. *who*, *whole*, *whoop*, *whore*.

[p. 122] One or two authors affect to pronounce *human* and about twenty other words beginning with *h*, as though they were spelt *yuman*. This is a gross error. The only word that begins with this sound is *humor*, with its derivatives. In the American pronunciation *h* is silent in the following, *honest*, *honor*, *hour*, *humor*, *herb*, *hair*, with their derivatives. To these the English add *hospital*, *hostler*, *humble*; but an imitation of these, which some industriously affect, cannot be recommended, as every omission of the aspirate serves to mutilate and weaken the language.

[p. 123] The word *yelk* is sometimes written *yolk* and pronounced *yoke*. But *yelk* is the most correct orthography, from the Saxon *gealkwe* [spelled *geolca*, *geolca*, from *geolu* yellow, in Etymüller, p. 418]; and in this country it is the general pronunciation.

Ewe is, by the English, often pronounced *yo*; which is sometimes heard in America. But analogy and the general corresponding practice in this country, . . . decide for *yew*.

The English speakers of eminence have shortened the vowel in the first syllable of *tyranny*, *zealous*, *sacrifice*, etc. . . . [that is, made it (*i*, *e*, *æ*) respectively, as is now the general English custom]. This pronunciation has not spread among the people of this country [that is, presumably, they make it (*ai*, *ii*, *ee*) respectively]. . . . Many people in America say *pat-ron*, *mat-ron*; whereas the English say either *pa-tron* or *pat-ron*, *ma-tron* [p. 124] or *mat-ron*, but all agree in saying *pat-ronage*. In *patriot*, *patriotism*, the English give *a* its long sound, but a great part of the Americans, its short sound. [This is similar to the use of *pro-verbs* for *proper-verbs* which Mr. White, Shakspeare's Works 3, 226, says "still lingers in New England."]

Wrath the English pronounce with the third sound of *a* or *aw* (AA), but the Americans almost universally preserve the analogous sound, as in *bath*, *path* [(aa) or (aw) :].

[p. 125] In the middle and southern states, *fierce*, *piece*, *tierce*, are pronounced *feerce*, *puerce*, *teece*. To convince the people of the impropriety of this pronunciation, it might be sufficient to inform them, that it is not fashionable on the English theater. [p. 126] The standard English pronunciation now is *ferce*, *perce*, *terce* [which is now, 1871, unknown in the South of England; see *suprà* p. 105, n. 1], and it is universal in New England.

The English pronounce *leap*, *lep*; and that in the present tense as well as the past. Some of our American horsemen have learnt the practice; but among other people it is almost unknown.

In the fashionable world, *heard* is pronounced *herd* or *hurd*. This was almost unknown in America till the commencement of the late war [that of Independence], and how long it has been [p. 127] the practice in England I cannot determine. . . . That *herd* was not formerly the pronunciation, is probable from this circumstance; the Americans were strangers to it when they came from England, and the body of the people are so to this day. To most people in this country the English pronunciation appears like [p. 128] affectation, and is adopted only in the capital towns. [It is implied that the Americans say *heerd*, like Dr. Johnson, *suprà* p. 624, note, c. 2.]

Beard is sometimes, but erroneously, pronounced *berd*. General practice, both in England and America, requires that *e* should be pronounced as in *were*, and I know of no rule opposed to the practice.

Deaf is generally pronounced *deef*. It is the universal practice in the eastern states, and it is general in the middle and southern; though some have adopted the English pronunciation *def*. The latter is evidently a corruption.

[p. 131] *Gold* is differently pronounced by good speakers. [He decides for (*goold*) in preference to (*gould*).]

[p. 133] Similar reasons and equally forceable are opposed to the modern pronunciation of *wound* [as (*wuund*); he decides for (*waund*). p. 134] There is but a small part even of the well-bred people in this country, who have yet adopted the English mode [(*wuund*)].

[p. 136] *Skeptick* for *sceptic* is mere pedantry. [He apparently refers only

to the spelling, but as he instances the spelling *scene*, *scepter*, he perhaps said (*sep'tik*).]

[p. 137] *Sauce* with the fourth sound of *a* (*aa*), is accounted vulgar; yet this is the ancient, the correct and most general pronunciation. The *aw* of the North Britons is much affected of late; *sauce*, *haint*, *vaint*; yet the true sound is that of *aunt*, *jaunt*, and a change can produce no sensible advantage.

[He decides in favour of accenting *advertisement*, *chastisement* on the last syllable but one, and *acceptable*, *admirable*, *disputable*, *comparable* on the last but two, and says, p. 141:] The people at large say *admi'ceable*, *dispu'teable*, *comp'd'reable*, and it would be difficult to lead them from this easy and natural pronunciation, to embrace that forced one of *ad'mirable*, etc. The people are right, and, in this particular, will ever have it to boast of, that among the unlearned is found the purity of English pronunciation. [He admits *rep'utable* as an exception. He decides for *access'ary*, p. 142.]

[p. 143] *Immedyate* is so difficult, that every person who attempts to pronounce it in that manner will fall into *immedjate*. Thus *commodious*, *comedian*, *tragedian*, are very politely pronounced *commojus*, *comejan*, *trajejan* [which he denounces, and requires *-di-* to form a distinct syllable].

[On pp. 147-179, he has a disquisition on the pronunciation of *d*, *t*, and *s* before *u*, as (*dz*h, *tsh*, *sh*), to which he is strongly opposed. The argument goes to shew that it was then common in England and not in America. But the only parts which it is necessary to quote are the following. After citing Wallis's account of long *u* (*suprà* p. 171), he says on his p. 151:]

This is precisely the idea I have ever had of the English *u*; except that I cannot allow the sound to be perfectly simple. If we attend to the manner in which we begin the sound of *u* in *flute*, *abjure*, *truth*, we shall observe that the tongue is not pressed to the mouth so closely as in pronouncing *e*; the aperture of the organs is not so small; and I presume that good speakers, and am confident that most people, do not pronounce these words *fleute*, *abjeure*, *treuth*. Neither do they pronounce them *floate*, *abjoore*, *trooth*; but with a sound formed by

an easy natural aperture of the mouth, between *iu* and *oo*; which is the true English sound. This sound, however, obscured by affectation in the metropolis of Great Britain and [p. 152] the capital towns in America, is still preserved by the body of the people in both countries. There are a million descendants of the Saxons in this country who retain the sound of *u* in all cases, precisely according to Wallis's definition. Ask any plain countryman, whose pronunciation has not been exposed to corruption by mingling with foreigners, how he pronounces the letters *t*, *r*, *u*, *th*, and he will not sound *u* like *eu*, nor *oo*, but will express the real primitive English *u*. Nay, if people wish to make an accurate trial, let them direct any child of seven years old, who has had no previous instruction respecting the matter, to pronounce the words *suit*, *tumult*, *due*, etc., and they will thus ascertain the true sound of the letter. Children pronounce *u* in the most natural manner; whereas the sound of *iu* requires a considerable effort, and that of *oo*, a forced position of the lips. Illiterate persons therefore pronounce the genuine English *u* much better than those who have attempted to shape their pronunciation according to the modern polite practice. [p. 189] In modern times, we have, in many words, blended the sound of *u* with that of *eu*, or rather use them promiscuously. It is indifferent, as to the pronunciation, whether we write *fuel* or *fewel*. And yet in this word, as also in *new*, *brew*, etc., we do not hear the sound of *e*, except among the Virginians, who affect to pronounce it distinctly, *ne-ew*, *ne-oo*, *fi-oo*. This affectation is not of modern date, for Wallis mentions it in his time and reprobates it [suprà p. 139].

[It would be difficult to imagine the sound from the above description. Years ago the sound was a source of great difficulty to me, because Americans refused to consider *u* as (*iu*) or (*au*). I have not been able to study the sound sufficiently, but it sometimes seems to be (*eu*), at others (*yu*) or (*au*). See suprà p. 980, n. 1. Webster says in a

footnote, p. 127:] The company that purchased New England was, indeed, called the *Plymouth Company*, being composed principally of persons belonging to the County of Devon. But many of the principal settlers in these states came from London and its vicinity; some from the middle counties, the ancient kingdom of Mercia; and a few from the northern counties. [And he adds:] There is not the least affinity between the languages of New England and the specimens of the Devonshire dialect given in the English Magazines. [But this sound of *u* seems to be in favour of a West of England origin; as it is not pure XVIIth century. The next point of importance is, p. 156:]

But another inconsistency in the modern practice is the introducing an *e* before the second sound of *u* in *tun*; or rather changing the preceding consonant; for in *nature*, *rapture*, and hundreds of other words, *t* is changed into *tsh*; and yet no person pretends that *u* in these words has its diphthongal sound. . . . [p. 157] I believe no person ever pretended that this sound of *u* contains the sound of *e* or *y*, . . . and I challenge the advocates of the practice to produce a reason for pronouncing *natshur*, *raptshur*, *captshur*, which will not extend to authorize not only *tshun*, *tshurn* for *tun*, *turn*, but also *fatshal* for *fatal* and *immortshal* for *immortal*. Nay the latter pronunciation is actually heard among some very respectable imitators of fashion: and is frequent [p. 158] among the illiterate, in those states where the *tshu*'s are most fashionable. . . . I am sensible that some writers of novels and plays have ridiculed the common pronunciation of *creatur* and *natur* by introducing these and similar words into low characters, and spelling them *creater*, *nater*, [which he considers a mistake, because the sound is *-ur* and not *-er* final, even when written *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*; adding, p. 159:] Liar, elder, factor are pronounced *liur*, *eldur*, *factur*, and this is the true sound of *u* in *creature*, *nature*, *rapture*, *legislature*, etc. [See suprà p. 973, under URE.]

§ 3. *Noteworthy Pronunciations and Rhymes of the Eighteenth Century, collected from the Expert Orthographist 1704, Dyche 1710, Buchanan 1760, Franklin 1768, and Sheridan 1780, and various poets.*

NOTEWORTHY PRONUNCIATIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

To form a better notion of the melting of the pronunciation current in the xviith century into that of the xviiith, which is the direct source of the pronunciation now in use, I have collected many noteworthy pronunciations from the writers above named.

1) THE EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST, 1704, exhibits an early form of the genuine xviiith century pronunciation, which partly was an anticipation of what became current fifty years later, and partly retained the old forms. The marked peculiarity is in the words containing *ea*, which were forced into (ii) beyond what afterwards received the sanction of use. Not too much value is to be attributed to this writer as representing the general pronunciation of the period. At most he bears the same relation to Jones, that Hart did to Smith in the xviith century. But there is this difference, that Hart was a travelled, educated man, and the Orthographist was evidently a third-rate English teacher, unused to educated society.

2) DYCHE, 1710, is of but very limited use, as he merely describes the sounds in the accented syllables of a few words, and does not symbolize them with sufficient accuracy. The sounds here given are therefore rather guesses than transcripts in several instances.

3) BUCHANAN, 1766, was not only a Scotchman, but had many Scotch proclivities, which render his vocabulary suspicious in parts. Thus, it cannot be supposed that the English language had short (i) and not (i), in competition and similar words, which is a thoroughly Scotch peculiarity, or that any but a Scotchman called *drunken* (drɔk'n). There seems reason to suppose that many, perhaps most, perhaps all, of Buchanan's short o's, here marked as (o), were pronounced by him as (o), thus *post* could hardly have been (pɔst), although it could not be marked otherwise in accordance with his notation, as this pronunciation will not harmonize at all with (puust, poost) given by others, whereas (pɔst) would only be a Scotch pronunciation of (poost). Nevertheless, the completeness and early date of this attempt to "establish a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English language," has rendered it necessary to go through the whole, and select such words as on any account seemed worthy of preservation.

4) FRANKLIN, 1768, has only left us the fragment printed in the preceding section. A few words have here been selected, and their orthography has been corrected so as to represent what Franklin apparently meant to convey.

5) SHERIDAN, 1780, commences a series of pronouncing dictionaries, which will here be carefully passed over, but his near approach to Buchanan and Franklin, and his peculiarities, which must represent some pronunciations current during that period, dashed

though they be with his own orthoepistic fancies, rendered him the proper termination of these researches. All the words taken from Buchanan have therefore been compared with Sheridan. Kenrick's peculiarities can be sufficiently judged from his descriptions of the vowels, given above. Hence it has not been thought necessary to add his pronunciations to Sheridan's, with which they were so nearly contemporary.

Lediard's were collected subsequently to the completion of this index, and have not been added, they are however so arranged on pp. 1040-9, that they can be easily referred to.

The letters O, D, B, F, S, placed after the pronunciations, refer to these authorities in order. The transcript has been made after much consideration, but there are some doubtful points. It is probable that the (ə) assigned to the Orthographist and Dyche, did not differ from Sheridan's (A). It is only Buchanan who seems to make a difference between (ə) and (A), and, as we have seen, this may have arisen from his saying (o) and (A).

A

- abeyance* æbiːˈæns S
ablution æbliːˈʃən B, S
abroad əbrʌdː B, S, O
abstruse əbstriːzː B, əbstriːsː S
absune æbsiːnː B, S
abundant əbʊndːənt B, əbendːənt S
academial ækædemɪˈjəl B, ækædiimɪˈjəl S
academician ækædemishɪˈn B, ækædeemishɪˈn S
acclaim ækleemː B, S
acclamation æklæmeɪˈʃən B, æklæmeeˈʃən S
activity æklɪvɪˈti B, æklɪvɪˈti S
ache eek B, S
acknowledge æknəlɪdʃ B, æknəlɪˈdʒ B, S
aeres eekərz O, B, S
actual æktɪnəl B, æktɪnəl S
adagio ædeɪˈdʒiə B, ædeɪˈdʒuə S
adhere ædhiːr O, B, S
adjudicate ædʒuːˈdɪkeɪt B, S
adjure ædʒuːr B, S
adulation ædʒuleɪˈʃən B, S
adventure ædventʃər B, ædventʃər S
aerial eəriˈjəl B, æiːrɪˈjəl S
acrie eəri B, eəri S
again ːegen O, B, S
agio ædʒiˈo B
ah æə B, S
alien æliːn O, eelɪˈn B, eelɪˈn S
all aal B, S
almond ælˈmænd O, æelˈmænd B, æˈmænd S
almoner æelˈmunər B, ælˈmuːnər S
almost ælmoːstː D, ælmoost B, S
alms æəlmz B, æəlmz S
alternate ælˈtərnɪt B, ælˈtərnæt S
amatory eeməˈtɔːri B, æmˈætəri S
amber æmˈbr B, æmˈbər S
amenable æmɪnɪˈbl B, æmɪˈnæbl S
amiable eemɪˈjəbl B, eemɪˈjəbl S
amnesty æmˈsti B, æmˈnesti S
among æməŋː O, S
amour æmoːr B, æmuːr S
anarch eemærk B, ænærk S
angel ændʒəl B, eendʒəl F, eendʒəl S
anoint ænɔɪntː O, ænɔɪntː B, ænɔɪntː S
answer ænsər B, ænsər S
ant ænt B, S
antic æntɪk B, S
antique æntɪk B, æntɪkː S
anxious æŋkʃəs B, æŋkʃəs S
any æni B, S
arist eərɪst B, eərɪst S
apostle æpəsl B, æpəsl S
appoint æpɔɪntː O, æpɔɪntː B, æpɔɪntː S
apparel æpərɪl B, æpərɪl S
approve æprəvː O, æpruːv B, S
April eəprɪl B, eəprɪl S
apron eəprən O, æprən B, eəprən S
aquatic ækwætɪk B, S
arable eərɪbl C, æræbl S
arch æərtʃ B, S
architect ærkɪˈtekt D, B, æerkɪˈtekt S
are er B, eər F, ær S
area eəriə B, S
arm æərm B, S
armada æəmeɪˈdæ B, S
arsenal eərsnəl B, æərsnəl S
Asia æʃiə B
ask æsk B, S
askance æskənsː B, æskənsː S
aslant æslæntː B, æskentː S
ass æs B, S
asthma æstmə D, B, æsmæ S
asylum æsɪləm B, æsaiˈləm S
athletic æθliˈtɪk B, æθletɪk S

atrocious ætroo'shəs B, S
augury AA'gəri B, AA'giurı S
about ænt D, æent B, ænt S
austere AA'stiır O, B, S
avenue æv'niu B, æv'iiniu S
avoidupoise æv'erdəpəiz B, æverde-
 paaiz S
await eweet B, æweet S
awkward AAK'ırd B, AA'kord S
awl aal B, S
axiom æk'siəm B, æk'shəm S
azure eez'jər B, eez'hər S

B

bacchanals bæk'inılz B, bæk'ænælz S
bacon beek-n B, S
bagnio bæ'njə B, bæ'njoo S
balcony bal'kəni B, bal'koo'ni S
bald baald D, B, S
balderdash bal'dirdæsh B, baal'derdæsh
 S
ball baal D, B, S
baln bæem B, S
banquet bæqk'et D, bæqk'it, B, bæqk-
 wit S
baptize bæptaiz B, bæptaiz S
bard bæerd B, S
barrier bæriır B, bæ'rjer S
base bees B, S
basin bees'n B, S
basis beez'iz B, bees'is S
bass bæes in music, bəs a mat, S
baste beest B, S
bastion bæst'jən B, bæst'shən S
bath bæth B, bæeth S
bathe beedh D, B, S
bear beer O, B, D
beard berd O, beerd B, berd S
Bede Biid O
behove binuvv O, S
benign binjın B, biinain S
bequeath bekweedh B, biikwiidh S
besom biı'zən D, biız'əm B, S
bestiality bestjAA'lıti B, bestshael'iti S
beyond biı'ənd O, biı'ənd B, biı'ənd S
bind bəind D, bəind S
bird bərd B, S
blanch blæensh B, blæntsh S
blank blæeqk B, blæqk S
blast blæst B, S
blaspheme blæsfiım O, B, S
blood bləd O, B, S
boatswain boos'in B, boos'n S
boil bəil O, bəil B, bəil S
bold bəuld B, boold S
boltsprit boos'prit B, S
bolster bəlstır B, bool'stər S
bolter BOULTER bəult'tər O, bool'tər S
bombard bəmbærd B, bəmbæærd S
bombasine bəmbæziın B, S
book buuk B, S

borage bər'idzh B, S
border bərdır B, bAA'rdər S
bore boor B, S
born bərn B, bAA'n S
borne buurn O, boorn S
borough bər'ə B, bər'oo S
bosom bəz'em B, bəz'em F, buu'zəm S
bough boo B, bAA S
bought boot O ?, bat B, bAA't S
bault bault B, boolt S
bourn bərn B, buurn S
bouze bəuz B, buuz S
bouze boose buuz B, S
bow boo bəu B, boo bAA S
bowl bəul O, (globe) bəul, (vessel) bool
 D, bəul B, bool S
boy bəi B, bAAi S
branch brAA'ns O, bræensh B, brə'ns
 S
brass bræs B, S
brasier breez'jır B, breezhər S
bravo bræv'ə B, bree'voo S
break briik O, B, S
breakfast brek'fæst O, brek'fist B,
 brek'fæst S
breeches breeches britsh'iz B, S
Bristol Bristo O, D
broad brood B, brAA'd S
brocade brəkeed B, brookeed S
broil brəil O, brəil B, brail S
brooch bruntsh B, S
broth brəth B, brAAth S
brought broot O ?, brat B, brAA't S
bruise briuz O, bruuz B, S
brute bruut B, S
brumal briu'məl B, bruu'mæl S
build bild O, B, S
buoy bəi B, bwii S
burgh bər'ə B, bər'oo S
burglary bərgleeri B, bərgləri S
burial bir'æl D, ber'ıl B, ber'jæl S
bury bəri D, berı B, berı S
bush bush B, S
bustle bəs'l B, S
busy biz'i B, bizı S
butcher butsh'ır B, butsh'ər S

C

cabal kæbaal B, kæbæl S
cadaverous kædəv'rəs B, kædəv'eerəs S
cadet keəd'it B, kædet S
cadi kædi B, keedi S
Calais kæləis D
calculate kælk'küleet B, kælk'küleet S
caldron kæld'rən B, kaal'drən S
calf kaaf O, kræf B, S
caliber kæli'bır B, kæli'bər S
calk kaak B, S
call kaal D, B, S
calm kaam O, kæem B, kæm F,
 kæem S

- calr* kaalks B, kaelks S
canbrik kaem'brik B, keem'brik S
Canada kee'næn D
canine keenain' B, kaenain' S
canoe kaenoo' B, kienuur S
cantata kantee'tæ B, S
capacious kapæsh əs B, kapee'shəs S
capillary kapil'eeri B, kapil'æri S
capouch kapoutsh' B
caprice keepriis' B, kæpriis' S
capricious kaprish'əs B, S
capture kaptr' B, kæptrshər S
capuchin kap'iushiin D, kəpəshiin' B, kapiushiin' S
capricorn keeprikörn B, kæprrikörn S
carabin kæræboin B, kæræbain S
carabineer kærbinii'r B, kærbinii'r S
carat kær'it B, kæræt S
caravan kærævæn B, S
caraway kær'wee B, kæræwee S
card kær'd B, S
carmine kærmin' B, kæræmain S
carmelon kærnel'jən B, kærni'ljən S
carte-blanche kart-blæns B, kær't blæntsh S
cartouch kartoush' B, kærtuutsh' S
carriage kærædzh O, kær'dzh D, kær'idsh B, S
carrian kær'in B, kær'jən S
castle kæs'tl B, kæs'l S
casual kæz'iʊl B, kæz'iʊəl S
casually kæz'inli B, kæz'iʊəli S
casualty kæz'iʊlti B, kæz'iʊəlti S
causist kæz'ist B, S
catarrah kætær B, kætær' S
causeway kaa'si B, kaa'swee S
cavil kæv'l B, kæv'il S
ceiling sieling siiln B, siil'iq S
cement n. sim'nt B, sem'nt S
cement v. sim'nt B, siim'nt S
censure sen'sər B, sen'shər S
centenary sen'tenæri B, sen'tiinæri S
ceruse siitəs B, seri'us S
chaff tshæf B, S
chagrin shægrin' B, S
chair tshær B, S
chaise sheez D, B, S
chaldron tsaa'drən D, tshaa'drən B, tshaa'drən S
chamber tshææm'bər B, tshææm'bər S
champaign shæmpein' B, S
chandelier CHANDELIER shandee-li'r S
chandler tshændl'r B, tshænd-lər S
change tshændzh D, tshændsh B, tshændzh S
chant tshænt B, tshænt S
chaos kærəs B, keəs S
chaplain tshæpl'in D, B, S
chaps tshæps B, tshæps S
charriot tshær'it D, B, tshær'jot S
charriotter tshærit'r B, tshær'joot'r S
chart kær't B, S
charter tshæert'r B, tshæert'r S
chasm kæs'm B, kæzm S
chasten tshæst'n B, tshæst'n S
chastisement tshæstoiz'mənt B, tshæst'iz-mənt S
charlatan tshær'lät'n B, tshæærlætən S
charcoal tshær-kəl B, tshæær-kool S
Cherubin Tsheriubin D, B, Tsheriu-bin S
chevalier shevæli'r D, shevæli'r S
chev tshuu B, tshuu tshaa S
chicane tshikeen' B, shikeen' S
chicanery tshikeen'ri B, shikeen'ri S
chicken tshik'n B, tshik'in S
chimera kaimi'ræ B, kaimi'ræ S
china tshin'i B, tshçeni S
Chinese Tshoiniz' F
chirp tshirp B, tsherp S
chires tshivz B, shivz S
chocolate tshæk'lit B, tshæk'let S
choir kœir D, kœir B, kœair S
choler kool'r B, kal-ər S
cholic kœ'ik B
chord kard B, kaard S
chorister kœir'istər O, D, kœir'ist'r
 kœr'ist'r B, kœer'istər S
chorus kœrəs B, kœorəs S
chough tshœf B, S
Christ Krœist B
christen kris'in B, kris'n S
-cial = -shel O
-cian = -shen O
-cient = -shent O
-cious = -shəs O
circuit sēr'kit O, sēr'kiut B, sēr'kiut S
citron sit'rən O, sit'rən B, S
civet siv'it B, S
civil siv'l D, B, siv'il S
civilly siv'li B, siv'li S
claret klær'it B, klær'it S
Claude klood D
cleanly kliin'li B, kliin'li S
cleanse klinz B, klenz S
clerk klærk B, klærk S
climb klœim D, B, S
close klœuz B, S
closely klœs'li B, kloos'li S
cloth klœth B, klaath S
clothe kloodh B, S
clothes klœuz, B, S
clyster glis'tər B, glis'tər S
cocksuim kœksuim B, kaksuim S
cohere kœniir' O, B, S
coin kœin O, kœin B, kœain S
colander kolændər O, kol'indər S
cold kœld B, kœld S
colon kol'ən B, kœ'lan S
colonel kœr'ənəl D, kœrn'l B, kœrnel S
colony kol'œni O, kol'œni B, kal'œni S
colour kœl'r O, kœl'r B, kœl-ər S

coll kəlt B, koolt S
colter kəul'tɪr B, kool-tər S
columbine kəl-əmbeɪn O, kəl-əmbəɪn B, kəl-əmbaɪn S
comb kuum O, koom D, B, S
combat kəm-bæt O, kəm-bɪt B, kəm-bæt S
comfort kəm-fərt O, B, S
command kəməʌnd O, kəməænd- B, kəmənd- F, kəməænd- S
committee kəmit'i B, kəmit-i S
companion kəmpeɪn-jən B, kəmpeɪn-jən S
company kəm-pəni B, kəm-pəni S
compass kəm-pis B, kəm-pes S
competition kəmpɪtɪʃən B, kəmpeeti-shən S
complacency kəmpleɪnsi B, kəmplee-sensi S
complaisance kəmpleɪzəns B, kəmplee-zəns S
complete kəmpli:t O, B, kəmpli:t S
completion kəmpliʃən B, kəmpli:shən S
compose kəm-pooz B, kəm-pooz S
conceit kənsi:t O, B, kənsi:t S
conchoid kən-kəɪd B, kək-aaɪd S
conceit kənsi:t B, kənsaɪs S
conclude kənklud- B, kənklud- S
condign kəndɪn- B, kəndaɪn S
conduit kəndɪt O, D, B, kənd-wɪt S
coney kəni B, kəni kəni S
congé kəndʒi B, kəndʒi S
congeries kəndʒiəri B, kəndʒiəri S
conic kənɪk B, kənɪk S
conjecture kəndʒektər B, kəndʒekt-tʃər S
conjure v.n. kəndʒər D, B, S
conquer kək-ər D, kək-wər B, kək-ər S
conscience kən-shəns B, kən-shens S
conscientious kənsiən-shəs B, kənsien-shəs S
constable kən-stəbl B, kən-stəbl S
construe kən-stru B, kən-stər S
contrite kən-roɪt B, kən-trait S
conversant kənversənt B, kənversent kənversent S
converse kənvers- kəvers- B, kəvers- S
coquette kək-et B, kək-et S
corn kərn B, kərn S
coroner krəʊnər D, kə-rənər B, kə-rənər S
corps kərp B, koor S
corse kərs B, kərs S
cost kəst B, S
cotton kətən B, kətən S
covenant kəvənt B, kəvənt S
covey kəvi B, kəvi S
coward kəwəd B, kəwəd S
cowardice kəwədis B, kəwədɪs S
Couper ku pər D
coy kəi B, kəi S

coyness kəi-nɪs B, kəi-nɪs S
couch kəʊtʃ B, kəʊtʃ S
cough kəf O, D, B, kəf S
could kuəd B, kuəd S
coulter kəul'tər O, B, kəul'tər S
country kən'tri B, kən'tri S
couple kəpl B, S
courier kəriər B, kəriər S
course kəʊrs B, F, S
court kuərt O, kuərt B, S
courtezan kərtizən O, kərtizən B, kərtizən S
cousin kəzən O, kəzən B, kəzən S
creature kri:tər O, kri:tər B, kri:tʃər S
Crete kri:t O
crew kriu B, kriu S
crony kəni B, kəni S
croup krəp B, kriup S
croupade krəped- B, kriuped- S
crude kriud B, kriud S
cruise kriuz B, kriuz S
cuckold kək-əld B, S
cuckoo kək-uu B, kukuu S
cucumber kə-kəmber O, kə-kəmber B, kə-kəmber S
cuirass kiurəs B, kiurəs S
cuirassier kiurəs-ɪər B, S
culture kəl'tiər B, kəl'tʃər S
cupboard kəp-bərd B, kəp-bərd S
czar zər B, zər S

D

damn dəm B, S
damsel dənsəl D, dənsəl B, dənsəl S
dance dəns B, S
danger dəndʒər B, dəndʒər S
daughter dæ-tər D, dæ-tər B, dæ-tər S
deaf di:f O, def B, def S
deanery di:nəri B, di:nəri S
debauch debəʊʃ B, S
debauchee debəʊʃi D, debəʊʃi B, debəʊʃi S
debeture di-betər B, di-bet-tʃər S
debt det D, B, det S
decade dek-əd B, dek-əd S
deceit disi:t O, B, S
decision disi-zən B, disi-zən S
decisive disi:v B, disi:v S
deign di:n D, B, S
deluge delədʒ B, delədʒ S
dernier dɛniər B, dɛniər S
desert dɛsərt dɛz-ɪt B, dɛz-ɪt S
deserve dɛzəv dɛz-ɪv B, dɛz-ɪv S
despotie dɛspəti:k B, dɛspəti:k S
destroyed distɔɪd B, distɔɪd F, distɔɪd S
devil devl D, B, S
derious dɛv-ɪəs B, dɛv-ɪəs S
diamond daɪmənd B, daɪmənd S

different difrɪnt B, difeərənt S
diocesan dɪə'si:ʃən B, daɪəs'e:ʃən S
diphthong dɪf'thəŋ B, dɪp'thəŋ S
dirge dər'dʒhi O, dər'dʒ B, dər'dʒh S
discern dɪ'sɜ:n B, dɪzɜ:n S
discipline dɪ'sɪplɪn B, dɪ'sɪplɪn S
discomfit dɪskəm'fɪt B, dɪskəm'fɪt S
discourse dɪskɔ:rs O, dɪskɔ:rs B, S
dishabille dɪ'sæbiil B, dɪ'shæabiil S
dishvelled dɪʃvɛ'lɪd B, dɪ'shɛv'l S
diverse dɪ'vɜ:rs B, daɪ'vɜ:rs S
divorce dɪ'vɔ:rs O, dɪ'vɔ:rs B, dɪ'vɔ:rs S
dole dul B, dool S
doleful dul'fɒl B, dool'fɒl S
dolt dɒlt B, doolt S
door dɔ: O, B, S
drama dræ'mɪə B, dræ'mæ S
draught draʊt B, draut B, draut S
droll drɒl B, drool S
drollery drɒl rɪ B, drool'ɪrɪ S
drought draʊt B, draut S
droughty draʊt'ɪ B, draut'ɪ S
drunken drɒk'n B, drɒk'n S
drunkenness drɒk'nɪs B, drɒk'nɪs S
dwarf dwa:rf B, S

E

-ea- (e, ii) as in XIXth century, except
 in the words cited
ebon ɛbən S
ebony ɪ'bɒni B
Eden ɪ'den O
Edinburgh ɛd'ɪnbərə D
effigies ɛf'ɪdʒɪz B, ɛf'ɪdʒɪs S
effort ɛfɔ:t O, ɛfɔ:t B, ɛfɔ:t S
effrontery ɛfrən'trɪ B, ɛfrən'tɛrɪ S
egotism ɪgə'tɪz B, ɪgə'tɪz S
ei = *é* in *veil*, *either*, *key*, *convey* (ii) ? D
eighth ɛθ B, ɛθθ S
either ɪ'dhər O, ɔɪ dhər B, F, ɪ'dhər S
eleven ɪlɛv'n O
encore ɛŋkɔ: B, ɛŋkɔ: S
endavour ɪndɪ'vɔ: O, ɪndevər B,
 ɪndevər S
engross ɪŋgrɔ: O, ɪngrɔ: B, ɪngrɔ: S
enough ɛnəf O, D, B, ɛənəf S
enow ɛnu B, ɛnu: S
enpassant ɛnpasəŋt B
enrol ɛnɔ:l B, ɪnrol: S
environ ɪnvəɪrən O, ɪnvəɪrən S
ere ɪr O, S
eremite ɛrɛ'maɪt B, ɛrɛ'maɪt S
eschalot ʃælət B, ʃælət S
eschar skær B, ɛskær S
eschew ɛʃiər B, ɛstʃuər S
espalier ɛspəlɪər B, ɛspəl'ɪər S
ecu ɪv'n O, B, S
executor ɛksɛk'ɪtɪər B, ɛgzɛk'ɪtɪər S
executer ɛks'ɪkiutɪər B
exert ɛgzɜ:t B, S

exhaust ɛksæst B, ɛkshæst S
exhort ɛgzɔ:t B, ɛgzhæst S
exit ɛgzɪt B, ɛksɪt S
extreme ɛkstri:m O, ɛkstri:m B,
 ɛkstri:m S
eyre ɔɪr B, ɛər S

F

fabrie feɪbrɪk B, feɪbrɪk S
falcon fælk'n B, fælk'n S
farther fɛə'dɪr B, fæə'dhər S
farthing fæədɪŋ B, fæə'dhiŋ S
fasten fæst'n B, fæs'n S
fatal fætəl B, fæ'tæl S
father fæə'dhər B, fæə'dhər S
fathom fædəm B, fædhəm S
fatigue fæti:g B, fæti:g S
fault fælt B, fælt S
feodary fi:dəri O, fi:deəri B, fi:deəri S
feoffer fɛfii O, fi:fii B, fɛfii S
fetid fɛtɪd B, fɛtɪd S
few fiu B, F, S
fewel fiuəl B, S
fierce fɛrs B, fɛrs S
fire fɛər O, fɛər B, fɛər S
first fɜ:st B, S
flagon flæg'n D, B, flæg'n S
flea fli O, B, S
flood flɒd O, B
flue fliu B, fluu S
flook flu:k B, flu:k S
flout flaʊt B, flaut S
fold fɒld B, fɒld S
foliage fɒlɪdʒ B, fɒlɪdʒ S
folio fɒlɪʒ B, fɒlɪʒ S
folk fɒk B, fɒk S
foot fɒt D, B, fut S
force fɔ:rs O, fɔ:rs B, fɔ:rs S
ford fɜ:d O, fɜ:d B, fɜ:d S
forge fɜ:rdʒ O, fɜ:rdʒ B, fɜ:rdʒ S
fork fɜ:k B, fɜ:k S
form fɜ:m O, fɜ:m B, fɜ:m S
forth fɜ:θ O, fɜ:θ B, S
fought fɔ:t O, fɔ:t B, fɔ:t S
foul faʊl B, faʊl F, S
four fɔ: B, S
fourth fɜ:θ O, fɜ:θ B, S
fragile frædʒəl B, frædʒəl S
fragrant fræ:grɪnt B, fræ:grɪnt S
frequent adj. frɪk'wɪnt B, frɪk'wɪnt S
friend frɪnd O, frɛnd D, B, S
front frɒnt B, frant S
frost frɒst B, S
full fʊl B, S
fulsome fʊlsəm B, S
furniture fɜ:nɪtɜ: O, B, fɜ:nɪtʃər S
further fɜ:dɪr B, fɜ:dhər S
fusel fiuzəl B, fiuzi: S
future fiutɜ: O, B, fiutʃər S

G

gallant adj. gæl'ɪnt B, gæl'ænt S
gallant n. gæl'ænt B, S
galloes gæl'əs B, S
gaol (GOAL in O) dzheel O, B, S
gap gæp B, S
gape gæp B, S
garden gær'dn D, gæər'dɪn B, S
gauge geedzh D, gæadsh B, geedzh S
gentian dzhen'shɪn B, dzen'tshæn S
George dzhardsh B, dzhaardzh S
Ghent Gænt D
ghost guust O, goost B, S
gibbous dzht'b'əs B, gɪb'əs S
gill dzhl B, S
gills gɪlz B, S
girl gerl B, gerl S
glebe gliib O, B, S
glede gliid O, S
glue gliu B, S
gnat næt D, B, S
gnaw naa D, B, S
gold guuld B, S
gone gən D, B, gan S
gossip gəs'əp O, gəs'ɪp B, gas'ɪp S
gouge gəudzh O, guudzh S
Gough Gəf D
gourd guurd O, gəurd B, guurd S
govern gəv'ɪrn B, gəv'ərɪn S
government gəv'ɪnm̩nt B, gəv'ərnm̩nt S
grand grænd B, grænd S
grandeur grænd'jər B, green'dzhər S
grange green'dzh D, S
grant grænt B, S
grass græs B, S
great griit O, greet B, S
groat græat B, græat S
grocer grəs'ɪr B, grōs'ər S
group gruup B, S
groveling grəv'liq O, grəv'liq B, græv'liq S
guerdon gwer'dən O, gwer'dən S
guttural gət'iurɪl B, gət'iuræl S
gymnastic gɪmnæst'ɪk B, dzhɪmnæst'ɪks S

H

h—mute in honour, honourable, herb,
heir, honest, humble, D
habitual hæb'itjuəl B, hæb'it juəl S
haft hæft B, hæft S
half haaf O, hæf B, S
halfpenny hæp'ɪni B, hæp'eni S
hallelujah hælihu'dzhæ B, hæleluujæ S
handkerchief hænd'kɜrtshɪr B, hæq'kertshɪf S
handsel hænsəl B, C
harlequin hærl'ɪkɪn B, hæər'lekiin S
haste heest D, B, S
hasten hees'tn D, B, S

haunch (HANCH in O), haansh O, B, hæntsh S
haunt haant B, hænt haant S
hautboy hooboi B, hoobaaɪ S
hearken hærk'n O, hæər'kn B, S
heart hært O, hæert B, S
heaven hev'n O, D
height heet O, B, hait S
heinous hee'nəs B, hi'nəs S
heir eer O, B, S
hemorrhoids em'ərɔɪdz B, hēm'orɔaidz S
her hēr B, S
herb erb D, B, herb S
herbage erb'ɪdsh B, herb'ɪdz B
herbal erb'ɪl B, herbæl S
here hiir O, B, S
heritable er'ɪtəbl B, herb'itæbl S
hero hɪrə B, hi'rō S
heroine hɪr'ɔɪn B, herb'oin S
heroism hɪr'ɔɪzm B, herb'ɔɪzm S
heron hɪr'ən B, herb S
heterogeneous het'ərədʒiəs O, het'rə-dzhɪn'jəl B, het'ərɔdʒi'njæl S
high hai D, B, hai S
hoard (HORD in O), hōrd O, hoord B, S
Holborn Hōl'bōrn O, D
hold hōld B, hoold S
honest ən'ɪst B, an'ɪst S
honey hən'i B, hōni S
honour ən'ɪr B, an'ər S
host hōst B, hoost B
hostler əst'lɪr B, as'lər S
hough hōf D, hak S
housewife həz'ɪf B, həz'wɪf S
hovel həvəl O, həv'l B, hav'ɪl S
hover həv'ər O, həv'ɪr B, hav'ər S
huge hiudsh B, hiudzh S
humble əm'b'l D, həm'bl B, əm bl S
humor iumər B, S
huzza həzæə B, S
hyena hæ'næ B, hai'i'næ S

I

idiot idjət B, ðjət S
impugn ɪmpəʒ B, ɪmpju:n S
incisure ɪnsɪʒɪv B, ɪnsaɪsɪv S
indict ɪndɪt B, ɪndait S
indictment ɪndɪtm̩nt D
injure ɪndʒər B, S
inspires ɪnspeɪəz O, ɪnspeɪəz B, ɪnspairz S
instead ɪnstɪd B, ɪnstəd S
invalid adj. ɪnvəl ɪd B, S
invalid n. ɪnvəlɪd B, S
inveigh ɪvɛər O, ɪvɪr B, ɪvɛər S
inveigle ɪvɪŋɡl B, ɪvɛəɡl S
iron ɔɪər O, D, ɔɪr B, ɔɪər S
is ɪz B, S
Isaac ɪzək D

isle ail B, ail S
issue is'iu B, is'shu S
isthmus ist'mas B, is'mas S

J

James Dzhiimz O
jaunt dzhae'ent B, dzha'ent S
japan dzheep'en' B, dzheep'en' S
jeopardy dzhep'ardi O, dzhep'ardi B,
 dzhep'ardi S
jewel dzhuur'd B, S
John Dzhan J
join dzho'in O, dzho'in B, dzhain S
joint dzho'int O, dzho'int B, dzhaint S
jointure dzho'in'tor B, dzhaain'tshar S
joke, *joll* dzho'ul B, dzho'ul S
jolt dzho'ult B, dzho'ult S
jostle dzhas'l B, S
juice dzhu'ns B, S
jointure dzha'ok'tor B, dzha'ok'tshar S
June Dzhuun B, S
juggle dzhas'l B, dzhas'l S

K

kali kee-lai B, kee-li S
key kij O, B, S
kiln kil O, D, B, S
knave neev B, F, S
knoll nool no'ul O, nal S

L

lanch la'ansh O, le'ansh B, laentsh S
language laeq'w'aldsh B, laeq'wedzh F,
 laeq'gw'aldsh S
lath lath B, leath S
landanum laad'anom B, lad'aenom S
laugh laf O, D, laef B, laf S
laundry LANDRY lea'ndri B, lea'ndri S
laurel laa'rd B, la'rd S
learning lea'rninq B, lo'rn-iq F, le'rn-iq S
levee lev'in B, lev-i S
lecture lek'tor O, lekt'jar B, lek'tshor S
leeward lii'waid B, liu'ard S
leisure lee'zhor O, lee'jar B, lezh'ur F,
 lii'zhor S
leopard lep'ard O, lep'ard B, lep'ard S
lessee (LEASSEE in O) liis'ii O, les'ii B, S
lessor (LEASSOR in O) liis'or O, les'ar S
listen lis'en B, S
lieutenant liiten'ant O, liiten'int B,
 liiten'ent S
loath lath B, loath S
loathe loadhi B, S
loin lo'in O, lo'in B, la'in S
London Lon'on B
lost lost B, last S
tough lof O, lak S
lustring liustriq B, liut'strig S

M

machine maeshiin' D, B, S
magazine meg'ziin' O, B, S
malign maelin' B, maelain' S
mall maal'ku B, maak'in S
mall maal B, mel S
malicey maem'si B, maem'zi S
maniac maenoi'tek B, meen'jak S
mare mee'or O, meer B, S
marine maer'in' B, S
mareschal maer'shal D, maer'shil B,
 maer'shal S
manger maa'u'dzhor O, meen'dzhir B,
 meen'dzhor S
mantua maen'ta B, maen'ta S
many men'i B, men'i S
marckioness maer'tshjonis B, maer-
 tshonis S
marriage maer'idzh D, B, S
marsh (MEASH in O) miish O, maesh B, S
mass maes B, S
meacock mi'kak O, mi'kak S
medicine med'sin O, B, S
mediocrity mid'jak'riti B, meedzhak-
 riti S

memoir mimoir' B, mee'maair mi-
 mwaar S
mere miir O, B, meer S
miniature min'iektur B, min'itshor S
minister min'istir B, min'istor S
minute adj. mainiut' B, miniut' S
minute n. min'ut B, min'it S
misery miz'ri B, miz'ri S
misprision mispriz'en B, mispriz'en S
mistress mis'tris B, S
moil mail O, mail B, maal S
moety mo'eti B, maai'eti S
Monday Mon'di B, Mon'dee S
Monmouth Mon'moth D
monsieur mon'siur B
moor moor O, B, S
more mo'or O, moor, S
most muust O, most B, moost B
mould mo'uld B, mo'uld S
moult mo'ult B, mo'ult B
move mov muuv O, muuv D, B, S
mow n. mo'u B, mau S
mushroom mash'ruun B, mash'ruum S

N

natural naet'iur'd B, naet'ural F, naetsh-
 arel S
nature neet'ar O, neet'jar B, neet'shar S
nary nev'i B, neev-i S
neigh nii B, nee S
neighbour nee'bar O, B, S
neither neeth'er O, nei'dhir B, niidher S
new niu B, nuu F, niu S
nuncio nen'sho B, nen'sho S [S
nuptial nap'shal O, nap'shil B, nap'shae

O

oblige oblii'dzh· D, obliidsh· obliidsh· B
ooblaiddzh· oobliidzh· S
oblique obliik· B, ooblaik S
obscene obsiur· O, B, absiur· S
occasion okeez·jən B, akeezhən S
of ɔv D, B, av S
off ɔf C, af S
oil oil O, oil B, aail S
ointment oint·ment O, oint·mint B,
 Aaint·ment S
once wəns B, wəns S
one ən wən D, wən B, wən F, wən S
one-eyed wən·siil B, wən·aid S
oneness wən·nis B, wən·nis S
onion ɔnjən B, S
only ɔn·li B, ɔon·li S
ordeal ɔrd·jil B, ɔard·jæl S
ousel ɔuzel O, ɔusil B, ɔuzl S
oyer ɔ·jir B, ɔai·ɔr S
eyes ɔɔ·jis B, ɔois· S

P

palm pAAM O, pæalm B, pæam S
palsy pAal·zi B, pAal·zi S
parliament pæər·liment D, pæər·limint
 B, pæər·liment S
passed pæst B, F, S
patent pæ·tənt B, pæ·tənt S
patentee pæ·tenti· B, pæ·tenti· S
path pæəth B, S
perfect pər·fit D, pər·fet B, pər·fekt F,
 pər·fikt S
peremptory pər·em·təri B, pər·em·təri S
perfection pər·fek·shən D, B, pər·fek·
 shən S
perfectly pər·fitli B, pər·fektli S
perform pər·fərm· B, F, pər·fərm· S
periwig pəri·wig B, pəri·wig S
perjure pər·dzər B, S
perverse pər·vɜrs· pər·vɜrs· B, pər·vɜrs· S
pervert pər·viert pər·vert B, pər·vert· S
pestle pest l B, pest·l S
petal pitəl B, petal S
petard pit·ərd B, pæ·tæərd S
phalanx fæl·æqs B, fæl·æqs S
Pharaoh Feer·o D
philosophy fil·ɔs·əfi B, fil·as·afi S
phlegm flim D, flem B, S
phlogiston flɔd·zhis·tən B, flɔgis·toon S
phthisis tiz·iz B, fihais·is S
piazza piæ·zə B, piæ·zə S
picture pik·tər O, pikt·ɔr B, pik·tshər S
pier piir B, S
piece piirs O, pers piirs B, pers S
pin pin B, pin S
placard plek·æərd· B, plek·æərd· S
plait pleet B, S
plea pli O, B, S
plough pləu B, plau S

point point O, point B, paa·int S
poison poi·zn O, poi·zn B, paa·zn S
police pəl·is B, pɔliis· S
poll pool paul O, pool B, S
pomegranate pəm·græn·et O, pɔm·græn·
 et B, pəm·græn·et S
pommel pəm·rel D, pəm·rel B, S
pomp pəmp B, S
poniard poi·nɔrd B, pən·jɔrd S
poor pɔər O, puur B, S
pore pɔərtsh B, S
porpoise pɔr·pɔiz pɔr·pɔs B, pAər·pɔs S
port puurt O, pɔrt B, pɔort S
post puust O, pɔst B, pɔost B
posture pɔst·iur B, pA·stshər S
potter pɔd·hər B, pɔd·hər B
poultry pɔul·tis O, pɔul·tis B, pɔul·tis S
poultry pɔul·tri O, pɔul·tri B, pɔul·tri S
pour pɔər O
precise pri·sɔiz· B, pri·sais· S
premier prem iir B, prem·jir S
prescience pri·sɔins B, pri·shens S
pretty pret·i B, priti S
process prɔs·es B, prais·is S
profile prɔf·il· B, prɔf·il· S
prologue prɔ·ləg O, B, pral·əg S
prove prɔv pruuv O, pruuv D, B, S
prout prɔul B, praul S
prude priud B, prund S
psalm sAAM O, sæam B, S
ptisan tɔis·ən B, tiz·ən S
pudding pud·in B, pud·iq S
puisne piur·izn B, piuri S
pumice piur·is B, S
pure piur O, piur B, S
pursue pɔrsiur· B, S
pursuivant pɔr·sui·vənt B, pɔr·sui·vənt S
push push B, S
put pət B, put S

Q

quadrangle kwæd·ræ·gl B, kwæd·ræ·gl
 S
quadrant kwæ·drənt B, kwæ·drənt S
quadrille kwæ·dril B, kwæ·dril· S
quadruped kwæ·druped B, S
quiff kwæf B, S
quality kwæl·iti B, kwæl·iti, kwal·iti
 persons of high rank, S
qualm kwAAM O, kwAalm B, kwæam S
quandary kwæn·deeri B, kwæn·deeri S
quantity kwæn·titi B, kwæn·titi S
quantum kwæn·təm B, S
quarrell kwær·l B, kwær·l S
quarry kwær·i B, kwær·i S
quart kwAart B, S
quarter kwAart·ir B, kwAart·ir S
quash kwAash B, kwash S
quarto kwær·tə B, kwær·tə S
quadrain kwAart·in B, kwAart·in S
quay kii O, kwee B, kee S

queen kwīn B, kween S
queen kwīn B, S
question kwes'tjən B, kwes'tshən F,
 kwes'tshən S
quire kair B, kwair S
quoif koif B, kwair S
quoit kait B, kwair S
quoth kwōth B, kōth S

R

ragout reegnū B, regnū S
raillery ree'liri B, ree'eri S
raisin reez'n O, ree'sin B, ree'zn S
rant raent B, rant S
rapier ree'pir B, ree'pir S
rapine rae'pin B, rap'in S
rapture rap'tiur B, rap'tshər S
ratio rae'zō B, ree'shō S
reason ree'zən B, ri'zn S
receipt reseet' resit' O, risit' B, riisit'
 S
recipe res'ipi B, res'ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
renard reneard' B, ren'erd S
rendrous ren'divnuz B, ran'deevuu S
reer riir O, reer B
reserved riserv'vid riserv'vid B, rizerv'v'
 S
resin rez'in B, S
resource risours' B, riisurs' S
revert rivaert' rivert' B, rivert' S
ribband rib'in D, rib'en B, rib'in S
rigging rig'in B, rig'iq S
roquette rok'loo B, rak'loo S
roll rool roul O, raul B, rool S
romance roomens' B, S
Rome Ruum Rōm O, Ruum B
union rai'jən B, rai'jən S
rost ruust O
rouge roudzh O, roudsh B, ruuzh S
rough raf O, D, B, S
rule riul B, ruul S
ruse riuz B
rattle ras'l B, S
ruth rōth B, ruuth S

S

saffron sœfərn O, D, B, sœfrən S
salmon sœmən O, sœmən D, B, S
salt sœlt B, S
salve sœlv O, sœlv B, sœlv S
sansage sœs'issh B, sœs idzh S
scald skœld D, B, S
scarce skers O, skers B, skers S
scath skæth, B, -skeeth S
scem siin O, B, S
septic skeptik D, B, skeptik S
scholar sed'iul B, sedzh'uul S
scheme skiim O, B, S
schism sizim D, B, S

scoff skœf B, skaf S
scold skœld B, skœld S
scotch skootsh skætsh B, skatsh S
scrivener skriv'nər O
scroll skrool skœul O, skœul B, skrool S
scourge skœrdzh O, skœrdsh B, skœrdzh S
scrutaire skriutoor B, skruutoor S
sea sii O, B, S
seamstress siim'stris B, sem'stris S
scarce sers B
seize siiz O, B, S
sensuous sen'siuus B, sen'shuus S
serene sirin' B, F
sergeant sœrdzhint B, sœrdzhant S
servant sœrv'vut sœrv'vut B, sœrv'ent S
severe sivir' O, B, S
sew siu did sœw O, sœw does sœw B, S
sewer shoor B, siu'ər waiter, shoor
watercourse, sœw'ər one who sœws S
shall shœlt B, shœlt S
shawm (SHALM in O), shœm O, B, S
shepherd shep'ird B, shep'œrd S
sherd sheerd B, sherd S
shew shiu did shœw O, shœw does shœw B, S
shire shiir O, B, shair S
shirt short B, S
shoe shuū B, S
shorn shuurn O, shœrn B, shœrn S
short shœrt B, shœart S
should shuud B, shud S
shoulder shœuld'ər O, shœuld'ir B,
 shœuld'ør S
shrew shriu O, shriu B, shruū S
sigh soith, better sœi B, saih S
sick sik B, sœk S
sign sœin D, B, saim B
signior siinior D
signiory sen'jœri B, sin'jœri S
sin sin B, sin S
since sins B, S
sirocco sirœk'œ B, sirœk'œ S
sirrah sier æ O, sœr æ B, sieræ S
sirap sirœp B, sœrœp S
sirth sikst B, siksth S
skeleton (SCELETON in D), skel'etən D,
 skel'itən B, skel'itən S
slander slœnd'ir B, slœnd'ør S
slant slœnt B, slœnt S
sleight slœit B, slœit S
slough slœf B, slœu S
slown slœvin B, slœvn S
smouldering smœul'deriq B, smœul'deriq S
sojourn sœwdzhœrn B, S
sold sœuld B, sœuld S
solder sœd'ir B, sœd'ør S
soldier sœuld'ir B, sœul'dzhær S
sonata sœnœ'tœ B, sœnœ'tœ S
soot sœt D, B, S
sootiness sœt'nis B, sœtinis S
sooty sœti B, suuti S
soul sool B, S

sous suus B, saus S
southerly sǝdh'ərli B, sǝdh'ərli S
sovereign sov'ərəen D, sǝv'rɪn B,
 sǝv'ərən S
sphere sfiir O, B, S
spinet spɪnət B, S
sport spuurt O, spoort B, S
squab skwæb B, skwab S
squabble skwæb'l B, skwab'l S
squadron swæ'drən B, skwaa'drən S
squalid skwæl'id B, skwal'id S
squalor skwee'lər B
squander skwaan'dər B, skwan'dər S
squash skwaash B, skwash S
squirrel skwɪr'əl B, skwer'əl S
staff stæf B, S
stalk staaak B, S
stanch staaansh O, stæansh B, stæntsh S
stiletto stǝi'letə B, stǝlet'oo S
stomach stəm'æk B, stəm'æk S
stomacher stəm'ætshər D, stəm'ætshər
 B, stəm'ǝdzhər S
stood stuud B, stud F, S
stover stǝv'ər O
strange streendzh D, streendsh B,
 streendzh S
stranger straa'n-dzhər O, streen'dzhər
 B, streendzhər S
stroll strǝl D, strool S
subtile sǝt'l D, B, sǝbt'il S
subtle sǝt'l S
sudden sǝd'n B, sǝd'ɪn S
sudorific siudoorɪf'ɪk B, shuudoorɪf'ɪk S
sudorous siud'ərəs B, shuu'doorəs S
sue shuu B, suu S
suet shuu'it B, S
suety shuu'iti B, shun'iti S
sugar shuu'gɪr B, shug'ər S
sueide shuu'isaid B, shuu isaid S
suit shuut B, suut S
suitable shunt'ɪbl B, suut'ɛbl S
suite swiit S
suitor shuut'ər B, suut'ər S
suitress shuu'trɪs B, suu'trɪs S
Sunday Sǝn'di B
super- siu'pɪr- B, shuuper- S
superable siu'pɪr'ɪbl B, shuuper'ɛbl S
superb siuperb' B, shuuperb' S
superior siupir'ər B, shuupii'rər S
supernal siuper nɪ B, shuuper-nel S
supine siupɪn' B, shuu'pain n.
 shuupain' adj. S
supinity siupɪn'iti B, shuupɪn'iti S
support sǝpuurt O, sǝpoort B, S
supra- siu'pri- B, shuuprɛ- S
supremacy siuprii'misi B, shuuprem'æsi
 S
supreme siupriim' O, B, shuupriim' S
sural siu'rɪl B, shuur'æl S
surance siu'rɪns B, shuur'ens S
sure shuur B, S

surtout sǝrtut' B, sǝrtuut' S
suture shuut'ər B, shuurtshər S
swab swæb B, swab S
swaddle swād'l B, swad'l S
swag swæg B, S
swallow swaa'loo B, swal'oo S
swam swæm B, S
swamp swaamp B, swamp S
swan swaan B, swan S
swap swaap B, swap S
sward swaard B, S
swarm swaarm B, S
swarth swaarth B, S
swash swaash B, swash S
swath swæth B
swear sweer O, B, S
swoon suun D, B, S
swarm swaarm B, S

T

tabard tee'bærd B
talk taak B, S
task tæsk B, S
tea tiɪ O, B, S
tear v. teer O, S
tenet tin'et B, tiin'et S
tenable tin'ɪbl B, tiin'æbl S
tear tiu B
their dheer O, B, S
there dheer O, B, S
these dhiiz O, B, S
thought thoot O, that B, thaat S
thousand thau'zənd O, thau'zænd F
threepence thrɪp'ens B, thrɪp'ens S
threepenny thrɪp'ɪni B, thrɪp'eni S
-tial = -shel O
-tiate = -sheet O
-tion = -shən O
tissue tis'iu B, tish'u S
toil tǝil O
toilet toi'lət B, taa'i-lət S
told tǝuld B, toold S
toll tool tǝul O, taul B, tool S
tomb tuum B, S
tonsure tǝn'siur B, tan'shər S
torn tuurn O, tarn B, toorn S
touch tǝutsh O, tǝtsh B, S
tough tǝf O, D, B, S
tour tǝur B, tuur S
touch tuupɪr' B, S
tournament tǝur'emɪnt B, tuurn'emɪnt
 S
tourney tǝr'nee B, tuurn'nee S
toise tǝuz B, tauz S
transient træn'zɪnt B, træn'shent S
trencher tren'shər B, tren'tshər S
troll trǝul B, trool S
trough trǝf O, D, B, traf S
true triu B, truɪ F, S
truth trunth B, S
tuesday tiuz'di B, tshuuz-dee S

tulip tiu'lip B, tshuulip S
tumid tiu'mid B, tshuulmid S
tumour tiu'mər B, tshuulmər S
tumult tiu'məlt B, tshuulməlt S
tune tiun B, tshuun S
tutor tiu'tər B, tshuutər S
tyrant tair'rint B, tair'rant S
twelvemonth twel'month B, twel'month S
twelvepence twel'pɪns B, twel'pens S
twelvepenny twel'peni B, twel'peni S
twopence toppɪns B, top'ens S
typify tɪpɪfi B, tɪpifi S
tyrannize tair'neɪz B, tair'neɪz S
tyrannous tair'neəs B, tair'neəs S
tyranny tɪr'eni B, tɪr'eni S

U

union iun jən B, S
unlearned ɒnlɛərnd B, ɒnlærnd F,
 ɒnlərnd S
untrue ɒntruu B, S
uphold əphəʊld B, əpuhəʊld S
usquebaugh əskɪbaʊ B, əskweebəʊ B S
usual iuzʊəl B, iuzhuəl S
usurer iuzərər B, iuzhərər S
usurious iuziʊrɪəs B, iuzhuurɪəs S
usury iuzəri B, iuzhəri S

V

vacuous vee'kiʊs B, vək'iuəs S
valet vael'it B, vael'et val'e S
Vaughan VAHN D
vein veen O, B, S
venison ven'zou O, D, ven'ɪsən S
verdict ver'dɪkt D, ver'dɪt B, ver'dɪkt S
verjuice ver'dzhuus B, ver'dzhuus S
vermicelli vermɪ'shel-i B, vermɪ'tshel'ii S
vicious vɪʃəs B, S
virtuallier vɪt'lər D, vɪ'tlɪr B, vɪ'tlər S
virtualls vɪt'lz D, B, S
village vɪ'lɪdʃ B, vɪl'edzh F, vɪl'ɪdzh S
villain vil'in B, vil'en F, vil'en S
virile vɪr'ɪl B, vɪr'tail S
virility vɪrɪl'iti B
virtue vɪrtiu B, vɪrtshuu S
viscount vɪ'kaʊnt B, vɪ'kaunt S
voyage voo'ɪdʃ B, vaa'ɪdzh S

W

wabble wæb'l B, wabl S
wad wad B, wad S
waft wæft B, S
waftage wæft'ɪdʃ B, wæftedzh S
wainscot ween'skɒt O, ween'skɒt B,
 wɪn'skɒt S
walk wælk B, S
wallp wæl'ɒp B, wælɒp S

wallow wæl'oo B, wəl'oo S
walnut wælnɒt B, S
war wæn B, S
wand wænd B, wand S
wander wæʌndər B, wændər S
want wænt B, want S
wanton wæntən B, wæntən S
war wær O, B, S
ward wærd O, B, S
warm wærm O, B, S
warn wærn O, B, S
warrant wæ'rɪnt B, wær'ent S
warren wæren O, wæ'rɪn B, wær'in S
was wæz B, waz S
wash wæʃ B, wash S
wasp wæsp B, wæsp S
wast wæst B, wast S
waste weest D, B, S
watch wæʃ O, wæʃt B, wæʃt S
water wæ'tər O, D, wæ'tɪr B, wæ'tər S
wattle wæt'l B, wæ'tl S
weapon wiɪp'n O, B, wep'n S
wear weər O, B, S
Wednesday Wenz'dee D, Wenz'di B,
 Wenz'dee S
weight weət O, B, S
were weər O, wer B, wer S
where wheər O, B, S
whistle whɪ'sl B, S
who huu B, S
whole whool B, F, hool S
whom huum B, S
whore hoor O, B, nuur S
whose huuz B, S
why hwaɪ B, hwaɪ S
windpipe wɪn'paɪp B, waɪnd'paɪp S
windlass wɪn'lis B, wɪn'les S
windmill wɪn'mɪl B, waɪnd'mɪl S
withhold wɪthhəʊld B, wɪthhəʊld S
wold woold B, S
wolf wuulf O, B, wulf S
woman wɒmən O, wɒm'ɪn B, wum'ən S
womb woom D, wuum B, S
women wɒm'ɪn B, S
won wɒn B, wan S
wont wɒnt B, wunt S
woo wuu B, S
word wuɜrd wɜrd O, wɜrd B, S
work wuɜrk wɜrk O, wɜrk B, S
world wuɜrld wɜrd O, wɜrd B, S
worm wuɜrm wɜrm O, wɜrm B, S
worry wʊrɪ O, wær'i B, S
worship wʊrʃɪp O, wɜrʃɪp B, S
worst wuɜrst wɜrst O, wɜrst B, wɜrst S
worsted wuɜrstɛd wɜrstɛd O, wɜrstɛd B, wʊstɛd S
wort wɜrt O, B, S
worth wuɜrth wɜrth O, B, S
would wuɜd B, uɜld F, wɜd S
wound wəʊnd O, B, wuund S

wrath raath O, reath B, raath S
wrestle res-l B, res-l S
wrought root O, rat B, raat S

Y

yacht jaat B, jat S
yea jii O, jee B, S
yearn jiirn O, jern B, jern S
yeast jest B

yeck jek B, jook S
yeoman jem'en O, jem'en B, jem'en S
yes jes B, jis S
yield jild B, S
yolk jolk B, jook S
yule juul B

Z

zealot zi:l'ot O, zel'ot B, zel'ot S
zenith zin'ith B, zi'n'ith S

SELECT RHYMES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The following rhymes from poets of the XVIII th century have been collected from Walker and Prof. Haldeman (*suprà* p. 1035). The names and dates of the writers are :

Beattie	1735—1803	Falconer	1730—1769	Lyttelton	1709—1773
Broome	1689—1745	Fenton	1683—1730	E. Moore	1712—1757
Churchill	1731—1764	Gay	1688—1732	Pope	1688—1744
Cotton	1707—1788	Gifford	1757—1826	Smollett	1721—1771
Cowper	1731—1800	Goldsmith	1728—1774	Somerville	1692—1742
Croxall	d. 1752	Gray	1716—1771	Tieckell	1686—1740
Darwin	1731—1802	Hoole	1727—1803	Warton	1728—1790
Eusden	d. 1730	Johnson	1709—1781	Watts	1674—1748

It must not be forgotten that these writers were greatly influenced by the pronunciation of the XVIII th century, in which some of them were born, and to which their parents all probably belonged, and hence they might be apt to consider those rhymes which would have been correct in their parents' mouths even more correct than others which they now permitted themselves. It was a century of transition for *ea* in especial, and probably also for *a*, the first travelling from (ce) to (ii), and the second from (ææ) to (ee). "Glorious John" Dryden, who died at the beginning of the century, was looked upon as a model of versification until Pope gained the ascendant, but Pope was certainly materially influenced by Dryden's usages. Bearing this in mind, we must expect the rhymes to present nearly the same character as those in the preceding century, and our examination of Tennyson and Moore (pp. 858-862) shews how potent the influence of the XVIII th century writers still remains.

The arrangement is therefore the same as for Dryden, p. 1034, and the XVIII th century, *suprà* p. 1036. The numbers point out the same groups as in those cases.

1. Car war, *Pope*. regards rewards, *Gay*. far war, *Darwin*. afar war, *Falconer*. star war, *Beattie*. care war, *Pope*. square war, *Darwin*. are war, *Cowper*. safe laugh, *Pope*. glass place, *Pope*. mast plac'd, *Pope*. take track, *Pope*. past waste, *Pope*—would probably never have been used, had they not been an heritage from the preceding century. But Pope may have had an antique pronunciation.

2. As *ai* and *a* long had both become (ce), these rhymes need not be noticed.

3. Wear star, *Pope*. plain man,

Pope. remain'd land, *Pope*. air star, *Pope*. far air, *Johnson*. appear regular, *Pope*. err singular, *Pope*—must also seek their justification in the usages of the XVIII th century. The pronunciation of the preceding or succeeding century only renders the rhymes worse.

4. Waves receives, *Pope*; take speak, *Pope*; shade mead, *Pope*; race peace, *E. Moore*; were now perfect rhymes, and past feast, *E. Moore*, was apparently justified on the authority of the preceding, although it had long ceased to have its old meaning (ææ, ee), and had

become (æ, ee) or (æ, ii). Obey tea, *Pope*; away tea, *Pope*; convey sea, *Warton*; fail'd reveal'd, *Gay*; display sea, *Gay*; airs, ears, *Gray*; sphere bear, *Pope*; sphere there, *Pope*; ear repair there, *Pope*; were all perfect, although the (ii) sound had begun to be acknowledged for (ea, e). But: there transfer, *Fenton*; here refer, *Pope*; were fear, *Eusden*; steer character, *Pope*; field held, *Pope*; were remnants of the xvii th century usage. Heath death, *Pope*; death heath, *Beattie*; drest feast, *Pope*; break neck, *Pope*; yet complete, *Cotton*; decay'd fled, *Lyttelton*; were all rhymes of a long and short vowel (ee, e); and: feel mill, *Pope*; ship deep, *Falconer*; rhymes of long and short (ii, i), doing duty for (ii, i). Perhaps: receives gives, *Pope*; steals hills, *Warton*; were (ee, i) standing for (ee, e), and: stretch beech, *Gray*, was a confusion of the two last cases.

5. No instances of (e, i) have been collected; but they were no doubt sufficiently common.

6. With: high pillory, *Somerville*; fry jealousy, *Pope*; buy dispensary, *Pope*; sky company, *Pope*; we may class: eyes rise precipice, *Pope*; rise precipice, *Pope*; wise inconsistencies, *Pope*; delight wit, *Pope*; revive live, *Pope*. But: winds finds, *Crocoll*, is justified by the still persistent "poetic" pronunciation of *wind* as (waind). We of course find also: free liberty, *Pope*, and many such instances.

7. Joined mankind, *Pope*. refin'd join'd, *Tickell*. join divine, *Pope*. join line, *Pope*, *Chauvill*, *Falconer*. shine join, *Beattie*. thine join, *Lyttelton*. join thine, *Gifford*. soil-smile, *Falconer*. guile toil, *Smollett*. smile toil, *Johnson*. smiles toils, *Hook*. These were in accordance with received pronunciation, but: vice destroys, *Pope*, seems to be a liberty. Weight height, *Pope*, *Falconer*, was regular as (weet, neet).

8. Such rhymes as: none own, *Pope*, which was perfect, or else (oo, oou), seem to have led poets to use: known town, *Gay*; brow grow, *Pope*; brow woe, *Crocoll*; vows woes, *Pope*; power store, *Beattie*; own town, *Pope*; adores pow'rs, *Pope*, although they were (oo, on) at best. We have also (oo, o) treated as if it were a rhyme of a long and short vowel, in: sun upon none, *Pope*; lost boast, *Pope*; show'd trod, *Pope*; gross moss, *Pope*; coast tossed,

Falconer; thought wrote, *Broome*. Also the old rhymes of (oo, uu) depending upon the still older (oo, oo) in: took spoke, *Pope*; boor door, *Goldsmith*; and even: assure door, *Watts*. The usual confusions, likewise an old tradition, occur in: blood wood, *Pope*; blood good, *Pope*; stood blood, *Falconer*, *Pope*; mood flood, *Warton*; wood blood, *Gay*; wood blood, *Darwin*; brood flood, *Cotton*. And to the same tradition is perhaps due the rhymes of *come* with (oo) or (uu): home come, *Pope*; doom come, *Pope*; dome come, *Pope*; come room, *Pope*; come tomb, *Warton*; bloom come, *Gifford*. The following rhymes were perfect: doom Rome, *Pope*; tomb Rome, *Darwin*; gone stone, *Crocoll*; house vows, *Pope*. Perhaps: house sous, *Churchill*—where *sous* is the French (su)—was only meant to be absurd; still it may have been in use as a slang term at the time.

9. No instances of (eu, iu) or (iu, uu) have been noted, but the latter were not all uncommon.

10. Groves loves, *Pope*. grove love, *Johnson*. rove love, *Smollett*. grove above, *Gay*. throne begun, *Pope*. moves doves, *Pope*. prove love, *Pope*. fool dull, *Pope*. These seem to have held their ground from pure convenience, as did also: flung along, *Pope*; long tongue, *Pope*; songs tongues, *Watts*. Full rule, *Pope*, is only a short and a long vowel rhyme (u, uu).

11. The influence of (r) is apparent in: horse course, *Pope*; sort court, *Pope*; board lord, *Pope*; resort court, *Pope*; borne return, *Pope*; worn turn, *Pope*. But in: observe starve, *Pope*; desert heart, *Pope*; ermine charming, *Gay*; we have also a xvii th century tradition.

12. Nature creature, *Gay*; nature satire, *Gay*, *Gray*; fault thought, *Pope*; were perfect rhymes (neeter kreeter seeter, fææt thææt); and perhaps in: call equivocal, *Pope*, the last word was pronounced with (ææ) for the occasion, at any rate such rhymes were an ancient tradition, as they were common in Spenser. Even: still suitable, *Pope*, is half justifiable, as the -ble here is only a -bil obscured. But could: caprice nice, *Pope*, have ever rhymed as (kæpriis; nois) or as (kæpriis; niis)? Of course: eve grave, *Warton*, was a mere license, and: arms warns, *Goldsmith*, was perhaps meant for an assonance.

CHAPTER XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *Educated English Pronunciation.*

On referring to Chapter I., pp. 18 and 19, the reader will see that in thus endeavouring to give an account of the Pronunciation of English at different periods, I have been throughout thoroughly aware that there was at no time any approach to a uniform pronunciation. On referring again to p. 408, it will be seen that my attempts were really limited to discovering the value of the letters employed, which I believed to be pretty uniform within the boundaries of England. This value of the letters seems to have been based on the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Latin, and considering that Latin letters were introduced by priests, and that priests were long the only scribes (shewn by our modern use of the word *clerk*), such a conclusion has some *à priori* probability. In Chap. VI. it will be seen that the actual diversity of pronunciation gradually overpowered orthography, which, after the successful phonetic effort of the xvth century in introducing the distinctions *ee*, *ea* and *oo*, *oa*, subsided into tradition and printing-office habits. In Scotland indeed an approach to systematic orthography developed itself at the conclusion of the xvth century, and this thenceforth distinctly separates the Scotch from the English orthography.¹

¹ Suprà p. 410, n. 3, and Mr. Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873, 8vo., pp. 251), p. 52, where he says that on "comparing the older extracts from the *Brus*, preserved by Wyntown, with the later MS. of 1489," we find "*ai ay*, *ei ey*, *yi*, *oi oy*, *ui*, *oui*, for the old *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ou*, Ags. *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*." And he attributes this to "a defective pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, etc., whereby the second vowel was practically lost, and the combination treated as simple long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*," referring to a similar custom in Gaelic, and "even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct *i* sound as in Eng. *ay*, *oil*, . . . but rather an obscure vocal glide, like the *e* in the words *drawer*, *layest*, *weighed*, *sayeth*, *seest*, *prayer*, and so easily disappearing altogether. The same pronunciation appears to have been given in central and north-eastern Scotland to the Ags.

and French diphthongs," thus *awā-eh* for *away*, *rā-en* for *rain*, *chōes* for *choice*, etc., "imperfect diphthongs" which "still characterise the Scotch dialects." Then "*ay*, *oi*, *ei*, being looked upon merely as ways of expressing long *a*, *o*, *i*, they began to be extended to all words with long vowels, where there had been no original diphthong. . . . Hence the alternative forms *mad* *made* *maid* *mayd* *mayde*, *tas* *tase* *tais* *tays*, etc., found often in the same page of works belonging to the transition period." No reader of this work should fail to study Mr. Murray's, to which frequent reference must be made in the present chapter. The diphthongal theory here intimated will come again under consideration, when reviewing the dialectal relations of the vowels, in § 2, No. 6, iv. below; but as the other dialects were not literary after the fifteenth century, they did not influence orthography.

Orthoepists as a rule ignore all this. It would have been impossible to learn from Hart that *ai* had any other sound in his day than (ee), and yet we know from other sources that (ee) was not even the commonest pronunciation of *ai* at that time. The Expert Orthographist allowed only four words in *ea* to have the sound of (ee). No doubt he considered such a sound in other words to shew ignorance or vulgarity; for the "polite" sounds of a past generation are the *bêtes noires* of the present. Who at present, with any claims to "eddication," would "jine" in praising the "pints of a picter"? But certainly there was a time when "edducation, joyn, poynts, pietsher," would have sounded equally strange.

Moreover in past times we are obliged to be content with a very rough approximation to the sounds uttered. When in the xivth century I write (e), it is possible that speakers may have rather, or may have occasionally, said (e, ē, v). My (o) in the xvth century may have been (o, o), my (o) in the xvith may have been (e, œ), and so on. But at the present day, with the language in the air around us, surely it must be easy to determine what is said? It is not at all easy. There is first required a power, not acquired without considerable training, of appreciating utterance different from one's own. It is indeed remarkable how unconscious the greater number of persons appear to be that any one in ordinary society pronounces differently from themselves. If there is something very uncommon, it may strike them that the speaker spoke "strangely" or "curiously," that "there was something odd about his pronunciation," but to point to the singularity, to determine in what respects the new sound differs from their own, baffles most people, even literary men, even provincial glossarists, who apply themselves to write down these strange sounds for others to imitate. At any rate there has been hitherto evinced a general helplessness, both of conception and expression, that shews how much special education is necessary before we can hope for real success in appreciating diversities of utterance.

But this overcome, the mere observation is beset with difficulties. The only safe method is to listen to the natural speaking of some one who does not know that he is observed.¹ If possible the pronunciation should be immediately recorded in some phonetical system intelligible to the listener, as in palacotype, and the name of the speaker and date should be annexed. This is most conveniently done during the delivery of sermons or lectures. The only objection

¹ This rule is laid down by Klopstock, Ueber die deutsche Rechtschreibung, Fragmenten über Sprache und Dichtkunst, 1779, reprinted in his works, and the passage is so curious that I here transcribe it in the author's own orthography, employing italics for his underlined letters: "Ich habe, *nach* langem Herumhören, gefunden, dasz *eu* fon *ä u* (oder, wi man schreiben solte *e ü, ä ü; hürfon hernach*

Leute fon *läute* nicht unterscheiden sei. Wä *mär* in disem Punkte, oder in andern *nachuntersuchen* wil, mas nicht fragen: Wi man dis oder jenes ausspreche? Sondern är mas zuhören, wi man es ausspricht, wen man niehz dafon weis, dasz darauf acht gegäben wird." Klopstock's Sämmtliche Werke, herausgegeben von A. L. Baek und A. R. C. Spindler. Leipzig, 1830, vol. 14, p. 151.

to this course is that a preacher or lecturer knows that his style of speech is liable to be criticized, and he may therefore indulge in rather a theoretical than a natural delivery. This is especially the case with professed orthoepists, whose pronunciation will necessarily labour under the suspicion of artificiality. And again this plan is of course only possible with educated speakers, who are mostly fanciful in their pronunciation. It is never safe to ask such people how they pronounce a given word. Not only are they immediately tempted to "correct" their usual pronunciation, to tell the questioner how they think the word ought to be pronounced, and perhaps to deny that they ever pronounced it otherwise;¹ but the fact of the removal of the word from its context, from its notional and phonetic relation to preceding and following sounds, alters the feeling of the speaker, so that he has as much difficulty in uttering the word naturally, as a witness has in signing his name, when solemnly told to sign in his usual handwriting. Both forget what is their usual habit, because they have long ceased to be conscious of the required efforts in speaking and writing, as in any other ordinary exertion of the muscles. I have myself found it extremely difficult to reproduce, for my own observation, the sounds I myself ordinarily utter; and yet I have undergone some training in this respect for many years. Uneducated persons, from whom we thus endeavour to elicit dialectal sounds, are simply puzzled, and seldom give anything on which reliance can be placed.

Observations on such sounds are extremely difficult to make. It is only persons of phonetic training who have lived long among the people, and spoken their language naturally, such as Mr. Murray for Scotch, that have had a chance of acquiring a correct conception of the sounds by hearing them unadulterated, and even then there is danger of their not having been able to throw off their former habits enough to thoroughly appreciate the received English sounds with which they would compare them.² When a stranger goes among the country people, they immediately begin to "speak fine,"

¹ A dear old friend of mine called me to task many years ago for saying (lek'tshə), she had "never heard" (that's the usual phrase, and this lady, who was far from being pedantic, spoke with perfect sincerity, though in obvious error) "any educated person use such a pronunciation; she always said (lek'truər) herself." Of course, as we were talking of lectures, in the next sentence she forgot all about orthoepy, and went on calmly and unconsciously talking of (lek'tshɪz) herself. This one out of many instances is recorded, because it made a great impression on me at the time.

² Hence one of the great difficulties of key-words. Each pronounces them according to his own habit, and thus

frequently confounds sounds essentially distinct. This has been a source of great difficulty to myself when endeavouring to collect information respecting English dialects, and is one of the impediments in the way of using a uniform spelling, as glossie, for dialectal purposes. Collecting country words is looked upon as an amusement, not as laying a brick in the temple of science; and, curiously enough, an accurate appreciation of their sounds is one of the last things thought of, and one which few glossarists give themselves any trouble about. Yet it requires great care and much practice, and its neglect renders the glossaries themselves records of unknown words, as for the extinct Forth and Bargo dialect.

or in some way accommodate their pronunciation to his, in order to be intelligible, or grow shy and monosyllabic. An attempt to note their utterances would drive many to silence. It is seldom an investigator is so fortunate as Mr. Nicolas Wyer, whose Dorset experiences I shall have to record. I endeavoured on one occasion to learn something by accompanying a gentleman, resident near Totness in Devonshire, while he was speaking to his own workmen, and listening with all my ears to their replies, noting them from memory immediately on my return to the house. But this is obviously a fragmentary, although a comparatively safe, method, and consumes much time. The usual and quickest, but not the safest plan, is to catch a person of education, as a clergyman or surgeon, who has had free intercourse with natives, or else a native born, and collect the sounds from his lips. In the first case, however, they are diluted by false impressions, as when one learns French pronunciation from a German. In the second they are apt to be faded memories, much spoiled by exposure to the light of received pronunciations. It is for these reasons perhaps that we seldom find *every word* in a dialectal specimen written phonetically. Many of the little words, which failed to attract attention, are passed over, and of those written phonetically only the most striking parts are indicated, and the writer seeks to deviate (like Mr. Barnes in his second series of Dorset poems) as little as possible from the usual orthography. This is all very well for one who knows the dialect already. For an outsider it is merely tantalising or misleading.¹

But, even with phonetic training, and willing and competent teachers, it is difficult to hear the sounds really uttered, if only a short time is at command. We know, by the frequent mishearing of names, or of unexpected words, although every sound in them is perfectly familiar, how extremely troublesome it is to catch *new* combinations of *old* sounds. When both sounds and combinations are strange, as in a dialect or foreign language, this difficulty is materially increased. The sounds of language are very fleeting. Each element occupies a very minute part of a second. Many elements are much hurried over, and all are altered by combination, expression, pitch, intonation, emotion, age, sex, national formation. We hear as much by general effect, rather than by the study of individual elements, as we often read a manuscript rather by the *look* of words than by the forms of their letters. Hence if the language is unknown, both spoken and written words become unintelligible. The ear must have *lived* among the sounds, to know them instantaneously at the most hurried encounter, to be able to

¹ See Mr. Murray's remarks on modern Scotch orthography (*ibid.* pp. 75-77), which, he says, "to the actual spoken language bears precisely the relation that is borne to Chaucer's English by a modernized version of his writings, using the present English spelling, except for obsolete words, or where prevented by the rhyme." In

fact, "three-fourths to nine-tenths of the words are old friends" to the *eye* of an Englishman; but if he gets a Scotchman to *read*, "not more than three words in a hundred would be *heard* as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling." Numerous corroborations will occur hereafter.

eliminate individualities and know generalities. One of the great dangers that we run in attempting to give a strange pronunciation, is to confuse the particular habit of the individual with the general habit of the district which he represents. Every speaker has individualities, and it is only by an intimate acquaintance with the habits of *many* speakers that we can discover what were individualities in our first instructor. Not only has age and sex much influence, but the very feeling of the moment sways the speaker. We want to find not so much what he *does* say, as what it is his *intention* to say, and that of course implies long familiarity, to be gained only by observation. (See especially the previous remarks on pp. 626–629.)

The difficulties of determining the *exact generic* pronunciation of any language or dialect at any time, the knowledge indeed that from individual to individual there are great specific varieties, by comparing which alone can the generic character be properly evolved, must make us content with a rather indefinite degree of approximation. It is not too much to say that most phonetic writing is a rude symbolisation of sound. It answers its end if it suffices to distinguish dialects, and to enable the reader to pronounce in such a way that the instructed listener shall be able to determine the dialect which the speaker means to imitate. Hence, really, only broad generic differences can be symbolised by an outsider. But the speakers themselves *feel*, rather than accurately understand, the errors committed in this imitation, are aware of differences, although they can seldom name them, which distinguish sub-dialects, villages, cliques, individuals. And these differences are as philologically important, as, geographically, the streamlets which, trickling down the mountain-side, subsequently develope into rivers. It is only by a strict investigation of the nature of fine distinctions that we can account for the existence of broad distinctions. Hence phonologists occasionally endeavour to symbolise even the smallest. Their success hitherto has not been too great. But they have at any rate produced weapons which few can wield. Hereafter, perhaps, when phonetic training is part of school education,—as it should be, and as it must be, if we wish to develope linguists or public speakers, or even decent private readers,—ears will be sharpened, and distinctions about which we now hesitate will become clear. Then we may learn to separate the compound speech-sounds heard into their constituents, as surely as the conductor of a band can detect the work of each instrument in a crashing chord. In the mean time we must do something, however little, vague, and unsatisfactory it may appear, or the foundations of our science will never be laid.

My object in the present section is to examine, so far as I can in a small compass, the pronunciation at present used by educated English speakers, without attempting to decide what is “correct.” That I have not even a notion of how to determine a standard pronunciation, I have already shewn at length (pp. 624–630). But such a determination is really of no interest to the present inquiry. We merely wish to know what *are* the sounds which educated

English men and women really use when they speak their native language. Considering that Mr. Melville Bell has noted sounds with greater accuracy than any previous writer, I shall take first the 26 words in which he condenses "the English Alphabet of Visible Speech, expressed in the Names of Numbers and Objects," and carefully examine them, not for the purpose of determining the values of the letters (*suprà* pp. 567-580), or the expression of the sounds (*suprà* pp. 593-606), although the tables of these already given should be constantly consulted, but of determining, so far as possible, the actual sounds used in speaking English, and the method of putting those sounds together. Properly speaking these lists should also be supplemented by another, containing those words which are variously pronounced, but to give this at full would be almost to write a pronouncing dictionary. I shall, however, furnish a few lists of varieties which I have actually heard and noted, and some passages carefully palacotyped after Mr. M. Bell, Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet and myself. After this consideration of educated, or artificial, literary speech, I will in the next section take up that of uneducated or natural or organic local speech, known as English dialectal pronunciation. Although my notes on this part of my subject may appear almost too full, yet they are really both imperfect and brief, considering that dialectal speech is of the utmost importance to a proper conception of the historical development of English pronunciation, just as an examination of the existing remains of those zoologic genera which descend from one geological period to another, serves to shew the real development of life on our globe.

The object of the following examination is to determine as precisely as possible the phonetic elements of received English pronunciation (23, *b*), and I shall for brevity constantly refer to the preceding pages where they have been already incidentally noted and explained, and shall adopt the style of reference employed in the indices. A number followed by the letters *a, b, c, d*, signifies the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the corresponding page; the addition of *ab, ba; be, eb; cd, dc*, indicating lines near the divisions of those quarters. If the letter is accented, the second column is referred to. Thus (23, *b*) means, page 23, second quarter, and (51, *d'*) page 51, fourth quarter, second column.

AN EXAMINATION OF MR. MELVILLE BELL'S TWENTY-SIX KEY-WORDS TO
ENGLISH SPEECH-SOUNDS, AND OF THE RELATIONS OF THOSE SOUNDS.

Summary of Contents.

1. *One.* (w wə wə'), relations of (w bl), Prof. March's (w), Welsh *w*, Latin *e*. (ə ə'), Welsh *y*, Dutch *u*, French *eu*, German *ö*. (u), English and continental (t t, d d, n), Sanscrit cerebrals or coronals, and dentals. (d d, n, mli). Synthesis (wəw).
2. *Two.* (t t'). (uu, u'u u'u' u'uw). Synthesis (tuu, tuuu, t'uuu, tduu, 'tduu).
3. *Three.* (th th tth tth). Trilled and untrilled *r* (r r_c r_{ch} r_r). (ii ii, ä, i'i i'i i'i). Synthesis (thrii, thrhrii, thdrii).
4. *Four.* (f th ph). Diphthongs with (a, iia cea ooa uua, ii' ée' oo' uu', ü,ä cejea ooeer, uueer, aa' AAA). Rapid (fa). Synthesis (foea), length of first element of (ooa).
5. *Five.* Diphthongs of (oi) class, (oi' ähi äi äi' oi' öhi aa'ähi), English Greek *ei ai*, (oi' yeh'i yeh'y w'i aa').

- The (oi) series (úi, úi, úi, ói ói ó'i A'i). (v, f) relations to (bh, ph), German and Dutch *w, v, f*, (B), Hungarian *v, f*, Sanscrit *v*. Synthesis (fó'iv, fvó'ivf), English final (-vf, -zs, -dhth, -zhsh), German initial (sz-).
6. *Six*. (s sh, s sh, t s t s) Spanish *s, z*, Basque *s*. (i i) Dutch *i*. (k k). Synthesis (siks).
7. *Seven*. (e e e eⁱ e₁ e e e eⁱ ie). (n, nn 'n, 'l 'm 'n 'i). Synthesis (sev'n).
8. *Eight*. (ee éi éi éei éei éei ee'j) Dutch *ee ei*; when (ee) tends to (ee'j). Final mutes (t' th' t' t' t' t'). Glides > <, initial (t <), medial (> t <), final (> t <'). Synthesis (eet ee'jt), initial glottids (ee; ee' ee').
9. *Book*. (p b, t d, k g, p ii b ii, pii 'bii 'bmii, b ii, 'b, 'p, b' bp'). Dutch rule for *p b* (u u). (k g) labialised (kw gw, tw dw, kw gw), palatalised (kj gj, tj dj), and labio-palatalised (kwj gwj, twj dwj). Synthesis (buk).
10. *Wath*. (A ə, o_u Aə), Diphthong (A'i) and German Diphthongs. (sh sh sh t sh d zh, sh t sh). Mr. Goodwin's (kj, gj), Sanscrit *e eh, j jh, ç sh*, Italian *ee, ge*, Polish *cz*. Synthesis, (w-ə > t < sh).
11. *Saw*. (AA, AA' AA'v). Synthesis (sAA).
12. *Feathers*. (dh .th, ddh, dh.d.) (v₁ i, zs.) Synthesis (f < e > dh < v > z-s).
13. *Tongs*. (q g, a, aa ag, aq, AAq əq əq, əqg' əqk' -qg- -qth -qthh), French nasals. Synthesis (t < ə > q-z-s).
14. *Whip*. (wh), Mr. M. Bell's "rudimental symbols," *suprà* p. 15, 9a, 5a, 9b, 9h, 9c, 9l and 9m, 9e + 9m, 10f and 5f, 10e, 10d; material of speech (' 'h 'h 'h 'h 'h), Vowels, Glottids, (f ; h jh gh g l , , , , n n' h h h), Glides slurs breaks (> <) ~). Sanscrit aspiration, ūshman, soshman, anūshman, jih-vāmūliya, upadmāniya, spiritus as-
- per, spiritus lenis, visarjaniya. Japanese syllabary. English aspirate. Sanscrit *h*. English hisses and buzzes. Generated (lh rh mh nh), conversion of Sanscrit *m, n* into visarjaniya, (l-lh-t, l-l-d-t', sinnhs sinzs), German initial *s*=(sz-). English final *z*=(zs). Anglo-saxon *hw hr ht hm hn*. English *wh*= (wh, jhw, whw), opinions of Professors Haldeman, March, Whitney. No (fv. thdh-sz- shzh-) in English, so that (whw-) would be anomalous. "Parasitic utterances." Varieties of *wheat* (nuūt, uhuūt, ŋhuūt, phuūt, whiūt, nwhiūt, whwiūt, wiūt, kwhiūt, phiūt, fiūt). Usage variable. (p), length of final consonants, Mr. Sweet's rule. Synthesis (wh < i > p < h).
15. *Lamp*. (l lh lhh /hh). Confusion of (d, l, r), Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese (lr), Sanscrit *lrī, lrī*, and *ri rī*. (æ e, ah a), Dutch *e*, Hungarian *e*, Danish *a* (a). Variable English *a* in *chaff pass ask bath chance* (æ a æe ah). (m 'm mh mhp). Synthesis (l < æ > m-p').
16. *Onions*. (j jh, gjh kjh, gjh kjh), Brücke's, Merkel's, and Lepsius's theories. Relation of (j w) to diphthongs. Synthesis (ə > n-nj-j < v > n-s), (n, nj, nj).
17. *Boat*. (oo ou oo'w oo'ou). Synthesis.
18. *Curt*. (k kj, aa aa). Synthesis (k < aa > t').
19. *Tent*. (nt, nht). Synthesis (t < e > n-t')
20. *Houses*. (h nh). (au əu əhu ə'u ə'u ou ou ə'u). Synthesis.
21. *Dog*. (d, ə, g). Synthesis.
22. *Monkey*. (m, ə e, q qh, k, i). Synthesis (m < ə > q-k < i).
23. *Cage*. (k). (ee éi). (d, zh zh, zh sh). Synthesis (keed zh sh).
24. *And*. (ah ə) (n, d). Synthesis.
25. *Bird*. (w, i, er, w). Quadrilinear arrangement of the 36 Visible Speech vowels by tongue heights. Synthesis of *bird bud* (bəd, bəd).
26. *Canary* ('r). Synthesis (kenec'ri).

1. ONE, Bell's (wən), my (wən). Prof. Haldeman notes (wən) as the pronunciation of Charles Kean, at the Princess's Theatre, London, 1859. Probably (won, wən, wən) are all in use. I seem to have heard them from elderly educated people. Charles Kean's pronunciation was possibly an intentional stage archaism. Provincially all

and many others occur. Provincialities are, however, not considered here.

(w). No English speakers, so far as I can recall, say (w'u) with a diphthong, although Mr. Murray (no doubt correctly) suggests its derivation from such a prefix, "like the provincial *wuts* for *outs*." We shall have many

1. (w)—*continued*.

examples of this introduced (u) hereafter; see the general remarks on dialectal vowel relations, § 2, No. 6. Much interest attaches for many reasons to the sounds (w, bh) (513, *d'*) and diphthongising (u) (185, *a*). Foreigners generally find considerable difficulty in pronouncing (w). Educated Germans domiciled in this country, even with English wives and families, are frequently unable to separate the sound of (w) from that of their own (bh), and Frenchmen, Italians, etc., substitute a diphthongising (u). That initial *w* is not (u) in English results almost with certainty from *woo*, *wood*, = (wu, wud), the latter with a very long vowel. In *wood*, *would*, *woman*, = (wad, wu'men), it is conceivable that (uad, uä'men) might be said. Welshmen, untrained, say (ua), see (785, *e*, 101, *a, d'*) (uud), and (ud, u'men),—compare Sir Hugh Evans' *o'man*, as the fo. 1623 writes it in the Merry Wives, act 4, sc. 1,—and some Scotchmen and Englishmen say (wəd, wə'men) (176, *a*), just as we all now say (wə'ndə) and not (wu'ndə), but the Welshman Salisbury said (*w'nder*), see (777, *e*). An article which I wrote on the Latin *V* consonant in the *Academy* for 15th Jan. 1872, distinguishing a diphthongising or con-sonant (u) from the English consonant (w), induced Prof. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., author of the well-known Anglo-Saxon Grammar, to write me a letter on 22nd March, 1872, of which the following are extracts. Not having been written for publication, they take the form of rough notes:

"We have here students of many nationalities. That makes it easy to get a general conception of almost any sound. Perhaps the mixture makes the sounds unreliable for so minute distinctions as you take note of. A native Welshman from South Wales, not yet having command of English, pronounces *w* just as I do, has no difficulty with *woman*, never did have, pronounces Welsh words beginning with *w* in the same way, never heard any other sound for them; so he says. Makes a good *v* for Welsh *f*, touches his teeth fairly; never knew any other way. But English was spoken as well as Welsh in his native place, and he has always heard it [1. See remarks at end of quotation].

1. (w)—*continued*.

"Our German professor does not make *w* exactly as I do. He says he was directed by his English teacher to begin with *oo* (u), and he does, following with a weak *v'* (bh) [2]. Practically it is a good *v* for us. I ought to say, however, that his German *w* is much nearer the English *w* than that of many Germans. The students who read German with him always catch from him *w*, and not *v*. It used to be the direction for German *w* at Harvard, to 'make English *w* without the initial *oo* sound' [3].

"All this about *w* I have mentioned as a kind of introduction to the statement that I always thought the Latin *v* was our *w*. Their having no separate letters for *u* and *v* seemed reason enough [4], before I thought of the German; and the apparently close analogy between the German hearing of our *w* and the Greek representation of the Latin *v*, i.e. the careless β in common nouns, the more careful $\nu\beta$, and the occasional refined $\nu\beta$ in proper names, as well as the facts of phonetic change, seemed to speak for English rather than German.

"The distinction between English *w* and your diphthong con-sonant ω I had not made [5], and I am not absolutely certain that I do not myself make what you would call the diphthongal ω where you make a different sound as English *w*. The difference between my making *oui*, *we* and German *wie*, seems to me this. Set tongue and lips for *oo* (u) and issue breath (sonant), then without moving the lips change the tongue for *i*, and it gives *oui* [6]. Set as before and issue same sonant breath, but, with the change of tongue for *i*, move the lips, constricting slightly, and then quickly letting them fall loose, and you have English *we* as I make it [7]. The difference between *oui* and *we* seems to be essentially in the lip movement.

"For the German, omit the tongue-adjustment for *oo*, and make a lip-movement somewhat similar to the English; but in the English *w* the mouth is, even when nearest to closure, still open, and in the *oo* form; so that, if held steadily, a resonant *oo* might be made through the aperture [8]. In the German I draw my upper lip down to my lower lip till it just ticks and is kept from touching along a considerable line

1. (w)—*continued*.

by the buzzing breath. The difference here seems to be in the form of the lips at their nearest approach, the English being nearly *oo*, and the German nearer *b*. To me the English *w*, as I make it, is one of the easiest of letters, and the German one of the hardest to make after *oo*, as in the German attempts at English *w*" [9].

On these careful observations I would remark, [1] that the fact of the Welshman having constantly heard English (w) rather disqualifies him for a test. See also [5] at end.

[2] The direction given to a German to begin with (u) and go on to a gentle (bh), that is to call *we* (u₁bhi) — for ₁ see (419, *d*) — is merely a contrivance to make him raise the back of his tongue properly, (u**bh*), or the *simultaneous* utterance of these two sounds being almost exactly (w), compare (762, *d'*). Compare also Lediard (1047, *c*). The old Greek *οὐβ* for Latin *v* consonant ought to point out the same thing. But here doubts arise into which I cannot now enter. That this German should be heard by American students to say (w) rather than (v) upsets the (v) theory of Brücke by a crucial test.

[3] This direction is the reverse of the former, and makes (bh) = (w—u), or (w) with the tongue depressed, a good shorthand rule, though I find "(v) without touching the teeth" easier, and it is also more correct.

[4] Any one who reads Salesbury on I consonant (754, *c*), will see that such an opinion is untenable.

[5] My theory was that Latin V, I, when before a vowel were (u, i), forming a diphthong with a following vowel on which lay the force, as (u₁i, u₁e, u₁a; i₁e, i₁a), etc. — for this notation see (419, *c*) — or consonants as I called them, as long as VV, II, did not occur in writing, but that the introduction of these in place of VO, and simple I, shewed the development of a consonant form (in the modern sense), and I took those later consonants to be (bh, j), rather than (w, j), in consequence of the large field of (bh) in comparison to (w). Prof. March's doubt as to whether his own *we* is not my diphthongising *oo*, precisely the natural Welsh sound as I conceive, renders his identification of the Welshman's pronunciation with his own, no proof that the Welshman really said (w).

1. (w)—*continued*.

[6] This direction should give (u₁y'), or (úy). I hear the French sound as (ú₁), without any intermediate (y), and with the force on (u), shewn by the frequent form (ú'í) or (ú'í) with a sharp whispered or voiceless (i). Henceforth I use (u) for whispered (u), see (10, *b*), the vocal chords nearly touching each other, and (u) for voiceless (u), the vocal chords as wide apart as for ordinary breathing, and so on for other vowels. All these distinctions will be fully considered below No. 14, (wh).

[7] This should give (u-wj-i), where (wj) means (w), with the tongue as for (i), instead of as for (u). I believe, however, that it is meant for (uwi), where (w) is so gradually formed from (u) by constriction, that two syllables are not felt. There would be the slightest possible difference between (uwi) and (ui), but I have not yet observed or noted either of these sounds among Englishmen or Americans, — by no means a proof of their non-occurrence.

[8] If a clear (u) could be heard through the (w) position, (w) would be (u); to me this is not possible; (w) is a buzz, more like (z), which has a central passage, than (v), which has a divided passage, but still distinctly a buzz, from want of a proper resonance chamber, the aperture being constricted. In both (w, bh) I feel the lips vibrate much more strongly than for (u).

[9] As a gradual constriction, (uw) is easy enough, but it has no syllabic effect, that is, no distinctly appreciable glide, like (ubh). The opening (wu) is more syllabic, but (bhu) is still more so, owing to the greater change; (yw, wy) are more difficult to me than (ybh, bhy). But (íw, ew, ew) are syllabic, with 'stopped' vowels, and hence quite distinct from (íu, éu, èu), and not very difficult to my organs. Still even here (íbh, ebh, èbh) are easier to me. Of course (í₁v, e₁v, è₁v), which are frightfully difficult to a German, are perfectly easy, as in *to live, heavy, have*.

In a review by Mr. D. R. Goodwin on Dr. R. G. Latham's English Language (North American Review, No. 154, Jan. 1852), which I shall have again occasion to cite, I find the following (p. 8), which gives another American observation on (j, w) comparable to Prof. March's, and which I cite as the

1. (w)—*continued*.

only remark of a similar character which I have found: "The semi-vowels (lene) may be described as a sort of fulcrum or pivot of articulation, in passing from the English *e* (or *i* short) to any closely subjoined vowel-sound, in the case of *y*; and from *u* or *oo* to any such vowel-sound in the case of *w*. Thus in *yarn*, *wit*, we may give first the full sounds *ee-arn*, *oo-wit*, where, between the initial vowel-sound *ee*, *oo*, and the following vowel-sounds, the organs pass through a certain momentary but definite position, which gives the character of a consonant-sound, and which we have denominated a fulcrum or pivot. If now the vowel part, the *ee*- or *oo*-sound be reduced to a minimum, and be begun immediately, upon this pivot or fulcrum, and pronounced *yard*, *wit*, we shall have the *y* and *w* representing sounds of a proper consonant character." By the expression "semi-vowels (lene)" and by afterwards saying that they have only a "momentary" position, Mr. Goodwin excludes the continuant character of (*j*, *w*), and hence we must suppose certain mutes and sonants, that is, explodents of the same character as (*g*, *b*) in the position of (*i*, *u*), with the aperture quite closed up. Now the first of these explodents answer almost precisely to (*kj*, *gj*), introduced in No. 10, (*sh*), and slightly different from (*kj*, *gj*), as will be there explained at length. These sounds, however, are difficult to keep from (*tsh*, *dzh*), as will there be shewn, and it is notorious that (*j*) after (*t*, *d*) or (*k*, *g*) generates such sounds. The lip-explodent, however, cannot be clearly kept from (*b*) itself. Mr. Goodwin surely did not mean (*gj*, *b*) to be his "lenesemi-vowels." A less degree of contact must be assumed, and writing (*gj*, *b₁*) for these theoretical sounds, according to the principle explained in No. 7, (*c*, *f*), Mr. Goodwin's explanation seems to give *y*, *w* = (*igj₁*, *ub₁*).

English (*w*) is to me a buzz, with small central lip aperture, back of tongue raised, and with the muscles of the lips not held so tightly as for (*bh*), so that the expelled voice can easily inflate both upper and lower lip beyond the teeth, which are kept well apart, and do not at all stop the passage of the breath. The well-known confusion of *w*, *r*, perhaps arises from (*bh*), but

1. (w)—*continued*.

is esteemed odiously vulgar (186, *de*), and will be considered hereafter.

(*æ*, *ə*). The habits of English speakers vary with respect to (*æ*, *ə*), and no one would be remarked for pronouncing either in a syllable under accent or force. But to my ear, (*æ*) has often a thick, deep effect, naturally unpleasant to one accustomed to (*ə*), which, probably, to the other speakers is fully as unpleasantly thin and high. The position of the tongue for (*ə*) is much higher, and its form flatter, than for (*æ*), in which the tongue lies in precisely the same position as for (*a*, *o*, *o*), as roughly shewn in the diagram (14, *b*). The (*ə*) position of the tongue is the most neutral and colourless of all, but, leaving a much narrower channel than for (*æ*, *a*, *æ*), produces a finer and more delicate sound. I usually assume the sound heard to be (*ə*), unless the effect of (*æ*) is very marked. There seems to be no significance attached to the distinction (*ə*, *æ*). These vowels in syllables under force are, among European nations, said to be exclusively English, Scotch, and Welsh. According to Dutch writers (Donders and Land, who are both acquainted with English), the English is different from the Dutch short *u*, which is (*œ*) or (*ə*), as in French *eu* and German *ö*, and not (*æ*), as wrongly stated (236, *d'*). The English sound is not labialised at all, although it has sprung from a labial (*u*, *u*), and there is great confusion in the way in which (*u*, *ə*) are used at the present day (175, *b*). The intermediate sound between (*u*) and (*ə*) or (*æ*) seems to be (*u_ə*) or (*u*), pronounced with lips as open as for (*o*), a sound which to unaccustomed ears hovers between (*u*, *o*, *æ*, *ə*), but is said to be prevalent in the north of England. The Welsh (*y*) is sometimes (*æ*), but this sound is not universal in Wales, p. 763. The sound (*æn*) is heard only in such phrases as "a good 'un, little 'un"; of course it is not an abbreviation of (*wæn*), but an independent and older formation, unaffected by a prefixed (*u*). Being unemphatic, Mr. Bell would also consider it as (*æn*) or (*un*), instead of his emphatic (*æn*). The sound of such unemphatic syllables will be considered hereafter.

1. (n).

(n). The tip of the tongue for received English (t, d, l, n) is not so advanced towards the teeth or gums, as for the continental sound. In my own pronunciation (n) is not even gingival, that is, the tip of the tongue does not even reach the upper gums. Mr. J. G. Thompson, of the Madras Civil Service, in his lithographed pamphlet, "An unpointed Phonetic Alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard Alphabet, but easier to read and write and less likely to be mistaken, cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute, and less liable to accident" (Mangalore, 1859, pp. 64), distinguishes four classes of *t, d, l, n*. 1) *Lingual*, which, from his diagram, are apparently palaeo-type (tj, dj, lj, nj), to which I shall have to recur in Nos. 10 and 16 below. 2) *Palatal*, which by the diagram are are (τ, δ, λ, η), and which I believe correspond more correctly to the English sounds as I pronounce them, the tip of the tongue being laid against "the very crown of the palatal arch," except that I touch the palate with the upper and not the under part of the tip, so that the tongue is not at all inverted. The inversion of the tongue, as shewn in the diagram, seems to be due merely to roughness of drawing. "The palatal *t*," says Mr. Thompson, p. 31, "is pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue vertically against the crown of the palatal arch so as to close every passage for the breath," which however is not possible unless the sides of the tongue also press against the palate and side molars, "and then withdrawing it with considerable force, while the breath is forcibly expelled." These are the so-called "cerebrals," and the (τ, δ) are the four-dotted Indian त, द. 3) *Gingival*, in which the tip of the tongue touches the gums, and which he recognizes as the English *t, d*. 4) *Dental*, where the tip of the tongue is put against the teeth, is the continental *t*, and the Indian two-dotted त. "The gingival sounds of *t* and *d*," says Mr. Thompson on p. 23, "seem to be peculiar to English. Lepsius quotes the *t* in *town* as an example of the dental *t*: and this is a common mistake of foreigners, and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of their acquiring the pronunciation of English.

1. (n)—continued.

Singularly enough the same mistake has been made by Wilson in his Sanskrit Grammar. But Forbes has perceived the truth. On such a point, however, the evidence of the natives of India is worth more than that of any Englishman, and in almost every word they represent our *t* and *d* by the palatal [cerebral] letters of their alphabets. Thus in a Telugu advertisement in the Fort St. George Gazette, the words *Devonshire Julia Edward Act commander* appear as (divanshior dzhualiru edwardu aakru kamaandoru). . . . In advertisements from the same paper from another office, the words *government* and *private secretary* appear in Telugu as (gauramendru, praveer sekriteeri), and in Tamil as (gaworn-mendru, piraveertu sekritteeri). That the English *t* is not a dental letter anybody may convince himself by pronouncing a continental or Indian word in which a dental *t* occurs, and immediately giving the same sound to the *t* in *town letter boat*." But we have not to go abroad for this purpose. The dental *t* before *r* is very common in our own northern dialects.

In my palaeotype I erroneously used (t, d, l, n) for dentals, as giving greater force, and thickness to the vowels. I have however employed (ṭ, ḍ, ḷ, ṇ) occasionally. This inconvenient notation, involving the mutilation of a type, I propose to replace by (t, d, l, n), where the turned grave (˘) preceding a letter shews it has to be taken more forward. We have then (tj, τ, t, ṭ) for this series, and there is also the Arabic (t), which is difficult to define, but which Thompson classes as a lingual (tj), together with thick Gaelic *t*, of which I know nothing. This is from an English point of view. A foreigner would consider our (t, d) as *retracted*. The English (t, d, l, n) are peculiarly light, and do not thicken the sound of the following or preceding vowel at all. I doubt whether this thickening effect (54, a) is really due to the peculiar position of the tongue and the glide thus formed. I am inclined to think that it must be accompanied by a peculiar action of the throat. Thus practically I find myself able to produce almost similar effects with the English retracted (t), by the muscular actions involuntarily resulting

1. (n)—continued.

from a proper *mental intention* when gliding on to the vowel.

As this page was passing through the press (12th August, 1873), Mr. K. G. Gupta, a native of Bengal, well acquainted with Sanscrit after the Benares school, had the kindness to give me oral exemplification of the Indian sounds. Mr. Murray was also fortunately present. I shall have occasion to recur to the information I then received as to the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanscrit, which, though probably considerably different from the ancient, is certainly its true descendant. Mr. Gupta, who has resided a considerable time in England and speaks English perfectly, had just returned from Paris. He distinctly recognized his own *mārdhanya* or cerebral *t, d*, as the true English sounds, and his own dental, or as he considers them "soft," *t, d*, as the true French sounds. To some Indians, then, the distinction, Indian (*ṛ ḍ*) and English (*t d*), is inappreciable. If palaeotype were introduced in a foreign book, certainly "*ṛ ḍ*" would be used for the English and Indian cerebrals, and "*t d*" for the dentals. But it is strictly necessary in a work intended for English people to make the distinction between the usual English (*t d*) and foreign dental (*t, d*) clear to the eye. Foreigners will observe that for (*t, d*) the tip of the tongue touches the *coron* of the palate, and hence these letters will be called *coronal*, and for (*t, d*) the tongue is brought absolutely against the *teeth*, and hence they are dental. In all the foreign words hitherto introduced, in which (*t, d*) have been written, (*t, d*) must be understood. The use of (*t, d*) was an anglicism which will be avoided hereafter, except as an abbreviation, after due explanation. The ordinary speaker of received English is altogether ignorant of the sounds (*t, d*), and when he hears them confuses them with his own (*t, d*). Many Englishmen who have resided for years in India never learn to appreciate the difference. Yet in a Calcutta newspaper, (*The Englishman*, 10th May, 1873, p. 4, col. 2, in an article quoted from the *Friend of India*, of 8th May,) we read: "If any one says the *English cerebrals* are like enough to the Indian dentals, to repre-

1. (n)—continued.

sent them, let him remember the words *Magistrate* and *Superintendent* written in Bengali. Moreover a man who confuses dentals and cerebrals in Bengali, says *stick* when he means *kick*, *sixty* when he means *seven*, and is unable to distinguish a *lease* from a *leaf*, a *cannon* from a *hat*, *fear* from *market-price*, and *pease-porridge* from the *branch of a tree*." And the only English dentals which Mr. Gupta admits are (*th, dh*), for which the tip of the tongue is in the same position as it is for his (*t, d*), the sole difference consisting in the tightness of closure, formed by the sides of the tongue. The description of (*ṛ ḍ*) on pp. 4 and 9 as (*tḍ dḍ*) or "*(t, d)* with an inverted tongue," is incorrect for Sanscrit ट ढ and must be omitted. This definition arose from Bopp's stating that "they are pronounced by bending the tongue far back and bringing it against the palate" (indem man die Spitze der Zunge weit zurückbiegt und an den Gaumen setzt, Gram. der Sans. Spr. in kürz. Fass. 2nd ed. 1845, p. 15), and Mr. Gupta distinctly repudiated inversion. But (*ṛ ḍ*) may be retained as special signs for the Indian *cebrals*, until their identification with the English *coronals* has been generally acknowledged. Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (1102, *b*) qualified his identification of (*ṛ ḍ*) with (*t d*) by a saving "almost." Possibly the Indian sounds may be retracted (*t, d*).

As to (*n n*) Mr. Gupta said that no distinction is now made in pronunciation except in connection with following consonants. In Pāṇini's name, for example, both *n*'s are alike (*n*); no distinction between (*n n*) being heard in India. The nasal resonance would be the same, but it is possible to make the glides on to and from vowels sensibly different. We must conclude that the ancients felt a difference, or they would not have used two letters, although this and other distinctions have been lost in modern speech.

In the (*n*) there is a complete closure by the tongue, so that the lips may be either open or shut, and there is complete resonance in the nose. Compare the effect of a person saying *one* with or without "a cold in the head," that is, with incomplete and complete nasal resonance, as: (*wōd, wōn*). The nasal resonance is prolonged to the last, so that there is no approach to (*wōnd*,

1. (n)—*continued*.

want, wənl). The voice is also prolonged to the last, and does *not* dwindle off to (nh) as (wənnh). The (n) is often very long, but there is not usually a decrease and increase of force, giving the effect of reduplication, as (wən)n, see (52, a).

(wən). The method of synthesis must be observed. The labiality of the (w) should not affect the following vowel, changing (ə) into (oh), or (æ) into (o), even as a gliding intermediate sound, though carelessness in this respect may be one cause of the generation of (wən), through (wəhn, wən, won), if indeed (on) were not original. Hence the lips have to be sharply opened, and the buzz of the (w) scarcely audible, except of course for certain rhetorical effects. The (ə) is short, but may be of medial length; if it were prolonged, it would give the effect of *warn* (wān), although there must be no trill; indeed (wəən, wəəən) are not uncommon cockneyisms. The prolongation is thrown on to the glide to (n), which is the same as that to (d), and on to the (n) itself. The uvula does not act to open the passage to the nose till (ə) is quite finished. Any nasalising of the vowel, as (wə̃n), is quite abnormal, although occasionally heard, but not among educated English speakers.

2. TWO, (tuu).

(t). The tip of the tongue against the crown of the palate, see (1096, c).

(uu). The throat not widened, a clear flute-like sound, with no approach to (oo) in it. It may be short, however, as well as long, and should not end with a whisper ('u), or hiss ('u), or consonant (w, wh), as in Icelandic (548, d). But it may end with much diminishing force. With some perhaps it tends to (uuʔ). Mr. Sweet tells me that he has detected himself in saying (t'uw). In Danish he says there is a slight final hiss after (ii, uu), thus (iʰ, uʰ), see his paper on Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105). Perhaps the Danish sounds are rather (iiʰ, uuʰ).

2. (tuu).

(tuu). For the synthesis, observe that for (t) the glottis is quite *closed*, but not so tightly as to be forced open by an explosion, and that the vocal ligaments should begin to vibrate for (uu) simultaneously with the release of the closure (t). But in Germany and Denmark the glottis seems to be *open* when (t) is held, so that on its release some unvoiced breath escapes first, which may be expressed by (tʰuu), see (10, ed), when gentle, and (tʰuu) when jerked. Some public speakers in England cultivate this habit, thinking that (tuu, duu) are thus more distinctly separated. It is not, however, usual with English speakers, though Irishmen are given to it. If the glottis be tightly closed for (t), and then the breath is made to break through it with explosion, we hear (tʰuu), which, when (t) is taken dental as (tʰuu), has a very singular effect, sometimes heard from Irishmen, but not at all received. The quiet way in which an Englishman says and distinguishes (tuu, duu), without any effort, is remarkable, when contrasted with an Upper German's struggles. The vowel-sound should commence at the instant that the (t) contact is released, so that the glide (52, be) from (t) on to (uu) is quite distinct. The voice should not commence before, or the effect (tduu) will be produced, as in the Yorkshire *t' door*, giving a kind of pause before (duu) and a thickness to the (uu) which is not received English, or else giving a German *implosion* ('t-d-uu). This implosion consists of a dull thud produced by compressing the air between the closed glottis and the closure produced by the tongue tip for ('t), lips for ('p) and back of tongue for ('k). See *Merkel*, Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache, p. 149. What is here said of initial (t) applies to initial (p, k) with the variants (pt, pʰt, pʰt, kt, kʰt, kʰt). See an explanation of (tʰ) in No. 8, (et): The whole subject will be more systematically discussed in No. 14, (wh).

3. THREE, (thrii), but (thrii, thryy) are perhaps more commonly heard.

(th). The tongue is brought fully against the teeth, so that (ʰh)

3. (th)—*continued*.

would be the proper sign; but this will be used for the variant produced by thrusting the tongue *between* the upper and lower teeth, instead of simply pressing it *against* the upper teeth. We do not say (tth) initially, as some Germans think. We use that combination finally in *eight* (etth),—quite a modern word, the old form being *eight* (ect),—and on sounding it the speaker will feel his tongue glide forward from palate to teeth. Compare also successive words, as “bread *that* is *cut thin*.” Initially (tth) would be necessary and not difficult. In Greek $\tau\theta$ is common medially, originally perhaps (t₁t₂h) and afterwards (tth). The hiss is sharp, but weak compared to (s). It is easily confused with (f), and is actually so confused dialectally.

(r). Mr. Bell distinguishes English (r) as untrilled, as, in fact, a buzz, which may be written (r_c), “the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum” (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). But so far as I have noticed, *r* before a vowel is always trilled (196, *b*), unless there is an organic defect or bad habit in the speaker, not at all an unusual occurrence, and then some other trill, of the lip, uvula, or cartilaginous glottis, is substituted. The effect of a trill is that of a beat in music, a continually repeated “make and break” of sound, the different effect of the different trills resulting from the glides thus produced. See the phonautographic curves of the different trills in *F. C. Donders, De Physiologie der Spraakklinken* (Utrecht, 1870, pp. 24), p. 19. It is of course possible to produce a central hiss or buzz in the (r) position without interrupting the sound by a trill, and the result is different from (s, z). There is, however, some difficulty to those accustomed to trill, in keeping the loose tip of the tongue stiff enough not to trill. When this is accomplished, there is another difficulty, in keeping the front of the tongue far enough from the palate not to produce (s, z), and yet not so far as to give simple (a). This untrilled (r), which will henceforth be marked (r_c) when buzzed, and (r_ch) when hissed, has therefore a great tendency to fall into (a), or some such indistinct sound. Mr. Bell always writes

3. (r)—*continued*.

(r_c) in English, representing trilled (r) by (r_cz). Hence my transcription of his character in *3g*, or that in col. 3, line *g*, p. 15, was erroneous. The English (r) is in the (t) position, but a dental (r) also occurs. This (r) is recognized in the Peak of Derbyshire by Mr. Hallam, as will appear below. In Sanscrit Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*) found that no *r* occurred after coronals, (1096, *c*), and in pronouncing the dentals (t, d) before the trill, he decided that the tongue remained forward, so that his Sanscrit trill was (r). The older grammarians differ, and only Pāṇini classes *r* as a coronal (cerebral). (Whitney, *Athar. V. Prātiç.* p. 29.) There is, however, also a recognized retracted Indian (r), which Mr. Gupta pronounced to me, the root being drawn back and the whole front half of the tongue “flopping” rather than trilling. There are doubtless many other tongue trills. In Scotch, and also in Italian, the trill is strong (r).

(ii). This bright primary sound is, I find on careful observation, not so common in English as I had once thought it to be. Men with deep bass voices find it difficult to produce. The wide (ii) seems much more usual, and is especially frequent after (r). For (i, i) see (58, *a*, 83, *de*, 105, *bc*, 106, *a, d*, 544, *c*). I have found such combinations as the following, in which (i, ii) follow each other, useful in drawing attention to the difference; the (i) should be much prolonged in practising them. “Let baby be, with ugly glee, the glassy sea, worthy thee, a wintry tree, thy enemy me, they chiefly flee, a bulky key,” also “of a verity (ver*i*t*i*) ’tis very tea (ver*i* t*i*i); a trusty trustee (tr*o*st*i* tr*o*st*i*i).” There is sometimes a tendency to correct the error and say (ii), which may be the first step from (ii) to (oi) (473, *c*), although a different origin for this change will hereafter be assigned (see § 2, No. 6, iv). There seems to be no generally recognized tendency to hiss out such a final (ii), thus (thrh*ii*), as a French final (ii) is occasionally hissed, or to close with such a hiss (ii*ii*), or with a consonant (i*ij*, i*ish*). But such sounds may occur as individualities.

(thrii). In synthesis, the (th) is

3. (thrīi).

very brief, but the change in sound as the tongue is retracted to (r) perceptible. The voice is laid on at the moment the (r) position has been assumed, and is heard throughout the rattle of (r). We never say (thrhrīi), by running the hiss on to the trill, or (thdhrīi), by putting on the voice before the tongue leaves the teeth.

4. FOUR, Bell's (foɪ), or (fōr), see below, my (foʊ), but (foʊ, fʌʌ) are also heard from educated people. I have even heard (fau) from an educated gentleman, whether archaic, provincial, or puristic, I do not know.

(f). The lower lip is *firmly* pressed against the teeth, so that the hiss is strong and sharp, not unlike (th), indeed so like that when pronounced by themselves, as in spelling by sounds, it is difficult to distinguish (f) and (th) at a little distance. Hence (saif, saith) are both heard for *sigh* (213, d), and (f, th) are confused in several words dialectally. Of course people with no upper teeth either use the hard gum or say (ph), the regular Hungarian sound of *f*. Compare remarks on Icelandic *f* (542, c) and modern Greek *φ* (518, b).

(ooɪ). This is the sound I use when the word is under force. It is a diphthong, the letter (ɪ) representing as I now think (196, bc) one of the indistinct sounds (v, ɜ, ɛ, ə, ʌ), with a liberty, seldom exercised unless a vowel follows, to add the trilled (r) of No. 3. My own belief is that in these diphthongal sounds I use (ə), but I may say (v). I think that I never say (ɜ, ɛ). For non-diphthongal (ɪ), see Nos. 12 and 25. For diphthongal (ɪ), Mr. Melville Bell uses a new sign, called a "point-glide" (197, a), so that what I have transcribed (ooɪ) might be more truly rendered (ōr), the accent on (ō) pointing out the diphthongal nature of the combination, and thus reducing (r) from a consonant to a pure glide; but his son, Mr. Graham Bell, in teaching deaf-mutes, has more recently adopted a notation which is tantamount, in his orthography, to my (ōv'), using (') as really a helpless indication of obscure vocality.

There are four of these (ɪ) diph-

4. (ooɪ) — continued.

thongs in English, in *ear*, *air*, *oar*, *oor* (57, d, 196, b to 199, a, 200, d to 202, a), which are, I believe, in the pronunciation of strict speakers (*i*ɪ, eɪ, oɪ, uɪ), that is, (*i*ɪ', eɪ', ɔɪ', uɪ') when not before a vowel, and (*i*ɪ'r, eɪ'r, ɔɪ'r, uɪ'r) always before, and admissibly *not* before, a vowel. The diphthong theoretically indicated by the acute accent mark is quite perfect. There is no tendency to form two syllables, as a general rule. But I have heard (*foʊ*ɪɪ, *koʊ*ɪɪ) from old people, see (*Goʊ*ɪɪ) (726, c). Smart says (*Dict.* art. 54, note) that there is no difference in London between *payer* and *pair*. To me the sounds are (*pɛ*ɪɪ, *peɪ*ɪ), and the use of the first for the second, which I sometimes hear, appears to me to be an archaism. Instead of (*oo*ɪɪ) or (*oo*ɪ), however, it is extremely common to hear (AA) or (AA', AAɪ) if the speaker is very "correct" (95, a, d, 197, a, 245, ab, 575, cd, 603, a'). This (ooɪ) is the only recognized combination in which (oo) remains in modern English, but it is rapidly disappearing. A few use it in (*doog*, *oo*'tis), see (94, d, 602, cb), but here it is more often (əɪh, əɪ, AA), and is intended for (ə).

Donders identifies (ɪ) in this combination with the glottal *r* (ɾ), see (8, c), saying (*op. cit.* p. 20): "The sound of (ɾ) is easy to produce. Sing as deep a note as possible, and then try to sing a deeper one. The voice will be replaced by a peculiar crackling noise (*krakend geluid*).'" After noticing its relation to the Arabic *ain* (ع), he says: "Thick voices are inclined to use it as a vowel. Others connect it or alternate it with the voice, giving a tone of lacrymose sentimentality, and, when the mouth is closed, it is heard as a mournful moan. It is also used as a trill. Brücke considers it to be the trill of the Low Saxons. I heard it thus used in the London dialect in a peculiar manner: *horse* was pronounced simply as *ose* but with the moaning voice (ɾ), which gives a little trilling effect to the consonant." But Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling, Amsterdam, 1870) says: "*r* is very soft both in Friesic and English; at the beginning of a syllable it seems to consist of one single stroke of the tongue, and before an explosive consonant, after a long vowel (*board*, *pearl*, compare English *bird*, *park*), it sounds to my ear as if

4. (ooi)—*continued*.

there were no stroke of the tongue at all, but in its place the indeterminate vowel \bar{o} ¹² (ə), or, as others pronounce, a guttural explosive, spiritus lenis. For the last it may be pleaded that in singing the English use the full *r*, which is the only one used in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Whether the moaning *r* is heard with the vowel, in place of an *r* after it,—as Donders remarks of the low London *horse*,—in the Friesian dialect, deserves investigation *in loco*." This glottal (r) occurs in Danish. See Mr. Sweet's valuable paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, part 1, p. 109) where he also thinks that I have misunderstood the quotation from B. Jonson (200, *e*), in considering that he alluded to (a) as the sound in the middle as well as at the end of words, and considers that Jonson may have alluded to the difference between trilled (*r*) and untrilled (*r*). I had merely thought that Jonson's illustrations were imperfect, and that he had given no case of middle *r*, unless the middle *r* in *rarer* were doubled, as at present (reer^{rr}) or (ree'^ro). This, however, seems impossible to determine, as Jonson's voice is hushed.

In rapid speaking *four* becomes quite (fa), and in "four or five," we have mostly frequently (fa'rafs'i'vf,) or even (fa'rafs'i'vf).

(fooi). The tongue being put ready for (oo) or (aa), while (f) is said with the lips, the glide to (oo) is very brief, but still the (foo) is quite different from (f'oo). The glide (ooi) or (oo') is very close and distinct, but the vowel is not shortened, when under force. Mr. Bell's (foa) arises from his habitually neglecting to mark the length of the first vowel of a diphthong. As a rule all our peculiar diphthongs (*iia*, *éer*, *ooi*, *úu*, *éeri*, *óou*) have the first vowel intentionally long, and our usual diphthongs (*oi*, *oi'*, *ou*, *iu*) frequently lengthen the second vowel, as Hart marked them (152, *a*). But Englishmen constantly pronounce a diphthong very briefly indeed, so that this length is relative to that of the whole diphthong, considered independently, not to that of the syllable in which it occurs or of other syllables in the word.

5. FIVE, Bell's (fáiv), my (fə'iv).

(f). See No. 4.

(ə'i). See (107, *ba* to 109, *a*, and 234, *eb*), for the various theories of the sound of this diphthong in English; and (287, *e* to 291, *e*) for the Scotch sounds, and (295, *e*) for the Dutch *ij*, *ei*. After much attention to the habits of English speakers, I believe the *last* element to be really (*i*), not (*i*), although I have generally written (*oi*). This must be regarded as rather a rough symbolisation, the mark of stress not being inserted. In the present chapter, where very accurate analysis is aimed at, I shall almost invariably employ the manner of marking diphthongs already explained (419, *e*), so that every diphthong or triphthong will have the acute accent *on* or *after* (according to typographical convenience) the element which bears the stress, and the adjacent elements glide on to or from that element. Hence Mr. Melville Bell's "glides" p. 15, *5c*, *5l*, are represented by (*i*, *u*), simply with an acute on the adjoining letter, so that (*ái*, *áu*) precisely transliterate his symbols. But Mr. Bell's "glides" leave it in doubt whether the second element is (*i*, *u*) or (*i*, *u*), and these, with many more niceties, are perfectly indicated by the present notation.

The first element of the long *i*, as I speak, seems to be (ə); but when I try to lengthen it for analysis, I seem to take (ah), which has the same position of the tongue, but a wider opening behind. I certainly do not say (*ái*, *dí*). I occasionally and but rarely hear (*ái*) from educated people, and have never noticed (*dí*) from them. As a greybeard, I am constantly asked by children in Kensington Gardens, to tell them the "time." From them I frequently hear (*ái*, *ái'*), and I have heard the last from educated women. Irishmen may say (*dí*, *ah'i*), but I have not been able to analyze the sound. It seems to me that Irishmen have a peculiar method of "widening," or enlarging the pharynx, etc., which gives a remarkable effect to some vowels. Indicating this by an inferior (₂), the Irish sound appears to me (ə₂'i). This is, however, a matter of local or individual habit, requiring considerable study to

5. (ə'i)—continued.

ascertain satisfactorily. English singers say (ái), and in singing to a long note seem to sing (á-aah-i), the chief stress resting on (á) and chief length on (aah), with (i) and the glide up to it very short. The sound in English is hence indeterminate, but those who have learned Greek generally distinguish two values, high and low. The high is *ei*, one of the forms (ə'i, áhi, á'i); the low is *ai*, one of the forms (ái, ái). The words *eye*, *aye* are now so distinguished (ə'i, ái), but the pun on "the noes and the ayes,—the nose and the eyes," sufficiently shews that the distinction need not be insisted on now, as Shakspeare's pun on *I, eye, aye* (112, *bc*), shews that he also heard them much alike. There are other diphthongs approaching this, with final (y) or (v), but I have not observed them as varieties of (əi) in English, (ə'y) occurs in Dutch *heup*, and (æ'h) in Dutch *lui*, (æ'h'y) in Dutch *huis* (Donders, *Phys. d. Spr.* pp. 15, 16; see also *Land*, *op. cit.*), correcting my appreciation as (ə'y) on (235, *d*). Observe the Norfolk (ə'y) in (138, *e*). Diphthongisation confounds originally perfectly distinct vowels. When (i) once admits an antecedent deeper sound, we get the series (í, é, éi, é'i, æ'i, áí, áai, áa, aa), till (i) has disappeared. And by varying (i) into (y) there is a tendency to pass to (u) and hence get into variants of (u), while by broadening (a) to (a) we are at once brought into the (ái, óh'i, ə'i á'i) series, which also comes from (úi, úi, úi, ói, ói, ə'i). All these changes, actually observed in practice, are of great philological interest. Their proper bearing cannot be properly appreciated without studying our dialectal vowel relations. Mr. Bell has not introduced an example of the last or (ói) series among his key-words. It is by no means widely known in the (ói) form. In older English we had two forms (úi, ói). The former regularly became (ə'i) in the xviith century, and remains in one or other of the many forms of this diphthong vulgarly and in several dialects. The second generally appears dialectally as (ói, ə'i, á'i), but is occasionally assimilated as (ái). Now by a converse assimilation, educated English, orthographically misled no doubt, has, within the last hundred years, reduced all the original (úi) set of (ə'i) sounds to (ə'i, á'i), which is

5. (ə'i)—continued.

far worse than the derided Irish, or provincial pronunciation of *i* as one of this series, because the educated pronunciation is simply an orthographically superinduced mis-pronunciation, and the other is an organic development: yet one is upheld and the other ridiculed. Educated ignorance is always absurd.

(v). The buzz of (f). It is remarkable that though this sound is so easy and common in English, French, and Italian, it should generally be found difficult. The observations of Merkel (*Phys. d. mensch Spr.* pp. 211-12) shew that although he knew (f), he had no proper conception of (v), which Brücke and Lepsius claim for German *w*. He says: "(f) cannot as such be vocalised or combined with vibrations of the vocal chords; the organs are obliged, in the attempt, to assume an intermediate position between that of (ph) and that of (f), and to separate so far that they can occasion no sensible noise (*erhebliches Geräusch*). When then sonant breath is driven through them, we hear a sound, which is scarcely at all (*fast gar nicht*) distinct from (bh), but for which the lips are not exactly opposed, the under lip being somewhat retracted under the upper lip," and hence he does not distinguish (v) by a separate sign. But all Englishmen can press the lower lip *firmly* against the upper teeth and *buzz*, that is, produce the effect of a mixture of vocalised and unvocalised breath. The way in which (v) can shade into (bh) is remarkable (549, *a*, *d*. 518, *b*, *d'*). With reference to the remark on Sanserit *v* on p. 518, the following citation from Prof. Whitney (*Atharva-Veda Prâtīcākhyā*, text, translation and notes, New Haven, U.S., 1872, p. 26) is important: "The Vāj. Pr. . . defines the same sounds, [the *v*-series, *u*, *v*,] as produced upon the lip and by the lip, and then adds farther that in the utterance of *v* the tips of the teeth are employed: the same specification as to *v* is made by the Tāitt. Pr. (its commentator explaining that in the utterance of that letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lips). . . The descriptions of *v* given by the two Prâtīcākhyas of the Yajur Veda, as well as that offered by the Pāṇinian scheme (which declares its organs of

5. (v)—*continued*.

utterance to be the teeth and lips), leave no room to doubt that at their period the *v* had already generally lost its original and proper value as English *w*—as which alone it has any right to be called a semivowel, and to rank with *y*—and, doubtless passing through the intermediate stage of the German *v*, had acquired the precise pronunciation of English *v*." That is, Prof. Whitney assumes, the series: 1. vowel (u), with back of tongue raised and resonant lip opening; 2. (w), with back of tongue raised and non-resonant, restricted lip opening; 3. (bh), with back of tongue lowered, and similar (not identical) lip opening; 4. (v), with lower lip against upper teeth, increasing the buzz materially. On making the series (u-w-bh-v) in one breath, the motion of the organs will become apparent, and though the sounds are constantly confused, yet it will be felt in the vibratory motions of the lips themselves that there is a material difference. On 9th July, 1873, having an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee, a native Bengalee gentleman, and not detecting any of the characteristic buzz of a (v), arising from the division of the stream of air by the teeth, I asked him whether he actually touched his teeth, and he said: "very little." Now (v) with faint dental contact is scarcely separable from (bh) without any dental contact. Hence the misty borderland between these two sounds. "There is no certainty in the accounts we have of English *v* and German *w* occurring in exotic languages, for when either is mentioned we have no proof that the observer knew the difference." (Prof. S. S. Haldeman, *Analytic Orthography*, art. 462.) It came like a revelation upon Mr. Kovács, an Hungarian, when he found he had to use his teeth for English (v). I had observed he had a difficulty with *real*, which from his lips sounded to English ears as (wiil), being really (bhiil). When he first attempted to say (viil), he produced (bh*dhil), making the buzz by bringing his *tongue*, instead of his lower lip, against the upper teeth. I asked him to make inquiries among his fellow-countrymen, and he assured me that none of them used the teeth for *f*, *v*, that is, all said (ph, bh). Yet Mr. Kovács had been long enough

5. (v)—*continued*.

in England to preach publicly in English. And Lepsius makes Magyar *f*, *v* = (f, v), and not (ph, bh) (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 220). These facts support Prof. Haldeman's dictum. I have seldom heard a German able to distinguish (w, v). When Prof. Max Müller (whose *r* is also uvular) is lecturing, I find much difficulty in distinguishing *words* and *verbs*, although he has been many years in England, is perfectly conversant with the language, and has attended much to phonetics. Prof. Haldeman says he can "distinguish across a room, whether a speaker of German uses the German *w* or English *v*, *provided* the voice is familiar" (*Anal. Orth.*, p. 93, n.). See about the German professor (1093, *bc*). In Dutch *v*, *w* both occur. Dr. Ghele seemed to pronounce *u*, *v*, *w* as (yy, vee, blee). Land (*ibid.* p. 30) says Dutch "*f* and *v* are not formed with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth, and have consequently a peculiar character for the ear, and for both reasons should be separated from the *p*-series. The explosive consonant" — *Stagesonant*, implying a perfect closure of the oral passage, a species of *b*, palaeotype (b), — "formed in the same place, is our usual *w* at the beginning of a syllable, also usual in High German (*ook in 't Hoogduitsch gebruikelijk*), and is consequently distinguished from the next-mentioned labial *w* both by its place and mode of articulation. The Dutch language possesses, as well as the English, a murmuring or buzzing (*ruischend*) *w*, which is nothing but *u* with a stronger closure (*sterkere vernauwing*) than the vowel. The sound occurs exclusively after a *u*, *huwen*, that is, *hün-wen*, *rouwen* = *ro^hu-wen*, *cuacen* = *r^huwen*" = (ny^uwen, r^uwen, éu-wen) apparently, "and must be distinguished from our usual *w* in *wat*, *wil*. A low (*platte*) pronunciation only knows the labio-dental *w*." Now this explosive (n) is Brücke's theoretical *b²*, see (4, *a*), described as having the closure (*Verschluss*) effected, not as in the usual *p* with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth (*Grundzüge*, p. 34), and Brücke (*ibid.*) makes German *w* = (v). Hence, Land's definition having puzzled me, I applied to Prof. Donders, who in a private letter, dated 11th Nov. 1872, says: "Dutch *v* and *f* agree perfectly

5. (v)—*continued*.

with English *v* and *f*," which Englishmen are accustomed to consider identical with French *v* and *f*, and hence what follows is puzzling: "In French *v* I think I perceive a little approximation to German *w*; the lips perhaps approach one another rather more, and the upper teeth do not so determinately rest on the lip (in de Fransche *v* meen ik eene kleine toenadering tot de Duitsche *w* te herkennen: de lippen naderen elkander misschien iets meer, en niet zoo bepaaldt rusten de tanden der opperkaak op de lippen). Our *w* agrees exactly with the German. At the end of words in *eeuw*, *leeuw*, the *u* makes it approach nearer to English *w*. . . . I have been as much surprised as yourself at Land's opinion that *w* can be the labio-dental explodent. At the conclusion he seems to refer exclusively to the *low* (*platte*) pronunciation. But I have not met with it, even there. I doubt whether this labio-dental explodent occurs at all. When intentionally (*met opzet*) used, it sounds to me like an impure (*onzuiver*) *b* or *p*." We have here a clear distinction between (*f*, *v*, *bh*, *w*, *u*), as all occurring in one and the same language, by an observer of European reputation.

While this page was passing through the press, I had the interview already mentioned with Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*). I was particularly anxious to ascertain his views respecting Sanscrit *v*. He made decidedly an English (*v*) with a faint pressure of the lower lip against the teeth, and did not seem to know that a *v* sound could be otherwise produced. On my pronouncing to him first (*vii*, *vee*, *vaa*, *voo*, *vuui*), and next (*bhii*, *bhee*, *bhaa*, *bho*, *bhuu*), the first with faint and the second with strong buzz, so as to imitate the first, as a strong (*bh*) buzz is generally much weaker than any (*v*) buzz, he decidedly recognized the former and not the latter for the Sanscrit sound. But then came two curious pieces of information, first that Sanscrit *v* after a consonant is always called (*w*), and secondly, that in Bengalee (*b*) is said for both *b* and *v* Sanscrit. The manner, however, in which he pronounced *v* and *y* after consonants gave, to my ear, the effect of stressless (*u*, *i*) diphthongising with the following vowel, as (*anusuáara*), rather than (*anuswáara*). Instead then of an interchange of (*v*, *w*), there *w* s, to me

5. (v)—*continued*.

(and I am anxious to express this as an individual opinion, which it would require very much longer and more varied experience to raise to the rank of a conviction), rather a reversion to the original vowel (*u*). We have already seen the great difficulties in separating (*u*, *w*), *suprà* No. 1, and we shall have several occasions again to refer to the effects of (*u*), both on a preceding and following consonant, which appear to me identical in nature with those of (*i*) and (*y*), see No. 9, below, and § 2, No. 6, *iv*. The controversy is not likely to be readily settled. England, possessing (*w*, *j*), will use them for both consonants and stressless diphthongising vowels. Germany, possessing (*bh*, *j*) or (*v*, *j*), will only use the latter (*j*) in this way, leaving the vowel (*u*) for the former. France, Italy, and Spain, having only vowels, will naturally use them only. Spanish (*bh*) is always thought of as (*b*), and hence would not be used. We thus get English *kua kya*, German *kua kja*, French *koua kia*, Italian and Spanish *kua, kia*, for the same sounds (*kuá kiá*), or many shades of sounds up to (*kwa kja*). Initially Spaniards use *hua* and Italians *ua*. But I hope that attention will be directed beyond national habits of writing or speaking, and real usages will be ultimately determined. It is to me probable that there will be thus discovered an unconsciously simultaneous usage of (*kuá kwa kua, kiá kja kra*), with perhaps intermediate forms, and a gradation of (*wa bha va, ja gjha*), passing imperceptibly into each other through different degrees of consonantal buzz. As a mere practical rule (*uá iá*) is convenient, till the forms (*u-ú, i-i*), indistinguishable from (*uu, ii*), would have to be reached on the one hand, and (*vu, gjhi*) on the other. The Bengalee confusion of *v*, *b* Sanscrit, seems almost to negative the existence of the (*v*) pronunciation of Sanscrit *v*, before the Bengalee variety arose. Confusions of (*b*, *v*) seem to occur in English dialects, but are very rare; (*b*, *bh*) are often confused, as in Spanish, German, Hebrew; the confusion of (*b*, *w*) is quite possible, but not so easy. The Bengalee custom, therefore, to me seems to indicate an original (*bh*) rather than (*w*) consonant, at the time the Devanāgarī alphabet was invented. The use of pre-alpha-

5. (v)—*continued*.

betic stressless diphthongising (u-) I consider highly probable. The wide philological bearing of this distinction must excuse the length of these remarks.

(fʌ'iv). For the synthesis, the initial (f) hiss is short, and the voice does not begin till it finishes, so that (fvə'iv) is not heard. This must be clearly understood, as we have (szii) in German for *sic*, usually received as (zii); and we shall find that in *whip*, some hear (whwip). It is not the English habit in any words beginning with (f, th, s, sh) to interpose (v, dh, z, zh) by prematurely laying on the voice, or before the latter to emit a whisper by beginning with an open glottis, and thus deferring the laying on of the voice. Although it is possible that initial (v, z) may have been generated from (f, s) in Somersetshire, and previously in Dan Michel's dialect, by some such anticipation of the voice, followed afterwards by omission of the hiss (which of course was never written when the buzz was apparent), yet, as a rule, Englishmen avoid all deferred or premature laying on of voice, resulting from the open or closed glottis, and in this respect differ from German. We never intentionally say (rhrii, lhlii, mhmii, nhnii), although we have seen that Cooper (544, d) and Lediard (1046, a') conceived that *knee* was called (nhnii), and shall find a trace of this remaining in the Cumberland dialect. This makes (whwii, jhji) suspicious. On the whole of this subject see No. 14 below. The case is, however, very different with *final* (v, z, dh, zh). The prolongation of the buzz is apparently disagreeable to our organs, and hence we drop the voice before separating them, thus merging the buzz into a hiss unless a vowel follows, on to which the voice can be continued, or a consonant, which naturally shortens the preceding one. Thus in (fʌ'iv) the voice begins at the moment the hiss of (f) ceases, and before the position for (ə) is fully assumed, it glides on to (ə), glides off' (ə) on to (i), glides from (i) on to (v), continues through (v), and then, if the word is final, ceases, by the opening of the glottis before the (v) position is changed, producing (i), thus (fʌ'ivf). A following vowel, as in *five* and *six* (fʌ'iv-vu-siks), pre-

5. (fʌ'iv)—*continued*.

vents this, but does not shorten the length of (v), and the voice glides on to the (v). A following voiced consonant, as *five loaves* (fʌ'iv loovz), shortens the buzz, and there is no glide of the voice, as that would give an additional syllable, (fʌ'iv'loovz). A voiceless consonant, as *five shillings* (fʌ'iv shi'lqz), does not introduce an (f), or change (v) into (f). The voice ceases at the (v), spoken very shortly, and the hiss begins at (sh), so that there is a clear discontinuity, and no Englishman feels a difficulty in what is to a German or Dutchman nearly insuperable. The extremely different habits of different nations in the change of voiced to voiceless forms, and conversely, and the systematic way in which they have been hitherto ignored, although forced on the attention of comparative philologists by the Sanscrit distinctions of pada and sanhitā texts, give much linguistic importance to such observations, minute as they may appear. See the Dutch custom in No. 9, (b).

6. SIX, (siks.)

(s). The hisses with central passage are so various in character that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them. They seem to form two groups: (s) in which the tongue is more forward and the back of the tongue not hollowed, and (sh) in which the tongue is more retracted and the back is hollowed. This general difference is best felt on taking some common words containing (s) or (sh) or both, as *swiss*, *swish*, *swishes*, *wishes*, *session*, *sash*, *slush*, (*swis*, *swish*, *swi'shezs*, *wi'shezs*, *se'shon*, *sash*, *sləsh*), and interchanging (s, sh) as (*shw'ish*, *shwis*, *shwi'sesh*, *shwi'sesh*, *wi'sesh*, *she'sen*, *shæs*, *shləs*). We may also pronounce them in immediate succession, as (*pəze'sshən*) *possession*, properly (*pəze'shen*). Try also to say (*s-shii*, *s-shaa*, *s-shuu*), which are easy, and (*sh-sii*, *sh-saa*, *sh-suu*), which are difficult, at least to my organs. Now, so far as I can judge, any variety of the forward (s) and any variety of the backward (sh) would be intelligible in English, and I do not think that we naturally know much about the varieties. I think however that (s, sh) and (s, sh), written (ʒs, ʒsh) on (800, b'), are really kept apart. If we say *gas*, *cats*, con-

6. (s)—*continued*.

tinuing the *s* sharply, and being very careful to keep its position in *cats*, I think we hear (gæss, kæt.s.s.s), and after a little practice we may even say (kæ.s), which will not rhyme to (gæs). This will be more distinct when we say (kæt.s), the tip of the tongue then coming very close indeed to the back of the front teeth, while in (kæt.s) it is behind the back of the upper gum (1096, *c*), and in (gæs) it may lie behind and between the teeth, or really press against the lower gums, the hiss being between the hard palate and the middle of the tongue. If we hiss a tune, without quite whistling, with the lips open, producing the difference of pitch by the mere motion of the tongue, we shall find great varieties in the position of the tongue, and that the pitch is highest when the tip of the tongue is forward and near the gums. We shall find also that the tongue can be retracted considerably without destroying the (s) effect, provided the breath be not allowed to resound in the hollow behind the tongue, which immediately produces the effect of (sh), and that the *central* aperture be not checked or divided, the former giving (t) and the latter a lisp, nearly (th). I think there has been some error about the Spanish *z* on (802, *d*. 4, *ab*), and that it is not (s), as there stated, and as Mr. Melville Bell, who has been in Spain, makes it (Visible Speech, p. 93); but that it is (sʃ), using (ʃ) as on (11, *de*), that is, a *divided* (s), with perhaps only a slight central check, produced by bringing the tip of the tongue very gently against the gum. In this case the buzz would be (zʃ). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that the true Castilian *s* is the Basque *s*; and as he pronounced this *s* to me, it sounded like a retracted (s) with a rattle of moisture. The Andalusian *s* is, he says, perfect. The (s) sound of *c*, *z* is not acknowledged in Spain (802, *d*) at all, although heard in Spanish America. See further in No. 10, (sh).

Note also the drunken tendency to confuse (s) with (sh) in England, clearly indicating the greater ease of (sh) to organs which can produce it at all. To an Iclander, Welshman, Dutchman, Spaniard, Greek, (sh) presents great difficulties. Note in upper German, the parent of the literary high German, not only the tendency to initial (shp,

6. (s)—*continued*.

sht,) where (sp, st) only are written, as well as the spoken and written (shl, shr, shm, shn, shbb), but the final (-sht,) written -st, which constantly crops up in vulgar German, and is almost as great a social sin in Germany as a "dropped *aitch*" in England. Note also that in English (shl, shm, shn, shw) do not occur, although (sl, sm, sn, sw) are common, and that (shr-) offers difficulties to many English speakers, notably at *Srewsbury* in *Shropshire*. Note also that *sp-*, *st-* are lazily pronounced (shp-, sht-) by Neapolitans. Note that (sh) seems to be a derived sound in the greater part of Europe, although existing in Sanscrit, but is frequent in Slavonic languages. In Hungarian (sh) is so much commoner than (s), that the simple *s* is used for (sh), and the combination *sz* for (s); while *z*, *zs* are (z, zh). The (zh) is a very rare form in Europe, and has been only recently developed in English. In Bengalee all three Sanscrit letters, *ç*, *sh*, *s*, are confused in reading as (sh), while in vulgar speech simple (h) is used for (s), so that, strangely enough, this dialect has no (s) at all.

(i). See No. 3 (ii). No Englishman naturally says (siks); it would sound to him like (siiks) *sicks*; and few are able to produce the sound without much practice. It is best reached by pronouncing *seck*, *teat*, *peep* with great rapidity. This (i) is the touchstone of foreigners, especially of Romanee nations. It occurs in Icelandic (544, *c*), and is often heard in the North of Germany. In Holland short *i* seems to have passed quite into (e), see Land (*ibid.* p. 17), as is generally the case in Scotland.

(k). The back of the tongue is very nearly in the (u) position, but rises so as to close the passage. It is not at all in the (i) or (y) position, but if an (aa) follows in English, many speakers habitually raise the tongue to the (i) instead of the (u) position, producing (ki), almost (k*ji), see (205, *a*). This sound is still much heard in *cart*, *quart*, *sky*, *kind*, etc., but is antiquated (600, *d*. 206, *c*). There is not the same tendency when (i, i) follow or precede. This insertion of (i) before an (a) sound is very prevalent dialectally. See the theory in § 2, No. 6, iv.

6. (siks).

(siks). Keep the hiss (s) quite clear of the voice, begin the voice the instant that the (s) hiss ceases, glide on to (i), and dwelling very briefly on the vowel (its extreme shortness is characteristic), glide rapidly on to the (k), so as to shut off the voice with a kind of thump, opening the glottis at the same time, but allow no pause, and glide on to the hiss of (s) immediately. The glides from (i) to (k) and (k) to (s), make the kind of cheek audible, and distinguish (siks) clearly from (sits, sips). It is quite possible, but not customary in English, to make (ks) initial, Xerxes being (Zak)siiz, not (Ksa)ksiis. Similarly (ps, ts) never begin syllables in English, except by a glide, thus (*praxis*) gives (præ'ksis), in which (k) has one glide from (æ) and another on to (s), the syllable dividing between them.

7. SEVEN, Bell's (se'vnn), my (sev'n).

(s). See No. 6, (s).

(e, ɛ). These vowels differ in the height of the tongue. Mr. M. Bell determined my pronunciation (106, a) to be (e), and considered it abnormally high, believing the usual sound to be (ɛ). Mr. Murray has the same opinion. Both agree that my (e) is the sound in *fair* (feer), and that it differs from *fail* (feel), any presumed diphthongal character of the latter being disregarded, as (i) does from (i). Mr. Bell gives *ell* as (ɛl) English, (ɛ'l) Scotch, and makes French *vin* = (vɛɔ). The latter to my ear is nearer (vɛɔ), but the French have no (vɛ). and hence (ɛ) is their nearest non-nasal. It is possible or even probable that my ear is deceived by my own practice, but I certainly know, from long residence in the countries, the German *ä* in *sprache* (shpre'khu), the Italian *e* aperto in *bene* (ber'ne), the French *é* in *bête* (bet) and occasionally (bet), and all these sounds appear to me much deeper than any usually uttered by educated Southern Englishmen. Since the difference was pointed out, I have paid much attention to such speakers, and my own impression is that (e) is much commoner than (ɛ). I certainly occasionally recognize (ɛ), but it always strikes me as unpleasant. The three sounds (e, ɛ,

7. (e, ɛ)—continued.

ɛ) form a series, and if the usual English *e* short is deeper than my (e), it is not so deep as the foreign sounds just described. Mr. Murray (Dialects of S. Scotland, pp. 106, note 2, and 239) has felt obliged to introduce new signs, for which he uses acute and grave accents (é é, è è), but as the acute accent has been used in palaeotype to mark the element under force in diphthongs as (úi, uí), some other notation is requisite. Mr. M. Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 77), after describing his 36 vowels, says, "Other faintly different shades of vowel sound are possible; as for instance, from giving a greater or less than the ordinary or *symmetrical* degree of lip modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers [as a certain set of Mr. Bell's symbols are called, because they 'modify' the meaning of the symbols to which they are subjoined, the four principal 'modifiers' being called] 'close,' 'open,' 'inner,' 'outer,' or by the 'linked' symbols; but such compound letters can never be required in the writing of languages, except to show the curiously minute accuracy with which these plastic physiological symbols may be applied." Mr. Bell (*ibid.* p. 55) had defined his 'close' and 'open' signs, which are those on p. 15 *suprà*, col. 9, lines *l, m*, as follows: "The sign of 'closeness' applied to any of the preceding consonants denotes a narrower aperture, with increased sharpness of sibilation and percussiveness on leaving the configuration; and the sign of 'openness' denotes a widened aperture with consequent dullness of sibilation and lessened percussion. Thus in forming (ph) with 'closeness' a mere thread of breath issues through the narrow crevice between the lips—as in blowing to cool; and in forming (ph) [with 'openness'] the breath flows through the wide orifice with the effect of a *sigh* on the lips. The latter effect is interjectionally expressive of *faintness* or want of air." Mr. Bell identified my (.) and (.,) with his signs of 'closeness' and 'openness' respectively; but I meant and used them for signs of increased and diminished *force*, independently of aperture: and hence the transcription of his signs on p. 15, column 9, lines *l* and *m*, by my (.) and (.,), is incorrect. The 'inner' and 'outer' or the signs on *suprà* p. 15, col. 9, lines

7. (e, e) — continued.

i, *k*, are those formerly expressed by (1 t), and now by (,).

The lip modifications of the vowels will be considered in No. 11 (AA). But the lingual modifications, 'higher' and 'lower,' consisting principally in raising or lowering the tongue, seem to be most graphically expressed by superior and inferior figures, as (*e*¹, *e*, *e*₁). If more degrees are considered necessary, it will be better to write (*e*¹, *e*¹¹, *e*¹¹¹) rather than (*e*¹, *e*², *e*³) as the superior (^{2,3}) may be required for other purposes. The signs ¹₁ may also be conveniently used for Mr. Bell's 'closeness' and 'openness' generally, which may now be combined with the signs of force, thus his close (*ph*) will be (*ph*¹), when the breath issues forcibly through a narrow crevice formed by raising the underlip, and (*ph*¹), when it issues feebly; while (*ph*₁, *ph*₁) indicate great and small force of issue through a wide opening, formed by depressing the underlip.

There are no doubt many other modifications, which would render intelligible such signs, as: (*e*) the tongue drawn more back for 'inner' (*e*), and (*e*) the tongue further advanced for 'outer' (*e*), or (*e*²) more hollowness at the back of the tongue for 'hollow' (*e*), (*e*₂) greater widening of the throat for 'guttural' (*e*), as was already suggested for the Irish modification of vowels (1100, *d'*), where the (²₂) indicate "secondary" kinds of "widening," in addition to those of Mr. Bell, (²) between the tongue and pharynx, (₂) in the pharynx only; and in comparing different dialects other signs may be necessary. It is also often difficult to say which of two vowels any new vowel sound which an observer may happen to note, and desires to symbolize, most resembles, and here we may resort to superior letters, as (*e*¹), meaning "the sound seems to me most like (*e*), but I sometimes hear it approach to (*i*), and suppose it may be some 'intermediate' sound, which I cannot as yet determine further than by considering it as an (*e*) verging towards (*i*), and hence should prefer noting as (*i*), whereas (*i*^e) would give the preference to (*i*). It is obvious that these are merely temporary signs, but they are useful in interpreting vague, or written accounts of 'intermediate' sounds, and, as such, will be hereafter employed in rendering Mr. Smart's symbols.

7. (e, e) — continued.

Using a superior (¹) and inferior (₁) for Mr. Murray's acute and grave, we may read his note thus (*ibid.* p. 106): "As pronounced in the South of Scotland, it [the vowel in *sail, say*] is certainly opener than the French or English *ai* (*e*). But it is nearer to this (*e*) than to any other of the six front vowels (*i* *i*, *e* *e*, *æ* *æ*). A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and collation with those of the Standard English, has convinced me that, in order to shew their precise values and relations, it would be necessary to make a more minute division of the vowel scale" than in Visible Speech (*supra* p. 15). Then, accepting the above notation for higher and lower or closer and opener, he says: "The Eng. *ai* in *wait* being then (*e*), the South Sc. would be (*e*₁); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be (*e*¹). The S. Sc. sound in *brae* would probably be rather (*e*¹¹) than (*i*¹), as we are obliged to make it when only using the three vowels. The Sc. *y* in *hyll, byt*, would probably be (*e*¹) rather than (*e*), explaining how the diphthong *ey* (*éi*) seems closer than *aiy* (*éi*), which it ought not to be if *y* in *byt* (*bet*) were the exact 'wide' of *ai* in *bait*. In the round [labialised] vowels also, the very close *o* used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my *o*, seems almost (*u*), would probably be (*o*¹), and the South Sc. *uo* might be (*o*¹) rather than (*u*¹). It need scarcely be said that no single language or dialect does ever in practical use distinguish such fine shades; few idioms even find the three positions distinct enough; none certainly distinguish the six sounds formed by the 'primaries' and 'wides' of any series (except as accidental varieties due to the character of the following consonant, or to the presence or absence of accent—never to distinguish words). It is only in comparing different languages or dialects that we find the exact quality given to particular vowels in one, intermediate between certain vowels in another, the one set of sounds grouping themselves, so to say, alongside of and around, but not quite coinciding with the other set." I quote these words to fully endorse them, and again shew the difficulty of phonetic writing. In particular the deeper (*u*), which may be (*u*) with an (*o*) position of the lips, or (*u*_o) as we shall write,

7. (e, ε) — *continued*.

or an (o) with a higher tongue, that is (o^h), is a sound fully appreciated by northern dialectal speakers as distinct from (u), and sounds to my ears much more distinct from it, than (ε, æ) from (e, ə).

To return to (e, e, ε). If any of those English speakers whom I hear say (e) do really take a 'lower' sound, it is rather (e₁) than (ε); or if they are considered to take (e₁), then the foreign sound is (ε₁) or even (ε₁₁). Prince L. L. Bonaparte separates the very open *ê* of some French grammarians in *accès*, from the Italian *e* aperto, and makes it the 'wide' of the latter. He identifies (ε) with the Italian sound, but not (e) with the French sound, so that (ε₁) would be the more correct representative of the latter. The distinction of three (e)-sounds, (e, e, ε) I find convenient, and I generally use (e) when I cannot satisfactorily determine the sound to be (e) or (ε), that is (e) may often be considered as (e^e) or (e^ε). I think the *tendency* of educated pronunciation, which affects thinness, is towards (e) rather than (ε), and I should put down (e) as the regular Spanish and Welsh pronunciations of *e*, neither language having apparently (ε, ε). In Italian, (e) is replaced by (e, ε); but I consider (e) to have been the old Latin *e*, though the Latin *æ* may have been (εε). In French I think the open *e* is rather (e) than (ε), except under force or emphasis, when, as just shewn, (ε₁) may occur, but (ε) is always the intention. The substitution of (e) for (ε) is like that of (ah) for (a), which is also going on in the Paris of to-day. In the French conjunction *et*, now always (e), the vowel was once (ε), a sound now reserved for *est*.

(v). See No. 5, (v).

(n). For the simple (n) see No. 1, (n). Initial *n* is seldom lengthened, though some will say (nnno) for a dubious negative. When (n) forms a syllable by itself Mr. Bell considers it to be lengthened, and writes (nn). I prefer to write (n), and similarly (l, m); but it is not necessary to write (l), as (l) when not following a vowel necessarily forms a syllable. But *seven* can be pronounced in one syllable (sevn),

7. ('n) — *continued*.

and is often so reckoned. It does not seem to be usual. Hence I write (sev'n). Orthoepists are much divided as to how far the use of syllabic ('l, 'm, 'n) is 'admissible.' In practice it is seldom that they are accurately distinguished from (el, em, en), as in *principal, principle*, both often called (prins'ip'l). The tendency is clear towards syllabic ('l, 'm, 'n), but there is much 'educated' or rather 'orthographie' resistance. Notwithstanding ags. *yfl*, clergymen insist on (iir'v'l), and even say (dev'il), see (81, d), which we find Bp. Wilkins using (998, e). We have, however, seen the effect of the efforts of Dr. Gill's "docti interdum." At present it is 'safest' for those who have not an acknowledged literary or social position to use a vowel, as (el, em, en), but care must be taken not to have the clear vowels (æ, æm, æn; el, em, en), which have a pedantic, puristic effect, and can be at most endured in public speaking from desire to be distinctly audible, never in ordinary conversation. See the remarks of Prof. Haldeman, prefixed to the account of his pronunciation, below in this section.

(sev'n). The glides from (s) to (v) are as in (f's'iv). But (v) glides on to vocal (n), so that in all cases there is a transitional vowel-sound heard between the buzz (v) and the nasal resonance (n).

8. EIGHT, Bell's (éit), my (eet).

(ee). We now come to a hotly-disputed point of English pronunciation. I differ entirely from Mr. Bell as to the habit of educated southern Englishmen. The diphthong (éi), or rather (éi) and even (æ'i), I have heard, and especially from Essex people, but certainly the compression of the first element is unusual, and at most (ééi) can be insisted on. I have had occasion to refer to this diphthongal pronunciation frequently. See (57, d, 74, b. 106, a. 191, a. 234, a. 542, b. 596 c'. 597, a). The sound is insisted on by Smart, who says, "The English alphabetic accented *a*, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner, is not exactly the sound which a French mouth utters either in *fée* or in *fête*, being not so

8. (*ee*)—continued.

narrow as the former, nor so broad as the latter. Moreover, it is not quite simple, but finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound " of *e* in *me* (294, *d*). The two French words being (*fee*, *feet*), this would make the English (*éei*) or (*éei*), and this I do not at all recognize. The first element at least sounds to me (*ee*), and is generally distinctly recognizable by its length. There are, however, Londoners, or persons living in London, who dispute the possibility of prolonging (*ee*), and who certainly immediately glide away towards (*i*). Dr. Rush (Philosophy of the Human Voice, Philadelphia, 1827, p. 40), who was a careful observer, says: "When the letter *a*, as heard in the word *day*, is pronounced simply as an alphabetic element, and with the duration which it has in that word, two sounds are heard continuously successive. The first has the well-known characteristic of this letter; and issues from the organs with a certain degree of fullness. The last is the element *e* heard in *eve*, and is a gradually diminishing sound." It is curious, however, that Prof. Haldeman (Analytic Orthography, Art. 391) does not notice this diphthong, but makes "the English *ay* in *pay*, *paid*, *day*, *weigh*, *ale*, *rage*," to be "short in weight, *hate*, *acre*, *Amos*, *Abram*, *ape*, *plague*, *spade*," and identifies it with German "wēh, rēh, jē, planēt, mēer, mēhr (more, but mähr *tidings* has ē), ēdel, ēhre, jēdōch," and with Italian "e chiuso." He writes *eight* as *et*, or (*et*). Still there is no doubt that French teachers have a great difficulty with most English pupils, in regard to this letter, and complain of their (*boo, te*) being called (*bōontēer*), etc., but the audibility of this (*i*) differs with different speakers, and even with different words for the same speaker.

Mr. Murray puts me quite out of count on this point, for in my palaeotypic rendering of the Hundredth Psalm he has changed my (*ee, oo*) into (*éei, éou*), saying (Dial. of S. Scot. p. 138, note): "I have ventured to differ from Mr. Ellis's transcription only so far as to write the long *ā* and *ō* (*éei, éou*), as they are always pronounced in the south, and as I seem to hear them from Mr. Ellis himself, although he considers them theoretically as only (*ee, oo*)."

8. (*ee*)—continued.

That is, according to his observations, whatever be *my own* subjective impression of my utterance, *his* subjective impression on hearing me say: *name, aid, age, always, praise, gates, take, make; oh! so, know, approach*, is the same as that which *he* derives from *his own* utterance of (*néeim, éeid, éeidzh, aalwéeiz, prééiz, gééits, tééik, mééik; éou! éou, éou, upróoutsh*). Now I have resided three years in Dresden, where long *e* is uniformly (*ee*), and not (*ee*), and none of my teachers found that I drifted into (*éei*). I am also able to prolong an (*ee*) without change, as long as my breath will last. I am not only familiar with hearing (*éer*) and even (*éi*), but I know precisely what movements are requisite to produce them, and I have very carefully and frequently examined my pronunciation of this letter. I am inclined to ascribe Mr. Murray's impression that I always say (*éei, éou*) to his own South Scotch use of (*ee₁, oo₁*), which are 'lower' sounds than mine, sounds indeed which I recognize to be strictly different from mine, and not to correspond to any vowels that I am acquainted with practically. Mr. Murray cites both syllables of French *aide* as having a 'higher' form than the South Scotch; but Féline makes the first *ai* the "open *ê*" (*e*), thus (*ede*). He says also that "the chief difference" of the Scotch from the English "lies in the fact that it [the Sc.] is a *uniform* sound, not gliding or closing into *ee*, like the English—at least the English of the south; thus, English *day* > *ee*, Scotch *day-ay*. This vowel is not recognized as stopped in English," but observe Haldeman's *ét*, "the vowel in *wait, main*, being as long as in *way, may*. In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as in *wayr, bythe, wáy, wait, tail* (*weer, beedh, wee, wet, tē*), the two last words being carefully distinguished from the English *wait, tail* (*weet, tē*) or *wéit, téil*), and *et, tell*, but pronounce *d* like the French *été*." (Murray, p. 106.)

Now before I compare my own observations on my own and other educated southern pronunciation, with those of such an accomplished northern phonetician as Mr. Murray, I would draw attention to a similar difference of opinion among Dutchmen respecting their own pronunciation. Prof. Donkers (*op. cit.*) uses the vowel series *i, e, ee, a,*

8. (ee)—continued.

of which *i*, *ea*, *a*, appear to be (*i*, *E*, *a*), though the last may be (*a*), and *e* is either (*i*) or (*e*), probably the latter. His examples are Dutch *biir* for *i*, *beer* for *e*, *wêrld* *kêrel* *bêd* for *ea*, and *baar* for *a*. When he comes to the diphthongs, he gives *ei*, which must be (*ei*) or (*ei*), and probably the latter, to the Dutch vowels in *leep*, *leed*, *leek*, *leeg*, etc., "with short imperfect *i*, (not in *leer*, in which only *e* is heard), with less imperfect *i* in *hê*, *mee*, and with perfect *i* in *die* *i* for *deed* *hij*," and makes *Mei* have the diphthong *ea*=(*E**i*). Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling), writing with special reference to Donders, has three *e*'s, *e*¹=*ea*, *e*²=*e* of Donders, and *e*³, not in Donders. These three *e*'s are clearly (*E*, *e*, *e*), for although the two first are not well distinguished by the French *e*¹=*père*, *e*²=*frêne*, *tête*, the third *e*³ is made=*pré*, *été*. Now of these he says (p. 17): "*e*². With us (bij ons) regularly *long* before *r* (*beer*, *meer*), where in the pronunciation of others there is an after-sound of *i* (waar bij anderen een *i* naklinkt) in order to attain the *e*³ of the low speech (ten einde den plat uitgesproken *e*³ te bereiken). In the dialect of Gelders, *e*² is a separate vowel, playing its own part; with us [at Amsterdam] it is only found under the influence of *r*." This is precisely like English (*ee*) in *fair*. "Our short *i* has also entirely passed over into *e*²: *lid*, *mis*, *gabit*; wherein the Limburgers alone seem not to follow us," as in South Scotch. Then he proceeds to say: "*e*³, is with us always *long*: *steen*, *been*, *leed*, *hê*, *mee*; never before an *r*, because *e*² is then substituted. In English and low Dutch (platte Hollandsch) *e*³ is replaced by *e*²*i*, or even *e*²*i*, with the variants mentioned by Donders under *ei*; and is then even heard before *r*, where the sound is broadened into *ai* in the Leyden *mechair* for *mijneer*. I have heard the after-sound of *i* corrupted into *j*^o¹², as *ge*²*j*^o¹² in place of *geel*," that is (*ghe*-*j*^o¹²) for (*gh*-*eel*). Then going to the diphthongs, he says (p. 22): "*e*¹*i*=*ei* in Donders, with short *e*: *kai*, *beiden*. In low speech (in platte spraak) corrupted to *ai* (in Amsterdam) or *e*²*i*. In the last case the *i* is sometimes very short in closed syllables, or entirely disappears, almost *me*² for *meil*.—*e*²*i*, with short *e*, written *ij* and *y* by

8. (ee)—continued.

some for occult reasons: *mij* (*my*), *krijt*. In the province of Holland *e*²*i* becomes regularly *e*¹*i*, and is corrupted into *ai*. With *long e* in low Holland speech (platte Hollandsch) in place of *e*³, Donders's diphthong *ei*." Hereupon Kern, reviewing the two works (in *De Gids* for April, 1871, p. 167), says of Donders: "The description and transliteration of the diphthongs is accurate, except that the *e*, so called sharp *ee*, is not accurately rendered by *ei*. I however agree with Donders against Land that sharp *ee* is really a diphthong. But I cannot allow that such a diphthong occurs in *leeg* or *mee*. The *ee* in *leeg* and *mee* has the same sound as the *e* in *zegen*, *leden*. Whereas in pronouncing *leeg*, *mee*, *zegen*, *nem*, *nemen*, and such like, the relative position of the upper and lower jaws remains unaltered; in pronouncing *ee* in *leed*, *leek*, *leen*, *steen*, the under jaw advances a little (springt de onderkaak iets vooruit). The physiologist cannot possibly fail to perceive the cause of this phenomenon. The same alteration in the position of the jaws is perceived in the pronunciation of *oo* in *brood*, *boonen*, *hooren*. To what extent this pronunciation must be considered the most usual or the best, we leave undecided; it is enough to shew that it does occur in our country, and that it deserves description." Of Land's *e*² he says: "He asserts that our vowel in *meer* is the French *ê* in *frêne*, *tête*. Now not to mention that, to my ear, *meer* (*muist*) [more, moist] and *meer* (water) differ in sound, it is doubtful whether any Dutchman uses the French sound in either of the two *meer*'s." The occurrence of an (*é**ei*) or (*ei*) for a written *ee*, in a language so nearly related to English as Dutch, and the difference of opinion as to its pure or diphthongal value, seemed to me too remarkable to be passed over.

In my own pronunciation I think I never say (*é**i*) or (*ei*), ending with a perfect (*i*), and that I seldom or never say (*é**i*) or (*ei*), ending with a perfect (*i*), and that when I approach to (*é**i*), however short the diphthong may be, the first element is longer than the last. But I doubt whether I get as far as (*é**i*), at the most I seem to reach (*é*+*e*), shewing a glide, and that in the process of "vanishing" the force of the voice decreases so much that it

8. (*ee*)—continued.

is very difficult to say what sound is produced: an effect shown by (j). I admit, however, that in speaking English, and especially in such words as *pay, may, say*, before a pause, my (*ee*) is not uniform, but alters in the direction of (i). It is, however, necessary to distinguish grades of this alteration, as Donders has done. In the case of a following pause, it is the most marked; but if a vowel or consonant follows rapidly, as *play or pay, pay me now*, I do not hear this "vanish" at all. I think also that I am inclined to this vanish before (t, d, n) in *eight, weight, plate, paid, pain*, but not so decidedly nor so regularly as in the former case. I am not conscious of the vanish before (p, b, m; k, g). I think that generally the vanish vanishes when the utterance is rapid, as in *äorta, ärial*. So far as I have yet observed, my usage is much the same as that of other educated speakers, from whom I rarely hear anything like a real (*éi*), and this I attempted to note by (*ee'*j) or (*é'e*j), where (*ee*) glides into "palatalised voice" of some sort. Still there are speakers in whom it is marked, and especially when an *ay* has to be emphatic or dwelled upon, which practically brings it before a pause. I think that the reason why French teachers find such difficulty with English pupils is that the pupils altogether lengthen the vowels too much. I deprecate much Mr. Melville Bell's insisting on (*éi*) universally as a point of orthoepy, making the sound approach to one of the diphthongal *i*'s, for such a pronunciation is so rare as always to be remarkable and generally remarked. An Essex man told me (Dec. 1872) that he was known everywhere by what—as I heard him—were his *eyes*. It turned out to be his pronunciation of long *a*. "But," said he, "I can't hear it; I can't make out the difference at all." Again, Mr. Brandreth, a county magistrate, informed me that on officially visiting the pauper schools at Ancrley, near London, he found that fully half the boys made no difference between *ā* and *ī*, and could not even hear the difference when such words as *they, thy*, were correctly pronounced to them. According to Mr. Murray, *mūtātō nōmine dē mē fābula narrātūr*!

8. (t).

(t). See No. 1, (n), and No. 2, (t). When (p, t, k) are final, and before a pause, so that they are not immediately followed by a vowel on to which the voice can glide, or by a consonant, the (p, t, k) are made more audible by gliding them on to some unvocalised breath, written (p', t', k'), on (10, b. 56, b), and whether this is already in the mouth, or is driven through the larynx, is indifferent; the latter is most audible, and will often assume the form of (pɪ', tɪ', kɪ'). There may be a pause of silence between the glide on to (t) and this windrush, and this pause apparently lengthens the mute. It is not usual to note this added (') or (ɪ'). It is not a French habit. French speakers either omit the final mute entirely, or add a mute *e* (ɛ). Using > to represent the glide to, and < the glide from a mute, the following cases have to be noted in English, remembering that for English mutes the glottis is always closed.

Initial, *pea, tea, key* = (p < ii, t < ii, k < ii);

Medial after the force accent, *peeping, eating, leaking* = (p < ii > p < iɪ, ii > t < iɪ, lii > k < iɪ).

Medial, preceding but not following a vowel under the force accent, *repay, pretend, accense* = (riɪ < ee'j, priɪ < eɪnd', vɪk < iɪvɪz).

Medial, preceding a consonant on to which it does not glide, that is, with which it cannot form an initial combination, *adapted, pitfall, active* = (vɛɪ > pt < iɛd, pi' > tʃæɪl, æ' > kt < iv).

Medial, doubled, a case of the last, distinguished however by a sensible pause marked (j), *cap-pin, boot-tree, book-case* = (kæ' > pɪj < in, buu' > tɪj < riɪ, bu' > kɪj < ee'js).

Final, before a pause, *cap, boot, book* = (kæ > p < ', buu > t < ', bu > k < '), otherwise it is treated as medial, but may be emphatically doubled, as (kæ > p, p < ', buu > tɪ < ', bu > kɪ < ').

These differences are not usually distinguished in phonetic writing, and from their regularity seldom require to be noticed. But irregularities must be marked, as (kæ > t) or (kæɪ') to shew the absence of the second glide (kæ > t < '). Mr. Sweet's remarks on Danish syllabication (*Philol. Trans.* 1873-4, pp. 94-112) must be carefully

8. (t)—*continued*.

considered by all who would enter upon these phonetic mysteries, which are far from having been yet fully revealed.

(*cet, é'jt*). The vowel begins at once, in properly spoken English, and is not preceded by any whisper. The whole organs are placed in the proper position for (*ce*), and the glottis is closed ready for voice, firmly, but not so tightly that the chords must be forced as under by explosion. The vowel thus commences with a clean edge, so to speak, noted thus (*ce*), and here called the "clear attack" or "glottid," but by teachers of singing the "shock of the glottis." But if there is an air-tight closure which has to be forced open we have the "check attack" or "glottid," or "catch of the glottis," the Arabic hamza, noted thus (*ce*), which is considered as a defect in English speech, though common in German. It is, however, not unfrequent to hear vowels commenced with a "gradual attack" or "glottid," during which breath shades through whisper into voice, and the precise commencement of the vowel cannot be readily determined, and this may possibly have been the Greek "spiritus lenis," which will be noted thus (*ce*). In singing this produces "breathiness." It is not recognized in speech, but is possibly one of the causes of so-called aspiration and non-aspiration, and of the difficulty felt by so many English speakers in determining whether a vowel is aspirated or not. It is mere carelessness of utterance. But here it may be noted that these "glottids" or "attacks" may also be "releases," that is, a vowel may *end* as well as *begin* "clearly," as (*tuu*), which is the regular English form or with the check or "catch," as (*tuu:*), as frequently in Danish before a subsequent consonant, or gradually, as (*tuu*). Now this graduation consists, initially, in beginning the vowel with the glottis open, closing it rapidly, during which the edges of the vocal chords approach very closely before contact, producing first the effect of whisper, and then of voice, so that we have (**ce + 'e + e*). In ending we should get in reverse order, (*e + 'e + *ce*). This is what is meant by the notation [*ce*], or (*tuu*). Now if there be a little longer repose

8. (*cet, é'jt*)—*continued*.

on the pure voiceless sounds, so that the (**ce*) or (**uu*) becomes sensible, it is clear that [*ju*], [*ce*] will appear to begin or end with a sound like (*jh*), and [*uu*], [*uu*] with a sound like (*wh*). This seems to be the origin of the Danish terminational (*jh*, *wh*), while the initial forms generate the aspirates, or an approach to them, differing in the manner considered in No. 14, (*wh*). How far these terminations are usual in English, I am unable to say. There is often so much loss of force that it is difficult to observe. But certainly distinct (*jh*, *wh*) final are not frequent in received pronunciation; and distinct (*jh*, *wh*) initial would be scouted at once as a vulgarly intruded aspirate. In No. 14, (*wh*), where the whole subject will be systematically considered, it will be seen that this final (*i*) represents the Sanscrit visarga.

After the vowel is commenced, it is continued a very short time, and glides either on to (*i*), as already explained, or on to (*t*). But if it glides on to (*i*), it does not do so till its energy is much diminished, so that, in received pronunciation, (*é'j*) never approaches the character of a close diphthong, as *i* in *five*, or (*éi*), in which the (*e*) is strong and short and the force is continued on to the (*i*), which may be lengthened and then die away. In (*é'j*) the force dies away first, and the glide on to (*j*) is scarcely audible, being absorbed into the glide on to (*t*). Also, as a long vowel, the (*ce*) or (*é'j*) must have a very short glide on to (*t*). Indeed Prof. Haldeman's short (*et*) has the character of a long vowel, by the shortness and weakness of its glide on to (*t*); whereas a really "stopped" (*e*) would come strongly and firmly on to (*t*), which would be "lengthened," as (*et.t*). It is more by the mode in which vowels glide on to following consonants, than by the actual length of the vowels, considered independently of their glides, that the feeling of length of vowels in closed syllables arises in English pronunciation. See Mr. Sweet's rule in No. 14, (*p*).

9. BOOK, (*buk*).

(*b*). The relations of mute or voiceless (*b*, *d*, *g*) to sonant or voiced (*p*, *t*, *k*) should be well under-

9. (b)—*continued*.

stood. In English (p,ii,t,ii,k,ii) the voice begins with the clear attack (.) at the moment the closure is released. In (b,ii,d,ii,g,ii) the voice begins in the same way, *before* the closure is released, but for so short a time that the voice may be said to begin *as the contact is released*. Now Germans, when they really distinguish (p, b), etc., begin the voice in (p,ii,t,ii,k,ii) with a gradual attack, giving a hiss; and they allow the voice to sound through the (b), etc., *before* the release of the closure, which may be written ('bii, 'dii, 'gii). The breath not being able to escape blows out the neck like a turkey-cock's, and hence is called a blow-out-sound or Blahlaut by German phoneticians, which we may translate *inflatus*. It is not possible to continue this inflatus long without allowing breath to escape by the nose; but to produce a real (m, n, q) *after* ('b, 'd, 'g), is not possible without producing a loud thud by the withdrawal of the uvula from the back of the pharynx, requiring a strong muscular effort, because the compressed air in the mouth forces the uvula into very close contact with the pharynx. It is probable then that ('bmii, 'dnii, 'qgii), do not occur monosyllabically. But it is quite easy to begin with the nasal resonance, and *then* cut it off by the uvula, which has air on both sides, and hence can act freely. Hence (mbii, ndii, qgii) are easy, and have generated the sounds of (b, d, g) in modern Greek. Some phoneticians (I have forgotten to note the passages) even make (b, d, g) necessarily nasal. They are not so in English. But there is often a semi-nasal (b, d, g.) occasioned by insufficient nasal resonance, arising from catarrh, when the speaker intends (m, n, q), but cannot perfect them, see (1096, d'), and one of these, (b.), in perhaps a slightly different form, is an element of Westmoreland and Cumberland speech. It is possible entirely to cut off the voice before proceeding to the vowel, without creating the impression of a new syllable, hence (mpii, ntii, qkii) are possible, and seem actually to occur together with (mbii, ndii, qgii) in some South African languages. In English initial (b, d, g), however, nothing of this inflatus or nasality is customary. In middle Germany, where the distinc-

9. (b)—*continued*.

tions (p b, t d) are practically unknown, comparatively few being able to say (ppii 'bii, t, tii 'dii), recourse is had to what Brücke and M. Bell consider as whispering instead of voicing, using ('bii, 'dii) only. Merkel, however, who is a native of Upper Saxony, where the sounds are indigenous, denies this, and asserts that he really says ('pii, 'tii) impulsively. See (1097, d'). Observe that ('kii) is not common in Saxony, because (khii, gjhii, ghaa) are heard. Perhaps also true (g) is heard initially; I do not feel sure. But certainly k, g are always distinguished initially, and p, b or t, d are always confused initially, in Saxony.

When (b, d, g) are medial between two vowels, there is in English a complete passage of the voice through them, without any sensible sustention of the sounds, as *baby, needy, plaguey* (bee' > b < i, mi' > d < i, plee' > g < i), and there seems to be no slackening of the closure, and consequently no buzz, the sound being produced entirely by internal condensation of the air. In German, however, such (b, g) readily pass into (bh, gh), as *schreiben, tage* = (shrai'bhēn, taa'ghe), of which the first is not, but the second is, received. But for (d), or rather (d), nothing of the kind occurs, neither (d, dz) nor (d, dh) being developed. On the other hand, medial (d, dh), a coronal and a dental, but more often (d, dh), interchange dialectally in English. In Spanish (b, bh) are not distinguished even initially. That similar habits prevailed in Semitic languages we know by their alphabets, 2, 7, 1, being (b bh, d dh, g gh) according to circumstances. The English received pronunciation is therefore peculiarly neat, and more like French and Italian in this respect.

Final (b, d, g), before a pause, are intentionally the same as when initial, the voice ending as the closure begins, or not being sensibly sustained during the closure; but the glide up to the consonant being continued into the closure, gives the vowel an appearance of greater length. Sometimes, however, the voice is sensibly prolonged during closure, and as this is uncomfortable, the closure is relaxed before the voice ceases, and we have effects like (beeb', diid', gæg'), or (beebjb', diidjd', gægjg'), which are often pau-

9. (b)—*continued*.

fully evident in public speakers. I frequently noticed these sounds in the declamation of the late Mr. Macready. It is often greatly exaggerated in provincial tragedianism. It is, however, so far as I have observed, not customary to drop the voice before releasing contact, and then to open upon a wind-rush, as (*beeb*)p', diidjt', gæg'k'). This would, I think, produce to an English ear too much of the effect of simple (*beep*', diit', gæk'), which would be unintelligible. It seems however probable that this is the history of the German and Dutch habit of always taking these finals as mute. In Dutch indeed this is slightly controlled by the action of the following consonant. This action is quite unknown in English, except in such a word as *eupboard* = (*karbad*), but deserves to be noted as occurring in so closely related a language. The Dutch rule according to Donders (*op. cit.* p. 23), which is corroborated by Land (*op. cit.* p. 31), is as follows:—

“With the exception of the nasals, when two consonants come together, however different their character, both must be voiced, or both voiceless. Whenever in two syllables or words spoken separately, one would be voiced and the other voiceless, one must be altered to agree with the other, according to the following rules.

1). “Before voiced *b* and *d*, every consonant is voiced, as, *zeepbak*, *opdoen*, *strijkbout* [this is the only way in which (*g*) can occur in Dutch], *stiefbroeder*, *daarbij*, *stikdouker*, *misdaad*, *hegdoorn*, etc. [where *p*, *k*, *f*, *r*, *s*, *g* = (*b*, *g*, *v*, *r*, *z*, *gh*).] But *t* sometimes remains, as: ‘*t ligt daar*, pronounced ‘*t licht* *taar* [compare Orrmin’s *þatt tiss* (491, *be*). *þatt tegz* (491, *c*)].

2). “Voiced *w*, *r*, *z*, *g*, *j*, *l*, and *r* lose their voice after every preceding consonant, except *r*. We pronounce: *vroetfrouw*, *bnurvrouw*, — *stiefsoon*, *voorzoon*, — *afchond*, *voorgond*, — *loopjongen* (*pf* voiceless), *voorjaar* (*rj* voiced), etc. [where *tf*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fch*, *rg*, — *pf*, *rj* = (*tf*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fkh*, *rgh*, — *psh*, *rz*), the original Dutch letters being, *rv*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fgh*, *rg*, — *ph*, *rj*, respectively.]

3). “Before the nasals all consonants except *r* are or become voiceless. [This rule is questioned by Land.]

9. (b)—*continued*.

“After a nasal each consonant preserves its own character.”

Land remarks, that the first rule does not hold in English, where *Bradford* and *platform*, *backbone* and *bugbear* are differently treated; and that according to the same rule every final consonant in Dutch is pronounced voiceless, as *bet*, *breet*, *ik hep*, *ik mach*; but that it is different in English, where *back* and *bag*, *hat* and *had*, *cup* and *cub*, are carefully distinguished; and so, he adds, in Friesic we hear *breed*, and not *breet*.

In English the difference between such combinations as the following is felt to be so great that we instinctively wonder at any ears being dull enough to confuse them, unaware how very dull our own ears are to distinctions which other nations feel with equal acuteness: *pip bib*; *pat pad*, *bat bad*; *puck pug*, *back bug*; *tip dip*, *tub dub*; *tuck tug*, *duck dug*; *give me the bag do*, and *him a bag too*, and then *give it me back do*, and *his back too*. A German or a Dutchman would flounder helplessly and hopelessly in these quicksands.

(*u*). This vowel differs from (*u*), as (*i*) from (*i*), and just as an Englishman finds (*bit*) very difficult and (*bät*) easy, so (*buk*) is to him easy, and the Scotchman’s (*buk*) so difficult, that he puts it down as (*buuk*), heard in Yorkshire. Distinguish also English *pull* (*pul*) and French *poule* (*pul*) from each other, and from *pool* (*puul*), heard for *pull* in Shropshire. The throat is widened for (*u*). The well-marked (*o*¹) or (*u*_c), already mentioned (1107, *d*¹), must be borne in mind. To a southern Englishman (*bo*¹k, *bu*_ck) are riddles; at least, very thick, fat, clumsy pronunciations of his (*buk*), which, to a Scot, is itself a thick, fat, clumsy pronunciation of (*buk*). Refinement of pronunciation has entirely local value. It is easy to pronounce (*u*) without rounding the lips, and this must be the way that a cuckoo gets out his cry, or a parrot says (*pus*), as I distinctly heard one call out the other day (4th May, 1873). It seems as if we produced the roundness by contracting the arches of the soft palate at the entrance to the mouth. This mode of “rounding” I propose to mark by (⁴), thus (*p⁴u*s), implying

9. (*u*)—*continued*.

that (*pu*) are imitated in this manner, the lips remaining open. See (1116, *u'*).

(*k*). The back of the tongue is raised to contact with the soft palate so much in the position of (*u*) that the glide is short, sharp, and but little marked. The relation of the gutturals (*k*, *g*) to (*nu*, *u'*) renders the labialisations (*kw*, *gw*) easy and common (208, *c*), and there is no difficulty in disposing the back of the tongue for (*u*), while the tip is in the (*t*, *d*) position, hence (*tw*, *dw*) are also easy (209, *a*). Prof. Whitney, whose phonetic appreciation is acute, and who has much studied pronunciation, regards these "labial modifications of vowels and consonants" to be "a special weakness" on my part and Mr. Bell's. "With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *dwell*, for example, to be not a *w* with a *d* prefixed, but a labially modified *d*, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound" (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, New York, 1873, p. 271). I was, however, never satisfied with the analysis (*twist*, *dwell*). The passage from (*t*) to (*w*) created a glide which I could not recognize as usual. I tried (*twist*, *duel*), which are easier, but then I missed the characteristic (*w*) effect. It was not till on studying Mr. Bell's Visible Speech, and finding him classify (*w*) as a mixed gutturalised labial, and consequently (*gwh*) as a mixed labialised guttural, that the explanation occurred to me, which is simply that "wherever the position of a consonant can be practically assumed at the same time as the positions for (*i*, *u*), they are so assumed by speakers to whom these combinations are easy." This brought palatalisations and labialisations under the same category. As we have (*kj*, *gj*, *tj*, *dj*, *lj*, *uj*), and might have (*pj*, *bj*), which apparently occur in Russian, so we might have (*kw*, *gw*, *tw*, *dw*, *lw*, *uw*), and even (*pw*, *bw*), which are related to (*p*, *b*) much as (*kj*, *gj*) are to (*k*, *g*). I found (*kw*, *gw*, *tw*, *dw*) the most satisfactory explanations to me of English sounds; and I seemed to recognize them in French *quoi*, *toi*, *dois* (*kwa*, *twa*, *dwa*), and similarly *loi*, *noix*, *roi* (*lua*, *nwa*, *rua*). It was satisfactory to me that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who

9. (*k*)—*continued*.

must certainly be allowed to understand French pronunciation, adopted these views, added to my list *soi*, *choix*, *joie*, (*sua*, *shwa*, *zhwa*), and completed the conception by admitting palato-labialisations, arising from attempting to combine (*y*), or (*i*, *u*) simultaneously, with consonants, as in *lui*, *nuit*, *fui*, *ehuintant*, *juin*, which would have to be written (*luji*, *nuji*, *fuji*, *shwjeatax*, *zhwjea*). As in French (*lj*, *nj*) are said to be *monillée*, so he terms (*lw*, *nw*), etc., *velontée*, and (*lwj*, *nwj*), etc., *fuitée*. Theoretically the existence of such combinations as (*lj*, *lw*, *luji*), etc., is perfectly conceivable and executable. The only question is, are they used in such words? This is a matter of observation. Prof. Whitney observes (*twist*, *dwell*); I observe in myself, at least, (*twist*, *duel*). Mr. Bell writes (*tw*, *dw*), and also (*kw*), although he admits (*kwh*), the Scotch *quh*, which bears the same relation to (*kw*) as (*kh*) to (*k*). The simple character of (*kw*) may have prevented the *qu* from making "position" in Latin; but the initial character of (*kw*), like that of a mute and a liquid, may have had a similar effect. We have (*gw*) in *guano* (*gwaano*). Sometimes there is both palatalisation or labialisation of the consonant and an inserted vowel. Thus the old-fashioned *cart*, *regard*, *sky*, are seldom pure (*kjaa't*, *règjaa't*, *skja'i*), but often (*kjiáa't*, *règjiáa't*, *skjiá'i*), and it is possible that *quill*, *quell*, *quantity*, may be occasionally (*kwaül*, *kwaül*, *kwaül*), but I have not noted it. On the other hand, Italian *quale*, *quanto*, *questo*, sound to me rather (*kuá'le*, *kuá'ntu*, *kué'stu*), than (*kwa—*) or (*kwaü—*), etc. The same is probably the case in Spanish *cuento*, etc. But I doubt a real (*kwa—*) anywhere. One great source of difference between German and English *quell* seems to arise from the two German consonants, thus (*kbhel*).

(*buk*). The voice begins in (*b*), and is carried through (*u*) to (*k*), where it is sharply and suddenly cut off. For the effect of (*k*) final see No. 8, (*t*).

10. WATCH, Bell's (*watsh*), my (*watsh*).

(*w*). See No. 1, (*w*).

10. (A, o).

(A, o). With Mr. Bell, I used to consider that *wa* represented (wA), rather than (wɔ), and I have previously given (watsh) as the pronunciation (56, a). But on further observation I think that (wA) is not so common as (wɔ), and that when (wA) is used, the (A) is apt to become of medial length, so that the unpleasant drawling effect (wA^ai,sh) results, where I introduce a new method of marking the length of a vowel in palaeotype. Hitherto I have only used (a, aa) for short and long, and (aaa) for protracted. As this is not enough for theoretical purposes, I propose to use (a, a^a, aa, aa^a, aaa) as a scale of six, very short, short, medial, long, very long, protracted. This superior vowel must not be used after another vowel of a different form, as that would militate against the notation (eⁱ) on (1107, d), so that if we wished to write short (e) followed by very short (i), we must write (eⁱ), according to the usual notation. The short vowel-sound in *watch* is almost invariably (ɔ) in England, but the medial sound is perhaps common in America. The difference between (A) and (ɔ) is very slight, and both are nearly peculiar to English. Practically (A) belongs to the (a) group, and (ɔ) to the (o) group. Foreigners hear (A) as (a) or (o), and (ɔ) as (o) or (o). The differences are, however, important. The vowels (A, o) differ from (o, a) strictly by the depression of the back of the tongue, which, in the diagram (14, c, No. 7), is not given low enough for my pronunciation. But (A) differs from (a) by a slight "rounding," the corners of the lips being brought a little together for (A) (14, d, No. 12), whereas for (a) they are quite apart. Also according to Mr. Bell, (A) is a primary and (a) with (ɔ) are "wide" vowels. I must own that (A) feels to me when speaking "wider" than (ɔ), that is, to be pronounced with an opener pharynx. Still the concinnity of the vowel system points to the other arrangement, as shewn on p. 14, and I am probably wrong. The various degrees of opening of the lips in rounding should be observed, the three degrees, p. 14, diagram Nos. 10, 11, 12, being in English reserved for (u, o, A). But in Danish we have varieties. Thus Mr. Sweet observes (Philological Trans. 1873-4, p. 102) "In Danish the two

10. (A, o)—continued.

lower articulations (o, A), while preserving the same tongue position as English and most other languages," [that is, those of diagram Nos. 4, 7], "have undergone what may be called a 'lippenverschiebung,'" [lip-prolation, may be an admissible translation, *prolation* being nearest to *verschiebung*], "(o) being pronounced with the labialisation or 'rounding' of (u), and (A) with that of (o), (u) itself remaining unchanged." [I propose to write this effect thus (o_A, A_o), the principal form giving the position of the tongue, and the subscribed that of the lips. Note the different meaning ascribed to the superior (o^u) or a sound between (o) and (u), but apparently more like (o), given on (1107, d), and note also the *fourth* kind of rounding just symbolised by (4) on (1114, dⁱ). "This abnormal rounding gives a peculiar cavernous effect to the vowels, and makes it difficult, especially for a foreigner, to distinguish them accurately." See (799, d). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte seemed to me to imitate the cavernosity by protruding the lips in a funnel shape, which we may write †, (11, cd), so that he made Swedish *o* and *u* to be (u†, y†). Mr. Sweet says the Swedes and Norwegians use (v) for (u), "which in Norwegian had the additional peculiarity of being unilaterally rounded, at least in some dialects," and would therefore be (vδ) "In Swedish this (v_u) has been moved up nearly into the place of the (u), but in Norwegian it is formed as in Danish. The consequence is that the Norwegians are quite unable to pronounce the (u) in foreign languages." (*ibid.*) In some Yorkshire people I have observed a tendency to pronounce (AA) in the direction of (o), so that the effect hovered between (ɔ) and (o), and for that reason might be written (ɔ^o). Southerners accuse them of saying (ool kooz), for (AAI kAAZ), *all cause*. It is possible that this sound is properly (A_o). It deserves investigation, if only from the Scandinavian relations of Yorkshire.

We may note generally that (AA) is an extremely difficult vowel for foreigners, and it is seldom reached. Even Scotchmen are apt to confuse it with (a). But conversely Englishmen confuse even foreign (a) with (A). The German (a) is so confidently considered as (AA), that (AA) is known among English orthoepists as the German A!

10. (A, ə)—*continued*.

Again the broad (oo) of our dialects is by dialectal writers almost always written *au*, meaning (AA); and the Italian *o aperto*, in syllables where it is taken as long, is called (AA), as (NAA, bWAA'no) for (no, buò'nah), *no*, *buono*. Italians themselves say (aa) rather than (oo) for English (AA). Both vowels (AA, ə), with the true lip rounding, are, as already observed, almost peculiarly English. I have reason to doubt whether (AA) is really heard in India, or Persia, or Austria, which are the only places, beside England, where, so far as I know, it may be at home.

Hence also the diphthong (A'í, ə'í) is rare out of England. For its English origin from (ái, ói) see (131, *a*. 270, *a*. 1101, *c*). The Danish *røg* is written (ṛṛ) by Mr. Sweet (*ibid.* p. 107), but this means (ṛṛ). This, however, to my ears, is the nearest foreign diphthong to our (ə'í). The German *eu* I am accustomed to call (ə'í) myself, and perhaps in the North of Germany it fully reaches that sound. I think, however, that (óí) would be a more correct representation of the North German sound. For the Middle German I hear (ái, áy). Rapp does not properly distinguish (o, ə), and in Italian does not distinguish close and open *o*. Hence although he makes the English short *o* to be his *ò*, I shall transcribe it (o), as I believe he pronounces it. He says: (*Phys. d. Spr.* 4, 19): "Theory has been greatly troubled with German *eu*. Feeling the inconvenience of confusing *eu* with *ei* (ái) in Middle Germany, theoreticians thought that with *ai*, *au*, they could associate an analogous *aü* (áy), which however does not readily unite with them, even when really pronounced, as indeed is commonly the case, only as *ae*, *ao*, *äö*, (ác, áo, áœ). On the other hand, the Northern, Dutch, and low German (ə'í, ə'e) presented itself, as at least intentionally different from *ai* (ái), and as (ə) was no German sound [Rapp identifies it with French *de me que*], it was advanced to *ôi ôé* (óí ôé), so that there resulted a diphthongal triad *ai au ôí* (ái áu óí), which is completely identical with the English and also the old Latin *ae, au, oe*, and of which we can at least say that they are the three most convenient diphthongs for the organs of speech. Later on, the want of the intermediate sound in *ôi*

10. (A, ə)—*continued*.

(óí) was felt, and to avoid this objection, a rather difficult but not ill-sounding diphthong *öü* (óy) was theoretically acknowledged, and although an extremely artificial product, pretty well satisfied all requirements. Those provinces that possess (ə'í ə'u) are the real causes of establishing (ə'y) as *öü* (óy), whereas those that acknowledge *a*-diphthongs only will always incline to the low Saxon *öi* (óí). The diphthongs are always affected by a following nasal, so that when radical *ein aun ein* are not called (á.in á.un á.in), for which last (ó.in) would be preferable, they come out as (á.n, á.o.n, á.e.n), and any theory will find it difficult to produce (nóyn fréynd) with sensible (y) without an appearance of affectation. . . . German theoreticians who are so learned in scripture (*Schriftgelehrt*) that they insist on having *a* heard in *au*, and *e* in *ei* (not an *e* in *eu* also, or, for the sake of *a, e, o*, an *o* perhaps?), are, thank heaven! so rare, that we need not speak of them." Brücke (*Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transscription*, Wien, 1863, p. 53), transcribes *bäume, neues, verträumten* by characters equivalent to (báy'me^ə náy'əs fr̥tráy'mt^əu), where (e^ə) indicates an "imperfectly formed *e*," that is, he, a low Saxon, adopts the theoretical (áy). As Englishmen's views of the identity of German *eu* with their own *oy* are generally very ill based, I thought it better to give the views of German phoneticians on the subject. But the arguments of Rapp seem to leave out of consideration the organic development of language without any reference to writing, so that he lays himself open to the very "learning in scripture" which he ridicules.

(t). This is a medial (>t<), see No. 8 (t).

(sh, sh). For the distinction of (s,sh) and (sh,sh) see No. 6 (s). This advanced (sh) may be distinctly heard in saying *watch* with a very protracted hiss (wotsh,sh,sh); and after a little practice it is possible to say (sh) without the crutch of (t). Mr. Sweet says he is inclined to accept this analysis. Prof. Haldeman says that instead of advancing (sh) to (sh), he retracts (t) to (t:), which comes to the same thing.

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

At any rate, the ordinary English (t, sh) are not *both* heard in *watch*.

This (sh) is apparently the true Roman *c* in *dieci, cinque* (diē'·shi, shiq'·kuc'), which Englishmen hear as (diē'shi, shiq'·kuc'). This is, therefore, the Italian derivative from Latin (*k*). How far the (t) is developed, further observations are required to shew, but the following (translated) notes in *F. Valentin's Gründliche Lehre der Italienischen Aussprache* (Berlin, 1834), are worth quoting, as being written by a Roman who was thoroughly acquainted with German, in which *sch, tsch, zsch*, for (sh, tsh), are common. He says (*ibid.* p. 15, note): "The correct pronunciation of the Italian syllables *ce, ci, cia, cio*, after a vowel, as heard from all educated Romans and Tuscans, cannot be completely represented by *German* signs; they should properly be heard from a teacher conversant with good pronunciation. The following examples will serve to shew that these syllables in this case are as distinct from their ordinary value as from *see, sei, scia, scio*. In *facce*, faces, the *c* sounds exactly like *tsch*; in *fusce*, swaddlings, the vowel is stopped, and the final *see* thus becomes harder; in *fuor*, torches, and all similar cases, the vowel is lengthened, and *ce* consequently receives that peculiar softness already mentioned. All three sounds are heard in the following line of Tasso:

Gli ucciderò, faronne acerbi scempj.—
Ger. Lib. 1, 87, 3,
4th stanza from end.

He proceeds to say that the best writers have constantly written *see* for *ce*, thus *arbuccello arbuscello, brucia brascia, baci basci*, etc., and that "in the Lombard dialects *ce, ci*, after a vowel, fall into a very soft *s* or *z*, as *vesin, disi, sazerdott*, for *ricino, dici, sacerdote*." The examples *facce, fusce, fuor*, are possibly meant to differ as (fa.t'·she) or (fa'·she), (faa'·she, faa'·she).

The combination (t, sh), or else (sh), is developed where (sh) does not occur, as in Spanish, just as (d, zh) or (zh) is found in Italian, where (zh), the buzz of (sh), is unknown, and (d, zh) has been common for centuries in English, where (zh) in *vision* (vi'zhun) is quite a recent development. In English (t, sh), which I have hitherto written and shall generally write (tsh), was developed from ags. (*k*), see (204, *d*), where the

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

relation of (kj, tj) to (tsh) will require revision, if (sh) and not (t, sh) is the original derivative from (*k*). In quite recent English (t, sh) has been developed from (ti) before (*û*), as in the termination *-ture*, in *nature* (nee't·sha).

To the absence of an independent (sh) may perhaps be attributed the persistence with which (t, sh) initial, being only (t < sh <), is considered a simple letter, and *ch* or *sch* final in *such, much, crutch*, which is (> t < sh), has been taken to be the result of prefixing (t) to the former simple sound. To the same cause I attribute the dispute as to the final sounds in *inch, lurch, launch, drench*, which some analyze as (sh), and others as (tsh). Now the position of the tongue for (n) being the same as that for (t), the full analysis may be (i-n-uh-·sh) or (i-n-uh-t-·sh), or simply (i-n-t-·sh) or (i-n-·sh). But in the plural *inches*, I myself use a distinct (t), thus, (i'nt·shez), and to my ear (i'nt·shez) is unusual. Mr. Bell uses (nhtsh-).

The sound (t, sh), as I hear it, is the Hungarian *cs*, the Polish *cz*, and 24th Russian letter. As I pronounce Polish *szcz*, the 26th Russian letter, I seem to prolong (sh) or (·sh), and for an instant touch the palate with the tip of the tongue in the middle of the hiss, checking it momentarily and producing two hiss-glides, thus (sh > t < sh), or (sh, t, sh), for the *t* is probably (t). The Germans write the sound *schtisch*. That *ch* in English *cheese* has a prefixed (t), may be felt very distinctly by pronouncing (t, shi, t, she, t, sha, t, sha, t, sho, t, shu) with great rapidity, when the beat of the tongue against the palate will be felt as markedly as in rapid (ti, te, ta, tã, to, tu). It is convenient also to practise (shi, she, sha, sha, sho, shu), and (shi, she, sha, sha, sho, shu).

Notwithstanding the confidence I feel in the diphthongal nature of *ch* in *cheese* as = (t, sh), yet strong opinions of a different nature are entertained. Prince L. L. Bonaparte can hear no difference between English *ch* in *cheese* and Italian *ci*, and this he considers to be the simple (sh), a continuant, which he can prolong indefinitely, and which, when so prolonged, suggests a (t) throughout. On the other hand Mr. Goodwin (1093, *d'*), no mean observer, considers *ch* in *chest* and *j* in *jest* to be

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

explodents, which I will mark by the new characters (kj, gj), the latter written as an undotted j crossed; see (1094, e). These are the real explodents corresponding to (sh, j), or Mr. Bell's 2e, 2i, on p. 15, which he too hastily confused with my (tj, dj). Observe that in (t, d) the tip, and in (k, g) the back, of the tongue touches the palate; then for (tj, dj), without removing the tip, bring the middle of the tongue against the palate, and for (kj, gj), without removing the back, also bring the middle of the tongue against the palate. Hence for (tj, dj) the *front* two-thirds, and for (kj, gj) the *back* two-thirds, of the tongue touch the palate. But for (kj, gj) only the *middle third* of the tongue touches the palate, thus producing a real explodent, which, as Mr. Nicol pointed out to me, is the sound indicated by Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbol. To succeed in pronouncing them at first, keep the tip of the tongue down by burying it below the lower gums; and to prevent the back of the tongue from rising to the (k) position, think of (t), which of course cannot be pronounced when the tip of the tongue is kept down. Make the effect of (kja) perfectly sharp, by beginning with a closed glottis (1097, b), and come quietly on to the vowel without any escape of unvoicalised breath. A little practice is necessary to avoid (kj, gj) on the one hand, and (tsh, dzh) on the other, but the sound has a philological value which makes it worth while understanding. These (kj, gj) are Mr. Goodwin's *c, j*, in the following remarks (*ibid.* p. 9):

"C (*ch* in *chin*) is manifestly a simple elementary consonant, and a *lene*. It is produced by placing a certain portion of the tongue near the tip, but not the tip itself, against a certain part of the palate, and, after pressure, suddenly withdrawing it with a violent emission of breath. It has no *t*-sound in its composition, for neither the tip of the tongue nor the teeth are used in its production. Neither does it end in an *sh*-sound, for, in that case, it could be prolonged *ad libitum*, which the true *c* (*ch* English) cannot be. Moreover, it does not begin with any one sound, and end with another, but is the same simple sound throughout its whole extent. It may be shewn by a similar experi-

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

ment, and proof, that *j* is a simple elementary sound. It bears the same relation to *c* (kj) that *g* does to *k*, or any other *lene* sonant to its corresponding *lene* surd." That the true *ch* cannot be prolonged *ad libitum*, no other writer, so far as I am aware, has asserted, except in the sense that its prolongation, like that of all diphthongs, differs from its commencement. In connection with these remarks of Mr. Goodwin, it seems best to cite what he says about (sh, zh), to which I must prefix his curious remark on aspirates, a subject which will have to be especially considered in No. 14, (wh). He says (*ibid.* p. 8):

"Each of the aspirates might have been represented by a single character; but, as *h* represents a simple breathing or aspiration, and as all the aspirates are similarly combined with such a breathing, and those of them which are used in English are generally so represented, we have chosen to represent them all as combined with *h*. We do not mean by this to intimate that the sound of *h* is *added* to the respective *lenes*—for in that case the aspirates would not be simple sounds—but that it is combined with them throughout their whole extent. They are *simple*, therefore, under our definition; and if in any sense compound, they are so by a sort of chemical composition, in distinction from a mechanical aggregate or mixture. *Kh*, for example, is not equal to *k+h*, but to *k×h*. This we consider a true aspiration; while the sound of *h*, added after a consonant, no more renders that consonant a true aspirate, than it does the following consonant or vowel. We do not doubt there are such aspirates ('so called') in other languages, as in the Sanscrit, for example; but we here speak of the strict propriety of the term."

[p. 9]. "*Sh* is not the aspirate of *s*, that is, it is not related to *s* as *th* to *t*, *ph* to *p*, etc., as any one may ascertain by a simple experiment of pronunciation. *S* is more dental than palatal, *sh* is not dental at all. But *sh* is related to *c* (kj) precisely as any other aspirate to its *lene*; that is, if you place the organs as if to produce *c* (kj), but instead of bringing them into perfect contact, retain a slight passage between for the constant egress of the breath, modifying it, as it goes out, by this specific ap-

10. (sh, ṣh)—*continued*.

proximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect *sh*. *Zh* is plainly related to *j*, as *sh* to *c* (kj).” [This is incorrect, the result is (ṣh).] “The *s* and *z*, as sibilants, are peculiar, but in respect of the *organs* employed in their articulation, they furnish a transition between the palatal *c* (kj), etc., and the dentals *t*, etc.; and in respect to the *mode* of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspirates rather than the lenes. Their lenes would be a certain unpronounceable medium between *c* (kj) and *t* and between *j* (gj) and *d* respectively.”

The systematic terms, *lenes et aspiratae*, should be discarded, as they tend to produce great confusion, and the precise mode of generating each individual sound should be studied, as we study individuals in natural history, before we attempt to classify them, except provisionally. The grammarians’ provisional and extremely imperfect classification of *lenes et aspiratae* has been long antiquated.

When Mr. Gupta visited me (1096, a), I was astonished to find that his pronunciation of च ज was not the (t, sh d, zh) usually laid down in books as the modern pronunciation, nor the (kj, gj) usually theoretically supposed to be the ancient sounds, but exactly and unmistakably (kj, gj) as just described. This must be also the real ancient sound, and it solves every difficulty. In Mr. Gupta’s pronunciation (kj) was as pure and unmixed with any hiss as an English (k). The post-aspirated forms will be considered in No. 14, (wh). Corresponding to these (kj, gj) there must be of course a nasal (qj), which however only occurs immediately before them, and is hence a generated sound, just as (q) itself in Sanscrit; but it is certainly *not* (nj) as usually assumed, for the point of the tongue does not touch the palate; nor (qj), corresponding to (kj, gj), for the back of the tongue never reaches the (k)-position. The Sanscrit explodents now become perfectly intelligible. क the usual (k) with the back of the tongue *only*, and neither the middle nor the tip, in contact with the palate. च the present (kj), with the middle of the tongue *only*, and neither the back nor the tip, in contact with the palate. छ with the tip of the tongue *only*, and neither the

10. (sh, ṣh)—*continued*.

back nor middle, in contact with the *palate*, and not the teeth, written (ṛ), for one of the forms (t, t), that is either retracted or coroual, not gingival nor dental, nor citra-dental (tṛ). ण with the tip of the tongue *only* against the teeth *only*, not against the palate. The sides of the tongue in all cases have to complete the closure. The series may then be completed thus:

- (κ) back of *retracted* tongue against extreme back of palate.
- (k) back of tongue against palate.
- (kj) back and middle of tongue against it.
- (kj) middle of tongue against it.
- (tj) middle and tip of tongue against it.
- (t, ṛ t) tip of tongue against palate in various places from furthest back to crown or base of gums.
- (t) tip of tongue against upper *teeth*.
- (t, t) tip of tongue against *both* upper and lower teeth, but not protruded.
- (tṛ) tip of tongue protruded *between* upper and lower teeth.
- (ṛ) lower *tip* against upper *teeth*.
- (p) lower lip against upper *tip*.

Now each of these can give rise to a hiss by a slight relaxation of the contact. Hence we get a theoretical (kh) from (κ); the well-known (kh) from (k), the German *ch* in *ach*; the equally well-known (kjh) from (kj), the German *ch* in *ich*; the English (jh) = (kjh) from (kj), of which presently; the English (ṣh) is the nearest if not the exact hiss of the English (t), as will be noticed presently, (th) the hiss of dental (t). National habits will here interfere. The Sanscrit has only a generated (kh), as will be shewn in No. 14, (wh), and hence it does not appear in writing. The (kjh) or (jh) however existed distinctly and had a sign ऋ. Now if modern Germans, as we shall see in No. 16, (j), actually confuse (kjh, jh), we cannot suppose that their ancestors, the old emigrants from the Aryan land, did better, and from (kjh) the step to (k) on the one hand and (sh) on the other is easy. How easily (sh) comes from (jh) we know in English, and Mr. Goodwin has himself exemplified it by making (kjh) = (sh) instead of (jh), just as in India (jh) has sunk absolutely into (sh). Lepsius makes the sound of ऋ theoretically = (shj), (Standard Alphabet, p. 71), which he identifies with Polish *ś*, a sound I hear as (sj). But Mr. Gupta hears no

10. (sh, ʃh)—*continued*.

difference in present usage between श and ष, both are equally (sh). But both occur as ungenerated distinct forms in Sanscrit, where they are unmistakably referred to चट. There is probably no doubt therefore that श was, and still represents, (jh). Now we have already shewn on comparing (s, sh) in (1104, c) that the latter is retracted, as compared with the former. And in the same way (r) is retracted as regards (t). In languages having no (th), — as in German for example, — (s) or (ʃ), for the two cases are not distinguished, is taken to be, and actually results as, the hiss of (t). It is thus that high German $z = (t, s)$ has probably actually resulted from (t). In the same way स was in Sanscrit referred to त. As a matter of course therefore ष (sh) or (ʃh) was referred to ट (r). In modern Bengalee, as we have seen (1105, b'), all three sounds श ष स are confused as (sh). That श य = (jh, j) were not exhibited together as surd and sonant, may be due to the fact that there were no (zh, z) as sonants to ष स. The Sanscrit series of speech sounds, like those of all other nations, was but fragmentary.

Considerable objection has been taken to Mr. Melville Bell's classification of (s, sh), by which, in the arrangement on p. 15, 2b and 3b, the (s) is apparently allied to (j), and the (sh) to (t). So strongly have speakers felt the relation of (s) to (t), and of (sh) to (jh), that, as I have been informed (by Miss Hull, of 102, Warwick Gardens, Kensington, who successfully teaches deaf and dumb girls to speak and read from the lips, and, employing for that purpose Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbols, went in 1873 to Boston, in America, to study Mr. Graham Bell's method of using it in teaching at the deaf and dumb institutions there), Mr. G. Bell has found it best to transpose these symbols, giving to the symbol 2b the meaning (sh), and to the symbol 3b the meaning (s). But Mr. Melville Bell's symbols are both 'mixed,' and imply merely that the (j) character in the position of the tongue predominates in (s) by the elevation of the middle of the tongue, and the (t) character of the same in (sh), by the depression of the middle of the tongue. This is clearly shewn by

10. (sh, ʃh)—*continued*.

his diagrams (Visible Speech, p. 53) and his description (*ibid.* p. 52), viz.: "6. (s) Front-Mixed. The Front [middle] and Point [tip] of the Tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front [crown] of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum.—7. (sh) Point-Mixed. The Point [tip] and the Front [middle] of the Tongue both raised—the latter in a less degree than for symbol 6. (s)—bringing the front [middle] surface of the tongue near to the rim [?] of the palatal arch." The characters both imply (jh*r_ch), but for (s) the greater proximity of the middle of the tongue to the (j)-position determined both its position and its sign. The recent variation, by Mr. Graham Bell, in the application of these symbols, shews how difficult it is to select any form of symbolism depending on classification. Different points strike different minds as best adapted for characteristics. As in botany and zoology genera and families are constantly being remodelled, we cannot be surprised at the difficulties and disagreements which have notoriously arisen in a matter so little understood and requiring so much training (almost securing bias) to observe and appreciate, as speech-sounds. Still greater exception would probably be taken to Mr. Bell's classing (th) under (jh), and (ʃh), which he identifies with Welsh *ll* (lhh), under (r_ch), because we naturally identify (th) with the teeth, and overlook the position of the middle of the tongue. The columns 2 and 3, in Mr. Bell's table, p. 14, should, according to these recent changes in palacotype, be symbolised as follows, in order, from line *a* to line *m*;

2. voiceless jh s lh th kj qh
voiced j z l_j dh gj qj
3. voiceless r_ch sh lh ʃh t nh
voiced r_c zh l_j dh d n

If (ʃh, dh) really represent the Welsh *ll* and its Manx voiced form, they are identical with the symbols (lhh /h_jh), see (756, c, d), where the voiceless form (lhh) is incorrectly stated to occur in Manx.

(wətʃh). The voice, set on in (w), continues with a glide on to (j), and then with a sharp and very sensible glide on to (t), where it is cut off or

10. (wəʃ,sh)—*continued*.

stopped, and the glottis closed; the glottis is, however, immediately opened wide for unvoiced breath, and a hiss-glide is formed on to (sh), through which the hiss may be continued indefinitely, and as a rule the position for (sh) is held as long as the breath is audible, so that it does not glide off into anything else. This may be written (w-ə > t < sh). But in *cheese* we have (t < sh < i > z-s), without the glide on to (t), and hence the (t) is less felt than in the other case.

11. SAW, (saa).

(s). For (s) see No. 6, (s).

(A). For (AA) see No. 10, (A, ə). We have here only the continued sound. Dr. Rush says (*op. cit.* p. 61), "A-we have for its radical, the peculiar sound of 'a' in *awe*; and for its vanish, a short and obscure sound of the monothong (sic) *e-rr*." That is, he would pronounce *saw* (saa'v, saa'), which would give the effect of adding an *v*. It is quite true that Londoners have a difficulty in distinguishing *saw* *sore*, *law* *lore*, *mau* *more*, generally saying only (saa', laa', maa') for (saa soo', laa loo', maa moo'), and that the principal difference to them is that the first words may not, and the last words must, have an epenthetical (r) before a vowel. It is therefore best to avoid this "vanish," and say (saa) without relaxing the position for (AA). But really, as will hereafter appear, (saa', ee'j, oo'w) are phenomena of precisely the same kind, (§ 2, No. 6, iv.) We also find (memaa', pepaa') in the same way. The only objection is to the interposition of a trilled *r*, as *saw-rr-ing* (saa'riŋ). But the Basques interpose a "euphonic" *r* in the same way, and if we could only persuade grammarians to call the Cockney interposition of (r) "euphonic" also, the custom, which is a living reality, however unsavoury now, would be at once disinfected.

(saa). The glide from (s) to (AA) is of the same nature as in (sks), No. 6.

12. FEATHERS, Bell's (fe-dhæz), my (fe'dhæz).

(f). See No. 4, (f).

(æ, e). See No. 7, (e, æ).

(dh). This is the buzz of (th), see No. 3, (th). There is no initial (d), as Germans imagine, in English (dhen), which would require the un-English dental (ddhen). The final (-ddh) does not occur, but we have (-dh) in *breathed*, *bathed*, *swathed*, *tithed* = (briidhd, bæddhd, swæddhd, tæ'dhd), in pronouncing which the retraction of the tongue from (dh) to (d) may be distinctly felt. And (d dh) constantly concur in successive words, as *and the*, see (1098, a).

(æ, ɪ). On (r, ɪ) see No. 3, (r), and No. 4, (a). Mr. M. Bell has peculiar theories about unaccented vowels, which will be better discussed in some special examples, given hereafter. The (v) only occurs in English in unaccented syllables, and it may be questioned whether the real sound in these syllables is not (ə). It is the same, or nearly so (for the exact shades of such obscurities are difficult to seize), as the obscure final *-e* in German and Dutch. When French *e muet* is pronounced, I seem to hear (ə) rather than (ə) or (æ), and there is a schism on this point among the French themselves. See also (548, b).

(zs). See No. 5, (fəiv), on this after-sound of (s), which is generally very clearly developed, especially in singing psalms, where it becomes disagreeably prominent. This final (s) should be very lightly touched, as a mere relief from the unpleasant buzz (z).

(fe'dhæz). The word begins with an unvoiced hiss which is continued as long as the (f) position is held, so that the vocal chords must not be brought together till that position is released. The glide on to (v) may take place through the gradual closure of the glottis, and hence may be partly voiceless, but the voice is now continued, without break, on to (z). There is an interruption to its smoothness by the buzzing of (dh), but, unless there is a trill superadded to (a),—which is admissible, but unusual,—the voice is heard as an obscure vowel (v) or (ə) through (a). The result is (f < c > dh < v > z-s).

12. (fe'dhazs)—*continued*.

The syllable divides *somewhere* during (dh). The vowel (e) being short, the whole glide from (e) to (dh), and the whole continuance of the buzz till the glide from (dh), would generally be reckoned to belong to the first syllable. This is merely fanciful. The interruption to vocality by the buzz makes two groups (f' < e >) and (< ɪ > z-s), between which there is an extra-syllabic buzz of sensible duration, and if it were exaggerated in length, we should have the effect of three groups. Practically, two groups only being felt, the length of (dh) is divided at pleasure between them, and is, I believe actually at times differently divided by means of a relaxation of force or slur ~, to be described in No. 14. (wh), according to the momentary feeling of the speaker.

13. TONGS, Bell's (təqz),
my (təqzs).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(ə). See No. 10, (ɹ, ə).

(q). This bears the same relation to (u), as (g) to (d). It is simply (g) with a complete nasal resonance, and thus differs from (g₁), with incomplete resonance, although in both the uvula is free from the pharynx, but whether to an equal extent has not been determined. The (q) is common in German, Italian, and modern Greek, and was clearly present in Latin and ancient Greek, though it has never received a distinct symbol in these languages, as it has in Sanscrit. But in these languages it is merely a euphonic alteration of (n) generated by a following (k) or (g). It is quite unknown in French, where it seems to Englishmen to have been transformed into a French nasality of the vowel, (ax) bearing to (a) about the same relation as (aq) to (ag). But the real differences which distinguish French Portuguese, dialectal German, American English Gaelic, Hindu, and perhaps other undescribed nasalities, have not yet been determined, so that all analysis is provisional. Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*) pronounced the Sanscrit "necessary anusvâra" as (q), and not as a mark of nasalisation (x). The nasal passages are so complicated and full of tremulous

13. (q)—*continued*.

membranes, and of secretions, that the resonance is necessarily very complicated. It is safest for Englishmen who cannot pronounce the French nasals to use (q) for (x). On (67, *c*) I accidentally misstated Mr. Bell's analysis, which is properly *an, on, un, rin* = (əɹɹ, əɹɹ, əɹɹ, vɹɹ). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's is (ax, əɹɹ, əɹɹ, əɹɹ). M. E'douard Paris seems to analyze (ax, əɹɹ, əɹɹ, əɹɹ) in the Introduction to his "St. Matthieu en Picard Amiénois" (London, 1863, translated for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte). In fact it is not possible to analyse these sounds perfectly, because the mere detachment of the uvula from the back of the pharynx alters the shape of the resonance chamber for the oral vowel, and the addition of nasality effectually disguises its quality. By very carefully performed and recorded experiments with the phonautograph and König's manometric flames (see Poggendorff's *Annalen*, vol. 146) on vowels sung at the same pitch, with and without different nasalisations, it may be possible to discover the alteration of the quality produced by nasalisation, but even this is problematical, and, so far as I know, no experiments have hitherto been made in this direction. At present our connection of oral to nasal vowels is purely a matter of aural appreciation, and will probably differ for the same speaker from observer to observer. The form (ax) would mean, that, with the exception of the uvula, the organs are disposed as for (a), and that the uvula is so widely detached from the pharynx as to allow a perfectly free passage of vocalised breath through the nose as well as through the mouth. The form (a₁) gives the same position, with the exception of the uvula, which is, I think, only slightly detached from the pharynx, so that the nasal passage is not so free as the oral, and hence the oral vowel is so distinctly recognized that probably Frenchmen would *not* recognize (a₁) as intended for (ax). Both (a₁) and (ax) are ori-nasal vowels, but the name is best applied to the second, while the first may be called a nasalised oral vowel. Between (a), with no nasality, and (ax) with perfect ori nasality, there are many degrees; but, as before said, we have not yet succeeded in analysing them, although the different degrees in which the nasal

13. (q)—*continued*.

passage is opened by the uvula is of course one important element, producing an effect comparable to that of the different 'roundings' of the vowels by the lips, see No. 10 (a, ə). But in (aq) we have first a purely oral vowel, followed by a glide (a > q), which may pass through some form of nasality, but can never reach either (a.) or (aa), because the oral passage is gradually obstructed more and more by the back of the tongue, till finally, all passage through the mouth being cut off by the (k) contact of the back of the tongue and soft palate, the voice issues in (q) entirely through the nose. These distinctions, pure oral (a), nasalised oral (a.), ori-nasal (aa), pure oral (a) + a glide which is partly nasal, and imperfectly oral + pure nasal (q), should be carefully borne in mind. It will then be seen that the English (æq, ooq, æq, væq) and the German (aq, oq, æq, bheq) are very imperfect approximations to the French *an, on, un, rin*, but are intelligible simply because (q) not existing in French, there are no other sounds which they could represent. It is remarkable that in received English no vowel occurs long before (q), so that even (ooq) is rather difficult to our organs. In America, however, (æq) is often (ooq) or (aaq), as (læq, sæq) or (laaq, saaq). And in Icelandic the vowel before (q) is always intentionally long (546, b, d').

Mr. Goodwin is peculiar in his analysis of (q), his *ng*. He says (*ibid.* p. 10), "N_g represents a simple, elementary, and a liquid sound, combining a nasal and a palatal character, or intermediate between the two, being produced in the endeavour to pronounce an *n*, by pressing the middle of the tongue against the palate. N_{hg} (or *ng_h*), the so-called French nasal, is related to *ng* as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, it is accompanied with an emission of breath, while the organs are in near approximation to the specific contact which characterizes *ng*." The description of (a) is of course entirely incorrect. The description of (q), however, does not answer to the English (q), but to the probable Sans. (qj), which Englishmen confuse with (nj). The French, having no (q), confuse it with their own (nj). I have also known Fr. (nj) pronounced (qj) in England. There is therefore no certainty respecting (q, qj, qj, nj) in

13. (q)—*continued*.

accounts of foreign sounds. The confusion is quite similar to that of (w, bh, v). In English (q), which has generally been generated by the action of a letter of the *k*-series on a preceding *n*, never occurs initially, so that English people find it difficult to make it glide on to a following vowel, as (qaa, qii, quu), which are found in some African and other languages. Hence when final, it is simply prolonged, as (læq), the strength of the voice dying off, and it seldom becomes voiceless (læq^h), because there is no inconvenience in prolonging the nasality. But sometimes the nasality is dropped, and then simple (g) results, as (læqg), which is treated as a usual final sonant, and may become (læq^g). This cannot be reckoned as a received form, although it may be historical. On the other hand, the voice is occasionally dropped with the nasality, and the result is (læq^k), which is reckoned vulgar, as in (thi^kq^k) for (thi^kq), though common in German (192, d). We have, however, a final (-iq), in the participles, which certainly does not arise from a previous (k) form. The confusion of the (-q, -nd) participial forms is very old; it may possibly have arisen from confusing the participle and verbal noun or gerund, for many of our dialects ignore this (-q) altogether, and use (-n) as a termination for both, "not pronouncing the *q*," as glossarists assume, although Southern Scotch dialects distinguish them by vowels. (-ən) participle. (-in) for gerund (Murray, *ibid.* p. 211). Similarly (nəthin, nəthen, nə^fin, nə^fen) are not uncommon vulgarisms for *nothing* (nəthiq). Yankee and Irish English prefer the participle in -in. In the Forth and Bargoxy extinct English, *ng* and *n* seem to have been occasionally confused.

When (q) is medial, the difficulty is overcome in two ways. First, the glide of (q) on to the vowel is altogether omitted, by beginning the vowel with a glottid (, :), or by slurring or relaxing the force of the voice on (q), so that the glide becomes inaudible. The clear (,) or catch (:) are, I think, uncommon either in English or German under such circumstances, but the relaxation or slur (—) is, I think, the rule. Thus *singer, longing*, are (sɪ^q—ɪ, lɔ^q—ɪq), not (sɪ^qɪ, lɔ^qɪq), and still less (sɪ^qɪ, lɔ^qɪq). Secondly, the nasality is

13. (q)—*continued*.

ultimately omitted, and the resulting (g) glides easily on to the vowel, as in *finger*, *longer* (fɪˈɡɜː, lɒˈɡɜː), where (q) passes into (g) with the same ease as (z) into (s) in (nɪz).

When (q) is medial, and a hiss, not a buzz, follows, if we attempt to make the glide on to the hiss, some speakers naturally drop the nasality and the voice, developing (k), which glides on easily, as in *strength*, *length* (streŋkθ, leŋkθ). This is not necessary. Although (qθ) could no more make an initial combination than (nθ), there could be a non-nasal glide from (q) to (θ), which resembles the glide from (g) or from (n) to (θ), thus (q' > θ). Or else the (q) may end suddenly, and there may be a hiss-glide on to (θ), thus (q' > θ). I think that this last is more frequently said. But the transition from the guttural (q) to the dental (θ) being violent, many speakers, especially of the older class, and Irishmen, bridge over the difficulty by changing (q) into (n), thus (streŋθ, leŋθ). A third hypothesis is possible. The voiceless breath may be introduced during the (q), or in place of the (q), thus (streŋ-qh-θ) or (streŋqhθ). I have not myself observed either. Mr. Bell probably advocates the last, for he writes (mæˈqhɪ). This belongs to a theory considered in No. 15. I think (streŋθ, æˈqʃəs, məŋk, wɪŋkt) represent my own pronunciation of *strength*, *anxious*, *mouk*, *winked*. When a voiced consonant follows, there seems no tendency to introduce (g), thus *tongs*, *winged* are (tɔŋz, wɪŋd), not (tɔŋgz, wɪŋgd), which would be difficult to English organs. An attempt to pronounce them would probably result in (tɔŋgˈz, wɪŋgˈd).

(zs). See No. 12, (fɛˈdhɪz).

(tɔŋz). The glide from (t) to (ɔ) may be gathered from No. 2, (tuu). The voice is regularly continued through (q) to (z), when it falls off to (s), thus (t < ɔ > q-z-s).

14. WHIP, (whɪp), variants (whwɪp, wɪp).

(wh). See Gill's recognition of (wh), on (185, b), the observations on ags. *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw*, on (513, ab), and

14. (wh)—*continued*.

Icelandic (543, d), and on *h* in general (221, d). So much controversy exists upon the points thus raised that it is worth while recurring to them. My (h) was identified with Mr. Bell's symbol, p. 15, col. 5, line f, with some hesitation, by Mr. Bell himself. But my own impression is that Mr. Bell has no sign precisely corresponding to what I mean by (h). In my original paper on Palacotype (Philol. Trans. 1867, part 2, p. 16) I defined (h) as "the aspirate or jerk of the voice, not necessarily accompanied by a whisper, which could not be pronounced in certain post-aspirated consonants, as the Sanscrit म, ध, घ (bh, dh, gh), and similar combinations in the Irish brogue. When the whisper is uttered, the effect should be represented strictly by (h')." Now most persons who have used my palacotype confuse (h, h'), and I have certainly not been careful to distinguish them under ordinary circumstances. For the exact understanding, however, of such difficulties as have been raised respecting (wh), etc., it is necessary to enter into somewhat minute explanations. Referring to Mr. Bell's symbols, suprâ p. 15, by simple number and letter as 5f, "the symbol in column 5, line f," the following are Mr. Bell's own explanations ('The Organic Relations of the Rudimental Symbols,' Visible Speech, pp. 46-49).

9a. "When the glottis and the super-glottal passage are perfectly open, the breath creates no sound in its emission. A moderate degree of expulsiveness to render the 'aspiration' audible is implied in 9a. The symbol is pictorial of the expanded breath-channel in the throat." This I have written (h) on p. 15, the exact meaning of which will be explained presently, and (h') is the full sign.

5a. "When the glottis is contracted to a narrow chink, the breath in passing sets the edge of the orifice—the 'vocal ligaments'—in vibration, and creates sonorous 'voice.' This vocalising condition of the glottis is pictured in the symbol." This I mark (') on p. 15. The description, however, is inaccurate. If there is any 'chink,' there is no 'voice,' but only 'whisper.' See No. 8, (et). Distinguish between 'open glottis,' through which passes *flatus* or voiceless breath (h), which may or may

14. (wh)—*continued*.

not be audible; 'chink glottis' when the edges of the chords are brought almost but not quite in contact, producing whisper ('h); and 'closed glottis,' the edges of the chords being absolutely in contact to be forced asunder by the breath, closing by their own elasticity, and thus producing that series of 'pulls' which result in 'voice,' ('h). Different from all these is the supra-glottal implosion ('h), No. 9, (b).

9b. "When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the non-sonorous rustling or friction which is called 'whisper.' The relative expansion of the throat-channel for 9a and 9b is pictured in the symbols." I have marked this as (v) on p. 15. My symbol for 'whisper' is (v) or voicelessness+voice. Hence (v) is used for whispered (f), and (i) is whispered (i). To indicate voicelessness, prefix (v) to a whispered, or (v) to a voiced letter. Thus (v) = (f), and (vi) is the mere flatus through the (i) position, scarcely distinguishable from (jh), while (vu) will be the mere flatus through the (u) position, scarcely distinguishable from (wh), see No. 2 (uu), and No. 3 (ii). Now Mr. Bell goes on to say: "The organic effect of 9b will be understood by whispering a 'voiced consonant' such as *v*. The result is clearly different from the sound of the non-vocal consonant of corresponding oral formation *f*. For the former (v), the fricativeness of the breath is audible from the throat, through the oral configuration; for the latter, (f), the breath-friction is audible only from the lip." I think that this account is imperfect, whisper being glottal and not pharyngeal. There is a glottal wheeze (*h*), which is produced by driving the voice sharply through the cartilaginous glottis, between the arytenoid cartilages, and not between the vocal chords, and Mr. Bell inclined to mark this as 9b + 10b, that is, as a prolongation of the present sound. At another time he wrote it 9b + 9g, or with the mark of trill added to this sign. Now there is such a trilling effect possible by means of moisture, and some observers do consider (*h*) as an arytenoid glottal trill rather than a wheeze. If voice accompanies, the result is either the Danish glottal (r) or the Arabic *ain* (ʕ), and

14. (wh)—*continued*.

the latter is perhaps only (r), that is a strong pronunciation of the former. I am confirmed in this view by the fact of Mr. Sweet finding (r) very much like (o), and by the usual derivation of *o* from the Semitic *ain*.

9h. "The symbol 9h is a compound of 9b and 5a, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously;—a vocal murmur modified by breath-friction in the super-glottal passage." I marked this as (v) on p. 15, but on my present definition of whisper this does not properly express the fact described. In whisper, however, there is so slight a vocalisation, arising from intermittent puffing, and so much apparent escape of unintermittent flatus, that the effect is felt as a mixture of voice and flatus, only the flatus has the upper hand, and the whole effect is generally weak. But in buzzing we have a powerful voice, with apparent intermingled flatus, which, however, is I think merely caused by inharmonic proper tones due to an obstructed resonant chamber, and is in ultimate analysis rather *noise*, that is, beating harmonies, than real flatus.

9c. "The symbol 9c pictures the combined edges of the glottis, and denotes the 'catch' of the breath which is heard (with violence of percussive) in a cough. The linguistic effect of 9c is softer, but distinctly percussive, when an aspiration or a vocal sound follows the 'catch.'" The form of the symbol 9c gives a wrong impression of the position of the vocal chords, which are pressed tightly together, along the whole length of their opposed edges, (and not knicked in the middle only as the symbol seems to shew,) so that it requires considerable effort to separate them by an expiration. The closure is, for a time, air tight, as in 'holding the breath.' Hence the breath escapes explosively, either as flatus or voice. I write it (c).

9l and 9m. "The symbols 9l and 9m, by themselves, refer to the aperture of the mouth as affected by the close (9l) or open (9m) position of the jaws. Following other symbols, 9l denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussive on leaving the configuration, and 9m denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus

"9a + 9l. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm;—a wheeze.

14. (wh)—*continued*.

"9a + 9m. A gentle inaudible aspiration.

"9e + 9l. Glottal closure with distention of the larynx from pressure on the confined breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough."

As will be seen by referring to (1106, c), I formerly marked 9l on p. 15 as (.), considered merely as representing *force*, which is supposed to be continuous, and 9m as (.), considered as representing *weakness*, also supposed continuous. These do not quite represent Mr. Bell's symbols. His 9a + 9l is hardly (.,h), but very nearly so. His 9a + 9m could not be (.,h), because there is no jerk at all here, and (.,h) is the nearest symbol for almost inaudible flatus. Again his 9e + 9l could not be (.), because this alone, without sign of flatus, whisper or voice, has no meaning, but (.;h) is not unlike it. Using the signs (¹) as proposed on (1107, b), we may, however, write 9a + 9l = (h¹), though I think (h¹) better for the effect intended, 9a + 9m = (h₁) or (.,h₁), and 9e + 9l = (h¹) or (.;h¹).

"10f and 5f. Whisper and voice may be produced by air going inwards (10f) or by breath coming out (5f)." Here I think Mr. Bell has made a slip. No 'voice' certainly, and no 'whisper' in the sense of (1126, b), can be produced by inspiration. I have written (i) for 10f, and Mr. Bell first gave 9b and afterwards 5f for my (h), but he must have been wrong in both cases. He proceeds to say: "All symbols except 10f and 10e imply emission." [Hence no special symbol for 5f was required.] "The symbol 5f is used to denote a transitional emission from the symbolized configuration in passing from one position to another." [This seems to mean 'glide' in my sense, denoted by > or <]. "The effect is different from the throat aspiration 9a. Thus from the 'shut' position of the glottis 9e, we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice 9a + 5a" [my (.;h)], "or we may ease off the pressure of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath glide' 9a + 5f + 5a." Now this could not be (.;h), for this jerk would increase instead of "easing off" the pressure. In another place, quoted presently, he calls this 5f "an aspirated hiatus." It would be of course possible

14. (wh)—*continued*.

to interpose flatus, between the catch (i) and the voice (h), thus (i.;h), and when a real vowel is used the series (i.;+a+a), hereafter abridged to (i;ha), may be easier than (i;a) without any interposed flatus, for the explosion may force the vocal chords so far apart that flatus escapes before they can be reduced to the vocal position, and as they would recoil to it suddenly the effect (i.;+a+a) would be different from (i.;+a+ 'a+a) or (i;pa), which seems hardly possible. Still I own not to have caught the meaning of this symbol 5f thoroughly, and I regret that I was led to identify it with my own (h). Mr. Graham Bell has used it at the end of words, when writing for deaf-mutes, to indicate what Mr. M. Bell calls the 'recoil' mentioned in the next citation, thus 8f + 3e + 5f is used for my (æt'). This would confirm my supposition that 5f is not really different from (<h), since (æt') is at full (æ > t < h). It remains therefore that Mr. M. Bell has no Visible Speech symbol for my (h), although I think his 9l, my (.), comes nearest to it, the difference being that (h) resembles *impact* or is momentary, and (.) resembles *pressure* or is continuous.

"10e. The symbol 10e signifies that the organic separation or recoil from any symbolized position—which is always implied in final elements when the 'stop' is not written—does not take place. Thus 9e + 10e is an unfinished 'catch,' in forming which the impulse ceases with the closure of the glottis." But no effect would be heard if the glottis were kept closed. We must allow a single puff to escape at least to shew the 'catch,' and then we must shut up directly to shew the 'stop.' Thus in place of 9e + 10e, or (i;) in my symbols, which would have absolutely no sound, I must have (i.;h) or (i.;h'), often heard in a short checked convulsive cough.

"The effect of organic 'stop' is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as *tl* in *outlaw*, *tl* in *outdo*, etc.; where, necessarily, the *t* is not finished by an organic recoil, as it would be at the end of a word. In these cases of course the 'stop' does not require to be written." In practical phonetic writing much is not marked which *must* make its appearance in delicate phonetic discussions, and

14. (wh)—*continued*.

which is often of supreme philological importance. Thus (ʔutlAA, ʔutduu) are enough for many purposes; but if we are writing strictly, they are not nearly enough. We require (ʔʉ > t)l < AA, ʔʉ > t)d < uu), where) is the break explained in the next paragraph. The diphthongal glide is indicated by the accent shewing the element with principal force. The glides generally need not be written if the rule is laid down that there is *always* a glide between combined symbols. But then we must write (ʔʉt lAA, ʔʉt duu), and we should thus lose the effect of combination into one word: so that (ʔʉt)lAA:, ʔʉt)duu) become the full forms. Generally (ʔʉt lAA, ʔʉt duu) are enough. The 'recoil' should always be written when intended to be distinctly pronounced, as (ʔʉtʔ)lAA, ʔʉtʔ)duu).

"10c. In verbal combinations of elementary sound, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one." This refers to the inter-gliding, but is only true as a practical rule in writing. "When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of 'hiatus' (10c) is used. Thus in analysis, or phonetically 'spelling' a syllable, we should say that 9a + 5a consists of the elements 9a + 10c + 5a—interposing a break. The effect of 10c will be understood by pronouncing the word 'bedtime,' in which the *d* and *t* are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words 'bed, time.' The symbol 5f is an *aspirated* hiatus; the symbol 10c is non-aspirated,—a mere interval." I have hitherto marked this (,), but with the more accurate distinctions of glottids, something more is required, and I find (), half of the second half of a parenthesis, a sort of exaggerated comma,—already introduced by anticipation (998, d),—the most convenient for this mere break, which may or may not be accompanied by a 'clear' glottid. In this case, ()) is opposed to (-).

After much thought and observation I have been led to the following views of these difficult, and yet, philologically, extremely important distinctions. I cannot consider my views complete, but I think that they will serve to form a basis for future work, and are more comprehensive than any yet sug-

14. (wh)—*continued*.

gested in print. They involve not so much a reconstruction, as a more accurate specification of the notation on pp. 10 and 11.

Material of Speech-Sounds.

(ʔ) *Inspiration*, audible inspired breath, the audibility arising from the friction in the air-passages, arising from their constriction and internal roughness, and velocity of the entering air.

(ʔh) *Implosion*; a dull thud-like sound arising from suddenly condensing, by the action of the muscles of the inclosing walls, breath confined in the passages, neither passing out of the mouth, nor through the larynx (1097, c. 1113, d').

(‡h) *Click or smack*; a smart sharp sound produced by suddenly separating moist parts of the organs, as tongue and palate, etc., independent of inspiration or expiration. It is quite easy to click in the mouth while inspiring and expiring through the nose.

(ʔh) *Flatus*, audible but unvocalised expiration, the vocal chords well separated, and a full column of breath passing easily. The audibility may be conditioned by degrees of force or narrowing or interruption of the passages of exit.

(ʔh) *Whisper*; the edges of the vocal chords are almost but not quite in contact; part of the passing breath is unaffected, part rustles, part is broken into pulses, resembling voice, just as on a flute we hear the musical tone accompanied by the rustle or rushing noise of the performer's breath against the side of the mouthpiece.

(ʔh) *Voice*; the edges of the vocal chords in actual contact, and opening and shutting by the action of expiration and their own elasticity, so as to break all the air into pulses. But the break does not necessarily produce a musical tone. On the contrary, just as in any blown reed (in clarinet, hautboy, etc.), or interrupted air current (in whistles, flutes, etc.), many different musical tones result in this case also, of which several are of nearly the same pitch or even of incommensurable periodic times, and these 'beat' with one another, thus producing a confused noise, or obscure murmur, which is really the 'natural' voice. It is by adapting various resonant chambers to

14. (wh)—*continued*.

this last sound that we 'select' those musical tones which go to form the distinct 'qualities' of speech-sounds. When ('h) simply is written, it indicates some obscure voice sound which we are unable distinctly to characterise.

In the above notations (h), as usual, is 'diacritic,' and is in fact only used as a 'support' for the other signs, so that when other letters are present (h) is omitted if its absence will occasion no ambiguity. It will be doubled to express prolongation. Most alphabetic letters inherently imply flatus ('h), or voice ('h), some imply clicking (ʒh), but none imply inspiration (ʔ), implosion (ʕh), or whisper (ʕh). Thus (f) implies flatus or ('h), and (v) implies voice or ('h). Add voice to flatus or flatus to voice and the result is whisper; thus (ʕf) = ('v) is whispered (f) or (v). In speaking in a so-called whisper, (f) remains with flatus, and (v) becomes (ʕv). Similarly ('i, 'a, 'u) are whispered vowels.

Add flatus sign to whisper sign, and the result is made to symbolise flatus only. Thus (ʕf) = ('ʕv) = (f) simply. And ('i, 'a, 'u) are simple flatus through the vowel positions. The distinctions ('i, i, i), flatus, whisper, voice, in connection with the (i)-position are important. I do not symbolise position only, except in the mutes (p, t, k), as I find it more distinct to write the word "position" at length, after the symbol of the sound uttered in that position, thus: the (f)-position.

At the end of a group of letters (ʕ) and (ʔ) are written for ('h) and ('h), thus (iʕ, eeʕ, ooʕ, uuʕ), which stand for (iʕh, eeʕh, ooʕh, uuʕh), are the diphthongs (iʕi, eeʕ, ooʕ, uuʕ), already considered (1099, a'), when deprived of the permission to superadd a trilled (r), so that (iʕi) = either (iʕʔ) or (iʕʔr). Again (æʔ, ædʔ) are the same as (æʔh, ædʔh), and figure the 'recoil.' When this recoil is a pure click, it should always be written as (æʔʔ, ækʔʔ), for it is quite exceptional, although we sometimes hear the click first, and then flatus, especially after (k), as (ækʔʔh). The click sign added to the organ determines the click. Thus (ɕ) = (ʔʔ) or (ʔʔ), (ʕ) = (ʔʔʔ), (ʔ) = (ʔʔʔ) or (kʔʔʔ), (ʕ) = (ʔʔʔ) or (kʔʔʔ), (s) = (kʔʔ), see p. 11.

For the mutes (p, t, k), and sonants (b, d, g), ('p) = ('b) = whisper, instead of voice, forced into the (p)-position. And ('p) = imploded (p), which is readily

14. (wh)—*continued*.

confused with ('b) on the one hand and (p) on the other (1113, a').

The term 'mute' is used for (p, t, k), as they have actually no sound of their own, but only modify other sounds by position, giving rise to glides.

Vowels.

These are 'voice' modified by resonance chamber. Each has its own definite 'pitch,' and when sung at other pitches is modified by the action of that pitch, in a manner only recently understood, by the researches of Helmholtz, Donders and Koenig, and not yet by any means fully observed or explained. Every variety of pitch and force really alters the character of any particular vowel, which is hence only to be recognized as a 'genus' having several 'species.' In all cases a vowel is a 'quality' of tone, the appreciation of which differs greatly individually and nationally. Further details are given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 113-164). I here, for brevity, take the vowels for granted.

Glottids.

The modes of beginning, ending, and conjoining vowels, being principally due to actions of the glottis, will be termed 'glottids.' They comprise many effects not yet classed, and others known indefinitely as 'breathings, spiritus asper et lenis, aspiration,' etc.

(j) *gradual* glottid, (1112, b), so that (ja) = ("a-a-a-a-a), flatus gradually falling into whisper, then this into voice, which returns back to whisper and flatus. With mutes, as (pja), it shews that when the (p)-position is assumed and released, the glottis is open, as for ('h), see (1097, a'). Much of what is called post-aspiration is really due to the gradual glottid. I think that what Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873, p. 106) calls "the aspiration of the voiceless stops" in Danish, and writes (kuat, tuʔ, pneqə, phipə), would be more truly represented by (kʔat) or by (kʔhat), where (ʔh) is the *flatus* glottid, or the gradual glottid with greater prominence given to the flatus preceding or following the vowel, so that (jha) is rather ("aa-a-a) than ("a-a-a).

(.) *Clear* glottid, (1112, b), the vocal chords are in the position for voice,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

which begins without any introductory flatus. This is the position for English mutes, thus (p,a) as distinct from (p|a) or (p|ha).

(i) *Check glottid*, (1112, *b*); there is an air-tight closure, which is forced asunder, and there may easily arise a puff of flatus before the chords vibrate properly, as (i|h) abridged to (i|h). Brücke attributes this position to the English mutes, thus (p;a), but I think he is in error, as the use of (i;) is not an English trick.

(h) *Wheezing glottid*. Here there is an escape of flatus, but it does not pass the open glottis, nor between the vocal chords, which are apparently tightly closed, but through the cartilaginous glottis beyond it. Czermak (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, math. naturw. cl. vol. 29, No. 12, for 29 April, 1858, Wien, pp. 576–580) gives the result of actual observations with the laryngoscope on an Arab, corresponding with this description. Prof. F. W. Newman says (on p. 8 of *Handbook of Modern Arabic*, London, 1866, pp. 190): “Strong *h* is often heard from Irishmen. It is wheezing and guttural, with something of a *w* in it at the beginning of a word. The force of air in the throat is considerable, and is strangely prolonged when it ends a word, as (mel*ih*, raah) ‘good, he went.’”

(gh) *Trilled wheeze*. This differs from (*h*) solely in the production of interruptions or trills, by interposing some rattling mucous.

(g) *Bleat or ain*. The Arabic ع is the same as (gh) with the accompaniment of the voice, so that (gh)=(“g). If this is taken very gently, the result seems to be (ɾ)=(,g), the Low Saxon glottal trill or quack, which can also be pronounced during a vowel.

Any of these glottids can be uttered with various degrees of force, thus noted.

Medium force requires no note.

(l) *evanescent*, is scarcely perceptible.

(,) *weak*, is decidedly below the medium.

(.) *strong*, is decidedly above the medium.

(,) *abrupt*, properly strong and clear, is almost explosive.

These force-signs denote continued pressure, as in the motion of an ordinary bellows. If, when blowing, the end of the nozzle is stopped, the air becomes

14. (wh)—*continued*.

condensed, and, on removing or detaching the stop, issues with explosion, of which (i;) may be considered the general sign, (p, t, k) being much more moderate explodents. No such signs however are sufficient for all purposes. For anything like a discriminating view of force I recommend a series of numbers written in a line below, and forming a scale, 5 being medial force, 1 just audible, and 9 greatest. By this means sudden changes of force during a syllable can be distinctly registered. For most purposes, however, the much less distinct musical signs *pp*, *p*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, with *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, *staccato* and other signs, might be written in the line below.

(ɿ) *Jerk*. This, like explosion, can be imitated with the bellows by sudden increase of pressure, followed by a decrease. It is not at all necessary that the increase of pressure should be great; it is only necessary that it should be *sudden* and not *continued*. This is *my* meaning of (ɿ), and it is evidently not Mr. M. Bell's *5f*, (1127, *b'*). When this jerk is accompanied by flatus, we have (ɿ'h), which may be more conveniently abridged to (ɿh) than to (ɿ') as heretofore, because (ɿ'a) ought to mean the whispered vowel ('a) commenced with a jerk (ɿ), but (ɿha) will mean a jerked flatus (ɿ'h) gliding on to a vowel (a). Observe however that (ɿa) simply, without any interposed flatus, is not only possible, but, I think (I do not feel sure), the mere common English and, as will appear hereafter, modern *Indian* sound. (ɿ) may also be combined with (j), as (ɿjha), which would shew distinct flatus jerked out before the vowel. I would distinguish between (ɿha)=(ɿ'ha) and (ɿjha) by using the latter only when the flatus is sharp and distinct. The former merely shews jerked flatus without distinguishing its prominence.

Glides, Slurs, Breaks.

> < *Glide*. When voice is continued through change of position, we have a *voice glide*. When flatus changes to voice, possibly through whisper, or conversely, we have a *mixed glide*. When flatus continues, we have a *flatus glide*. By placing the symbols of the two extreme sounds in juxtaposition, the glide is always im-

14. (wh)—*continued*.

plied. But it is sometimes convenient to mark it by > when the position changes to one closer, and by < when it changes to one opener (1111, *b'*), but by (-) when the positions are equally open or close, as in *maze* = (m < ee > z-s), or (*meezs*). The contracted form requires the introduction of such a sign as

) *Break*, for which, up to p. 998, I have generally used the clear glottid (.), see (1128, *a*, *cd*). Any glottid will form a break, as (ana, anha, a;a, a;a a;a), but (a;a) simply breaks without indicating the precise mode in which the disconnection is effected.

— *Slur*. We may also produce the semblance of a break by diminishing force, without taking off the action of the voice at all. We might write (a,,i) to shew this effect, or interpose ~, a slur, which differs from > and from (,,) by implying a very brief diminution of force, and is therefore opposed to (H) the jerk. In music (H) corresponds to *staccato*, and ~ to *legato*. Two vowels connected by a > or < glide form a diphthong, the glide being held *longer* than one of the extreme vowels, and the force increasing or diminishing *throughout*. This is shewn by an acute accent placed over the vowel which has greatest force, as (ái, íu, íú) or (á>i, í-u, í-ú). See (419, *c*). Two vowels slurred form an Italian diphthong, and the force is nearly even, as (i~o, mi~E~i), but they reckon as one syllable. In this case we may unite them and omit the acute, thus (io, miEi). Employing the mode of representing force by a scale of numbers, we might write (á>i, í-u,

5 43 2 5 43 2

i-ú, i~o, mi~E~i), but this notation

2 3 4 5 5 1 2 4 5 5 4 2 4 5 2 4 5

is incomplete without proper indications of length and pitch, which may be effected by a second line of figures, from 1 to 9, placed above, 5 indicating medium length, accompanied either by such marks as (-'') or (''..'), as given on p. 12, shewing continued, rising or falling pitch, or by notes of the musical scale, indicating the commencing pitch of each vowel-

1 2 3

sound, as (á>i), which shews: by

5 43 2

the middle line, that the vowel (a) glides on to (i) from an opener to a

14. (wh)—*continued*.

closer position, and has the stress; by the under line, that the force with which (a) is pronounced is to that with which (i) is pronounced as 5 to 2, but that the force of the voice gradually diminishes from the 5 to 2 through the glide, in which only the forces 4 and 3 are noted; by the upper line, that the lengths of the (a) glide and (i) are respectively 1, 2, 3, and that the voice continuously descends in pitch, by an unstated amount.

In violin music *slurred* notes are played to the same stroke of the bow; *glissées* notes have the finger *slid* down from one position to the other; *detached* notes have each a distinct bowing; *staccato* notes have the bow suddenly touched and raised. These will serve to distinguish (— >) H) respectively.

We are now in a position to represent and appreciate the different theories of aspiration.

In Sanscrit there are five letters in a series, as (p, ph, b, bh, m), as I have hitherto written them. The Prâtiçâkhyas speak of these as first, second, third, fourth, and fifth or last. Now the Ath. Veda Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 16) says: "The second and fourth of each series are aspirates," on which Prof. Whitney observes, "The term *ûshman*, literally 'heat, hot vapour, steam,' is in the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath [flatus] through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe; they are the sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term *soshman*, 'aspirated mute,' and its correlative *anûshman*, 'unaspirated mute,' *ûshman* is to be understood not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.'" This, however, is merely his own conjecture. There seems nothing in the explanation given of *ûshman* to require *flatus* rather than *voice*. It is the *explosive rush* alone which comes into consideration. The native commentator on the passage quotes the words *sasthânâir ûshmaḥ* referring to the "aspirates," which Prof. Whitney says, would be most naturally translated 'with their corresponding *ûshmans* or spirants,' "but," says he, "this is hardly to be tolerated, since it would give us

14. (wh)—*continued*.

ts and ds instead of th and dh as the dental aspirates." The commentator, however (*ibid.*), cites another authority, who says: "Another has said the fourths are formed with *h*," [considered afterwards], "some knowing ones have said that there are five 'first' mutes" [viz. (k, kj, t, t, p)]. "Of these, by the successive accretion of secondary qualities, *guṇa*, there takes place a conversion into others. They are known as 'seconds,' when combined with the qualities of *jihvāmūṭiya*" [identified with (kh), *ibid.* p. 22], "ç, sh, s and *upadhmanīya*" [identified with (ph), *ibid.* pp. 26 and 30]. "The same, uttered with intonation, are known as 'thirds,' and these, with the second spirant, are known as 'fourths.'" This 'second spirant' seems to mean Sanscrit *h*, as we shall see hereafter. The 'seconds' are not, I think, intended to be fully (k-kh, kj-jh, t-sh, t-s, p-ph), although these are sounds into which they might develop. At any rate we have (t-s, p-ph) in high German *z, pf*, and English *picture* gives almost precisely (t-sh). But I take them to be merely (kph, kjph, tph, tsh, pph), arising from commencing these letters with the open glottis, as (k), etc., and making the resulting flatus audible. If the mute-position were only slightly relaxed, (k-kh), etc., would result. But if it opened fairly on to the vowel, we should have the mixed glide (kph < a), etc. This would be tantamount to the Danish consonants, and might, if jerked, be written (kṇha), etc. The reference to the spirants would then merely indicate the nature of the effect, not the exact effect, which is certainly totally different from the classical examples *inkhorn*, *haphazard*, *nuthook*, for these when written fully are (*i* > *q*-k) - ṇḥaa > n, ṇḥæpṇḥæ > z < a-d', n < æ > tṇḥu > k'), where there is no (k < ṇḥaa, p < ṇḥæz, t < ṇḥak), the mutes and jerk being totally unconnected. The trouble arises with the sonants *gh*, *jh*, etc., for which there could not possibly issue a flatus without interrupting the voice, and saying (g'h-ṇḥ < a) or (hṇḥa), neither of which appear probable.

The initial (ṇ'h, ṇh, ṭh), or (ṇḥ) seems to be what is commonly understood by the *spiritus asper*, while simple (ḥ) is possibly the *spiritus lenis*. Prof.

14. (wh)—*continued*.

Whitney says (*ibid.* p. 66): "The pure aspiration *h* is a corresponding surd to all the sonant vowels, semivowels and nasals of the alphabet; that is to say, it is produced by an expulsion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected." This makes *his* aspiration (which must not be confounded with Sanscrit *h*, or with any other person's *h* for the moment) to be my (ḥ), whether before or after a vowel, and does *not* involve the jerk (ṇ) at all. The Tāitt. Pr. says of the *visarjanīya*, "some regard it as having the same position with the preceding vowel." "This latter," observes Prof. Whitney thereupon (*ibid.* p. 21), "is the most significant hint which any of the Prātiśākyas afford us respecting the phonetic value of the rather problematical *visarjanīya*, indicating it as a mere uncharacterised breathing, a final *h*." It is, however, strictly characterised by being a distinct flatus *through* the position of the preceding voiced letter. From the usual Sanscrit *sanhitā* action this flatus is affected by the succeeding consonant, producing many curious effects, to be considered presently.

The Japanese arrange their syllabary in groups of five according to their five vowels, which sounded to me, from the mouth of a native, as (a, i, u, e, o). These consonants seem to affect aspirates and post-aspirates very differently. Thus I seemed to hear the whole syllabary thus, as it was most patiently explained to me by a Japanese gentleman, but great allowances must be made for a single hearing on my part:

1.	(a	i	u	e	o
2.	kja	kji	kju	ke	ko
3.	sa	sji	su	se	so
4.	tja	tsji	tse	tje	to
5.	na	ni	nu	ne	no
6.	nha	kjhi	phu	the	nho
7.	ma	mi	mu	me	mo
8.	ja	i	u	e	jo
9.	ra	ri	ru	re	ro
10.	wa	i	u	e	o
11.	ga	gji	gu	gje	go
12.	za	zi	zu	ze	zo
13.	da	dji	du	de	do
14.	ba	bi	bu	be	bo
15.	pja	pji	pu	pe	po

14. (wh)—*continued*.

The symbol (ʀ) in line 9 means very short (l), on the principle of (1116, *ba*) followed by trilled (r). My teacher seemed unable to pronounce (r) with an entirely free tongue. He involuntarily struck the palate first, and although he seemed to remove the tongue immediately, he produced so much of an (l) effect, that the real (r), also very briefly trilled, became obscured. This pause before trilling resembled the catch in harmonium reeds by which they refuse to speak when very suddenly called on, unless there is a percussive action. The sound (ʀ) is very remarkable for its numerous Oriental relations. The symbols (se, tse) in lines 3 and 4 are given with great hesitation, the (s) seemed to be prolonged and the vowel very short and indistinct, with a kind of hiss running through it; when the speaker prolonged the syllable, his lips came together, and he made a complete (*saui*) to finish with. Perhaps (*ssuu*) might represent the sound, but I was unable at one sitting to understand it, notwithstanding the great patience of my instructor. But this is not the chief point of interest, for it only shews the action of the hiss (s) on a following (u). Of course all my coronal or gingival (t, d) may be erroneous. I was not on the look out for dental (t, d), and I can only say that if the letters were dental, the dentality was not strongly marked. The change of the aspirate in (ʀba kjhi phu nhe nho) is sufficiently remarkable. I will not guarantee (ʀba nhe nho) as against (na ne no), but there was no greater change. In (kjhi, phu) a consonant had taken the place of the simple aspirate, and in each case it was not the next related consonant, not (jhi whee), but one step further advanced. The (phu) was very distinctly ascertained *not* to be (fu), as it is quietly written by Lepsius. My Japanese teacher had had so much difficulty in learning to say our (f) that he utterly disclaimed it. Now, why this change here only? On uttering the English words *he, who*, I experience no tendency to fall even into (jhi, whu). I do not seem to say (hʀʀii-ii, hʀʀu-u) or (ʀhʀhii, ʀhʀhuu), and certainly not with such force as to approach (jhi, whuu). If I try for (nhi, nhu), there seems to come a gentle puff of flatus before the vowel, which has no tendency to become a hiss. And I have not remarked this

14. (wh)—*continued*.

hissing tendency even in German *hier, husten*. So far as I am concerned, so far as I seem to hear others speak (I speak with great diffidence, knowing the great liability to err owing to my 'personal equation'), I do not hear in the English aspirate a strong flatus, or any flatus *through* the vowel position, before the vowel. I am acutely sensitive to any 'dropping of an h.' But I do not hear (hʀʀii-ii, hʀʀuu-uu) for *he, who*. I believe I say purely (hii, hun), at any rate I find even an intentional (ʀhii, ʀhuu) to be somewhat of an effort, and (ʀhʀhii, ʀhʀhuu) to be a great effort. Still I know that at least (ʀh) exists, and very possibly (ʀh), and I shall therefore generally assume that writers on sound mean (ʀh). But Mr. M. Bell's 9a, which I have hitherto transliterated by (ʀʀʀ),—meaning (ʀʀʀ), and henceforth written (ʀh),—is certainly sometimes simple (ʀ) or (ʀ). Thus (Visible Speech, p. 50) he writes "silent respiration" by $9a + 9m + 10f + 9a + 9m + 10b$, which must be, I think, („h; „hh)=gentle, flatus, drawn inwards, gentle, flatus prolonged (outwards). The 'outwards' is not written either by him or by me, the prolongation is shewn by doubling the h, and the sign gentleness is placed in a different order in my notation. "Painful respiration" is written $9a + 10b + 10f + 9c + 5f + 9b + 10b$, or (ʀhh;ʀhh), that is flatus, prolonged, inwards, catch, (outwards), wheeze prolonged, but perhaps the 9b should be (ʀh) and not (h), or simply (ʀh), see (1126, a). Thus his "nasal-guttural respiration," or $9b + 9d + 10b + 10f + 9b + 9d + 10b$, seems to be (ʀhh; ʀhh) strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, inwards, strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, (outwards).

To return to the Japanese, it would seem that the positions of (e, o, a) do not squeeze the uttered flatus sufficiently to produce a sensible frication or hiss, but the (i, u) positions do so. Hence (ʀhi, ʀhu) are ready to develope into (jhi, whu) or (kjhi, phu). Now in combining Sanscrit words in *sanhita*, we have necessarily as strong an action of any consonant position on a preceding flatus as in the Japanese vowels (i, u); that is, each consonant converts the flatus into its own continuant or spirant. Hence the final *visarjanīya*, which was probably merely (ʀh), or a final flatus through the vowel position,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

developed before (k, kj, ṭ, t, p) respectively, the continuants (kh, jh, sh, s, ph), see Whitney (*ibid.* p. 96). The first and last of these, (kh) or *jihvāmūṭiya*, and (ph) or *upadhmanīya*, are never heard in Sanscrit except when thus 'generated,' and hence, although recognized under these names by the native grammarians, are not accommodated with separate signs. They are by no means peculiar in this respect, either in Sanscrit or other systems of writing. This seems conclusive as regards the value of **ॠ**, for which (h) answers in every respect, as a palatal hiss, as degenerating into (sh) (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 23), and as corresponding to (k, s, kh, sh) in cognate languages. See (1120, b) to (1121, cb). The flatus of the final *visarjaniya*, therefore, corresponds closely with flatus after mutes.

Now as to Sanscrit **ह**, usually written *h*. The following are the native descriptions (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 21). "Of the throat sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ. That is to say, as the commentator goes on to explain, the upper part of the throat, as place of production, is approached by the lower part of the throat, as instrument of production. As the sounds constituting the class, he mentions *a*, in its short, long, and protracted values, *h*, and the *visarjaniya*." The Rik Pr. classes *h* and the *visarjaniya* as chest-sounds; the Tāitt. Pr. reckons only these two as throat-sounds, and adds, "some regard *h* as having the same position with the following vowel, and *visarjaniya* with the preceding vowel." From the latter we previously deduced the value of *visarjaniya* as simply (ph). But *h* is *not* flatus; it is *voice*, being classed by the native commentator (*ib.* p. 18) with the vowels, sonant mutes, and semivowels. This Prof. Whitney, taking *h* to be (jh) in Sanscrit as well as in his own English (1132, *a'*), calls a "striking anomaly." It is certainly impossible that *h* should mean (jh) and be a voiced sound. Prof. Whitney says that in the fullest account (that in the Tāitt. Pr.) we read "that, while sound [voice] is produced in a closed throat, and simple breath [flatus] in an open one, the *h*-tone is uttered in an intermediate condition; and that this *h*-tone is the emitted material in the consonant *h*, and in 'fourth' mutes or

14. (wh)—*continued*.

sonant aspirates." And then Prof. W. adds: "I confess myself unable to derive any distinct idea from this description, knowing no intermediate utterance between breath and sound, excepting the stridulous tone of the loud whisper, which I cannot bring into any connection with an *h*. The Rik Pr. declares both breath and sound [flatus and voice] to be present in the sonant aspirates and in *h*, which could not possibly be true of the latter, unless it were composed, like the former, of two separate parts, a sonant and a surd; and this is impossible." Now it is evident that the writers are attempting to describe something which they can only vaguely hint at, for the whole glottal action was evidently unknown to them, that is, they had only vague subjective feeling in place of actual observation to deal with, and they were obliged to invent their language as they proceeded. The wonder is, not that they should be indistinct, but that they should have been generally so much *more* distinct than the host of European grammarians and orthoepists who succeeded them. Now the last indication, which is so impossible to Prof. Whitney, corresponds closely enough to the sensations produced by a *buzz*, in which there is much obstruction, so that the tone is broken, and the effect is felt as that of a mixture of breath and voice (1101, *c'*). The sound of a whisper (^h), which really partakes of both characters (1128, *c'*), would be too weak. The buzz results from much interruption to the tone, producing many strong beats, as heard in bass chords on an harmonium, and the 'natural' voice (1128, *d'*). It appears to me then that the whole description of the Tāitt. Pr. can be read thus: "*h* is a glottal buzz." There is, however, only one such sound, the bleat (g), see (1130, *e*). This is fully glottal, and can be uttered in the same position as the following vowel. In fact it is often uttered simultaneously with the vowel, which we may indicate by writing the vowel with a small *g* below, thus (g_a). Then by (ga) we properly mean (g_a + a), which is the exact counterpart of (gha) = ('aa + a). It may also in this case be nasalised, explaining the rule, "After *h* is inserted a *nāsikya* before a nasal mute" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 66), so that *brahma* would be perhaps

14. (wh)—*continued*.

(braçā ma). Any one who has listened to numerous sheep bleating and noted their various tones (as I have done to-day, 21 July, 1873, in Kensington Gardens), will have observed how extremely *nasal* they are, as are also the snarling beats of the canine *r*, which we have all learned "*sonat de nare*." It may also be uttered with a jerk, so that (gṇga) is quite conceivable. The forms (kṇha, gṇga) are then exactly correlative. I give the above as theoretical restitutions of the Sanserit 'seconds and fourths,' founded upon an interpretation of ancient native explanations, as translated by Prof. Whitney. But it does not follow that they are correct. I may have misunderstood the translator, the translator may have misunderstood the native author, and, very probably, the native author himself may not have been himself clearly conscious of his own feelings, may have failed to express himself properly, and may have been hampered with conventional terms. It becomes important, therefore, to examine the existing native use of these 'seconds' and 'fourths,' and the aspirate, all of which are living and significant in modern Hindustani.

If the observations of Brücke upon a moonshee, as detailed by Rumpelt (on pp. 138-140 of *Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute*, Halle, 1869, 8vo. pp. 227), are correct, the first (kṇha) remains, and the second (gṇga) is changed. He says: "The mutes explode with open glottis (bei nicht tönender Stimritze); when *not* aspirated, the glottis is immediately contracted for voice, so that the vowel may sound directly after the closure is relaxed; when aspirated, the contraction of the glottis is delayed, the flatus is allowed to escape for an instant through the open glottis, and *h* results, gliding on to the following vowel as the glottis again contracts for voice." This corresponds really to (k,a, kḥa). The Indian himself said, according to Arendt (Rumpelt, *ib.* p. 139), that the German *p*, *t*, *k*, were neither aspirated nor not-aspirated, but nearer to the former than the latter. That is, probably, he heard (pṭ, tṭ, kṭ). The 'fourths' were never pronounced (g'ṇha), as is customary with German Sanseritists, but "generally the glottis was opened *before* the relaxation of the closure of the mouth,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

so that the sonant, begun with voice, exploded as voiceless, which might be written *gkha*" = (g-kḥa) or nearly ('gkḥa). "When this was not the case, the *h* was fully separated from the mute, as in syllabic division, e.g. *pig-hūḥna*, *ad-ha*, *ab-hi*, and even finally as *bag-h*." These cases are both easy, as (ad)ṇḥa, bagṇu'h). But Rumpelt adds: "Be this as it may, I doubt whether the pronunciation of this Indian scholar gives the universal rule, but think it may result from a deterioration which is not universal in the east," and he prefers ('gṇḥa), which is of course possible, but totally opposed to the native commentators just cited, who make the aspiration sonant.

The above identification of the ancient Sanserit *h* with the Semitic (g) is quite new. Prof. Whitney (*op. cit.* p. 18) suggests the Arabic (grh), but this is formed with the uvula, tongue and palate, and the Sanserit *h* must be glottal. The same objection applies to (gh), which Bopp adopted, and to which I leaned before reading the native explanations just cited. That (g) should be confused with (grh) is natural. Even in Denmark the (ṭ) is imitated by (r), and (ṭ, r) = (,g, ,grh). In the Septuagint we constantly find γ for β, and γ was then probably (gh) as now. Sometimes the Greeks omit it, and it is generally supposed that the letter β represented both sounds (g, grh), but this is not at all phonetically necessary. Consequently that an historical β gh = (gg), which is the etymological descent of Sanserit *h* in almost all cases (Whitney, *ib.* p. 18), should degenerate into (g) by the omission of the (g), is what this hypothesis would lead us to anticipate. Sanserit *h* corresponds with Latin *h*, *g*, *c*, Greek χ, γ, κ, Lithuanian *z'*, *sz*, *g* = (zh, sh, g), Gothic *h*, *g*, old high German *h*, and Persian (nh, s, krlh), which are also explicable by (g) through the (grh) relation. Although this (g) value of Sn, *h* is thus seen to answer every required condition, yet the extreme difficulty which English people feel in appreciating (g) leads me to recommend them the use of the easy (ṇ) in its place, where no flatus at all is uttered, thus distinguishing ख घ as (kḥa, gṇa), surd and sonant.

Since writing the above I had the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

opportunity, already mentioned (1102, *b*), of examining the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee. So far as I could observe, his *h* ह was a pure jerk (*h*), not very strong and unaccompanied by any hiss. The "first" क (*k*) was thoroughly English (*k*, *a*), without any tendency to (*kj*) that I could detect. In the "second" ख I heard generally (*kj*), sometimes (*kjha*), but scarcely ever (*kh*), unless perhaps he was particularly anxious to make me hear the sound. The "third" ग was indistinguishable from English (*g*), there was none of the German inflatus (*g*), or implosion (*ka*). The "fourth" घ seemed simply (*gh*), that is in pronouncing (*g*) the vowel was brought out with a little more force. Most Englishmen would have considered his (*kj*, *gh*) as mere foreign 'corruptions' of (*k*, *g*). There was nothing in them that they had not heard from foreigners, and from Irishmen constantly. The sound was not (*gg*), but of course (*gh*) might very easily become a refinement of such a sound. The point however which struck me was, that the old Indian ह, which the native commentators classed with the sonants, was still a sonant, to the extent of not being a surd, with not even a buzz or trill about it, but merely a method of jerking out the following vowel. My instructor volunteered that when he said घ he only pronounced the following vowel "a little more strongly," and he mentioned, in order to repudiate it, the late Prof. Goldstücker's pronunciation (*g'rh*), of his own accord, that is, without anything said by me to lead up to his observation. It appears then that the recommendation I have given to call ख घ (*kjha* *gha*) accords so closely with one native gentleman's pronunciation that when I thus pronounced to him he acknowledged the sounds. I did not take the case of a final *h*, as in (*bragma*), and hence this information was incomplete.

It was in order to complete the information I had received from Mr. Mookerjee, and to contrast it with the usages of others, that I obtained the assistance of Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*), who was pointed out to me by Prof. Childers, of the India Office Library, as the person from whom I could obtain the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

most trustworthy native assistance in London, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gupta for the patience and care with which he sought to meet my wishes. Of course it would be advisable to hear very much more than it was possible to condense into an hour's observation, and also to hear different readers of equal information read the same words. But as phonetic observations upon cultivated native Sanscrit pronunciation at the present day, made by persons who have studied the theory of speech-sounds, are certainly rare, I think it will be advisable in this place to reproduce the notes I made at the moment, as a basis for future observations. I have already had to refer three times to the information then obtained (1096, *a*, 1103, *c*, 1120, *e*), but it will be convenient to repeat the notes in their proper place. The method adopted was to present certain combinations in Sanscrit characters, prepared beforehand, and, by hearing them repeatedly pronounced, to note the sounds in palaeotype, making a few hasty observations, which were expanded immediately after Mr. Gupta's departure, while my recollection of the conversation that had passed was quite fresh. I shall now print the Sanscrit and palaeotype, with nearly a verbatim reproduction of those notes, which I regard as documents, and hence bracket all subsequent additions.

Modern Indian Pronunciation of Sanscrit.

अ (*a*) आ (*aa*) इ (*i*) ई (*ii*) उ (*u*)

ऊ (*uu*). Observe the pairs (*a* *aa*, *i* *ii*, *u* *uu*). [The short vowels were distinctly of a different quality from the long. The two first were *not* (*a*, *aa*), as usually laid down. The Scotch (*a*) and English (*i*, *u*) were very marked.]

ऋ occasionally (*ri*) when pronounced separately, but otherwise (*ri*), *not* (*uri*). [Also *not* (*ori*). Denticity not noticed.]

ॠ (*rii*, *ri*) under the same circumstances.

ऌ (*lri*) when pronounced separately, but क्लृप was (*klip*) [exactly like the English word *clip*], *not* (*klrip*). [In this (*lri*) the (*l*) seemed to me more evident and the (*r*) less evident than in the Japanese (*lr*), so that the result might

14. (wh)—*continued*.

be rather written (lr). But as the sound never occurs except as the name of a letter, very little weight is attachable to this observation.]

ॠ (lrii) so called, but it does not occur separately.

ए (ee) or even (EE), distinctly very open [and this was still clearer in combination].

ऐ (ái), occasionally (ái), and when pronounced separately, fully (á-i) [with the Italian looseness and slur].

ओ (oo) quite open, nearly (AA) in connected words [no approach to (oo, oo'w)].

औ (áu) or (áu, á-u) as for (ái). [In neither (ái) nor (áu) was there a further prolongation of the first element than is natural to a slurred combination, in comparison to the English type (ái).]

का (k,aa) quite English [that is, with closed glottis; not as in German].

खा (k,aa). It seemed to be merely the open glottis (k), but occasionally (k^h) might be heard. [It was distinctly *not* (k^haa) or (k^hh^haa), and totally different from *kh* in the celebrated *inkhorn*.]

गू (guu) English [no German inflatus (1113, b)].

घू (ghuu), with stronger vowel, distinctly *not* (g'huu, g'^hhuu), which was derided. [The sound may be heard from many an Irishman saying *goose*. The vowel seemed to be *jerked* out quietly with the (h) which is natural to me. The form (g.uu) would seem to imply a greater continuity of pressure, and (g.uu) too much abruptness. Neither does (g'uu) with the sign of closeness (1127, b) appear correct. The result was identical with Mr. Mookerjee's. It appears, then, that the conjecture respecting the pronunciation of भ घ ङ as (bu du gu),—where I ought of course to have written (dir),—which first led me theoretically to the assumption of a pure *jerk* (u) as the basis of post-aspiration (1125, b'), is entirely confirmed by the actually observed practice of two native Bengalese gentlemen.]

डि. Not used initially, this ड is merely (q), and is used final for

14. (wh)—*continued*.

necessary (*anusáara*). [Mr. Gupta did not seem able to say (q'), and hence the combination was not pronounced.]

चो (kjo), Bell's 2e (15, b), distinctly an explodent, no hiss at all, not (tj). [See (1120, c).]

को but in this letter a hiss occurred (k^hjho), and hence the resemblance to English (t^hsh) was very close, in fact (t^hsh) was near enough. [The close squeezing of (k^h) when opened on an open glottis, as (k^hj), necessarily engenders (j^h), and the resulting (k^hj^h) comes so close in effect to English (t^hsh), that the two sounds are readily confused, and I have no doubt that I confused them at the time, as (k^h) was not a familiar sound to me.]

जा (g^haa) decidedly an explodent, and *not* (d^hzh), nor (zh) simply.

फा (g^haa) for (g^huaa); the intension was always (g^huaa), but (g^hnaa) was occasionally said; some speakers, according to Mr. Gupta, make the sound closer than others. [This was his expression when I pointed out to him the insertion of ('), but observe that even then no (h^h)—that is, no flatus—was introduced. The combination is rare, but (g^huaa) is quite as easy as (g^haa), after a very little practice.]

ज (nj), very close as in closest French, but not (n^hj) at all, only used before (k, g^h). [I heard (nj), but this may have been an error of ear for (qj).]

टा (t,aa), simple English (t), no inversion of tongue at all, see (1096, b).

ता (t,aa), pure dental (t), tongue against teeth, French *t*; the only English dentals, according to Mr. Gupta, are (th, dh). [These (t, t) were pronounced with vowels, thus (taa, taa, tii, tii, tuu, tuu), in rapid alternation, till the distinction became as clear as between (sh, th).]

था (t^haa) or (t^hh^haa), ठा (t^haa) or (t^hh^haa). [These were written in a different order to the last pair, and rapidly alternated, to shew the distinction.]

धा (d^haa), ढा (d^haa).

ना (naa), before a dental त द (n) is heard, and the sound is perhaps always (n).

णा (naa), before a cerebral ट ड (n) is heard, before a vowel न ण are both (n), not distinguished (1096, c').

14. (wh)—*continued*.

पी (p,ii), quite English, फी (p,ii, phii).

बू (buu), भू (bhūu) distinct, no approach to (b'ūhuu).

मी (mii), English.

ये (jee), English (j).

रे (ree) or (ree). After a dental *r* is dental, the tongue *not* being drawn back, as (i.r). Mr. Gupta could not recall a word where *r* stands after a cerebral. [Initially Mr. Gupta had always an apparent tendency to insert (ə) or ('h) before (r), thus (ə,rii); this arose perhaps from some voice escaping before the beat of the trill became evident. The Prāticā-khyas require a ('h) to be inserted distinctly between (r) and a following 'spirant' (jh, sh, s, n), and more briefly between (r) and any other following consonant. I did not observe this, which is, however, common in European speech when there is a trill. I have frequently not noticed the dentality of (r), probably from not knowing it well.]

ले (lee), English [that is, I did not detect any special dentality, as (l)].

वे (vee), but often (lvee) [that is, with very moderate dentality], and apparently very like (bh, b) occasionally, in Bengalee always (b). See (1103, c). After a consonant व is quite (w) or rather (u-) diphthongising with the following vowel, and I find य becomes a similar diphthongising (i-) under the same circumstances.

शी पी both (shii), no distinction whatever made between श ष, they are different letters having the same sound; occasionally श seems more retracted, but the distinction is now quite lost. See (1126, c').

सी (sii), English. In conversational Bengalee often (ii), not (nh). [The last fact was ascertained by special questioning, as I anticipated hearing (nh), on account of the hiss, and the old *êξ* *ser* relations.]

हा (uaa). When Mr. Gupta was emphatic, (u'h) crept out; but it was always a very mild sound and the intention was evidently to emit no flatus. It was in no respect an (nh) which could have grown from a (kh). In

14. (wh)—*continued*.

conversation uneducated Bengalees leave it out altogether. [A remarkable fact in connection with our own frequent omission of *h*, and its powerlessness to save a vowel from elision in older English as well as Greek and Latin, and its disappearance in modern Greek and Romance.]

This pronunciation is after Benares and not Bengalee custom. [In addition to the above pronunciations of simple syllables, I tried a few actual words, which will illustrate the Sanserit phonetic synthesis; but this is so peculiar and important, and was so totally unanticipated by me, that instead of a few examples at the end of an hour's instruction, a long study should be devoted to it. Some of the following observations, however, appear to be new.]

प्रातिशाख्य (praatishāaikiā), the य occasioned an anticipation of (i) in the preceding syllable, and the ख्य became = (kiā), that is, nearly = (-ksha). [We have here an instance of the anticipation of a following vowel by absolutely inserting it audibly in the preceding syllable, just as a note of a following chord is often anticipated to form a dissonance in the preceding chord, whereas in the German *unlaut* the following vowel merely gradates the preceding in a peculiar manner. Next we see the change of (j) to (i) after a consonant, this vowel however diphthongising with the following. The action of (k) on this vowel necessarily produces ("i), which is scarcely separable from (jh). In fact a written (aakja) becomes a spoken (āukhiā), the hiss after the (k), which arises from commencing with an open glottis, being converted by the following (i), used for (j), into the true palatal (jh), by the same action which determined the native rule: "visarjanīya, before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 96). As I was totally unprepared for this complicated action, I was much impressed by it, and ascertained the correctness of my analysis by several repetitions. On inquiring respecting the position of the *accent*, the answer was:] No accent beyond the quantity, no other accent known. Mr. Gupta knew that accents were written in the Vedas, but he knew nothing of the Vedas, or of the meaning of their

14. (wh)—*continued*.

accents. He read by quantity strictly [making a very marked distinction between short and long vowels. In speaking English Mr. Gupta seemed never to place the accent wrongly, as I have heard Indians not unfrequently do, who spoke English otherwise very well. He must have therefore fully understood my question. The next words are from Bopp's *Nalus*, lib. i. sloka 3, and the Latin translation added is Bopp's].

ब्रह्मण्यो *religiosus* (bra:muái,njiióo), (bra:) followed by a silence, not (h), not (nh), not (j). [The (:): is a sudden check to the sound, a dead pull up; but it did not seem to be done with a jerk, although it imitated the jerk and replaced it. It was not (g), there was hence no such effect as (bra.g.), already described (1135, a), indeed the ह h, although written as interlaced with the म m, instead of allowing the nasality of (m) to be anticipated on the vowel, completely separated the vowel from the (m). If any nasality was anticipated, I failed to notice it. But there were so many other curiosities in the word, that I might have readily overlooked so slight a difference as that between (a a:). The silence after (:): produced the effect of lengthening the first syllable, although in itself this syllable was extremely short. I regret that I had marked no case like *upadhmaniya*, where a post-aspirated media comes before a sonant consonant. I can only conjecture by analogy that the effect of the post-aspirate would be merely to check or shorten the preceding consonant, introducing a pause, and that this word might consequently be called (upa:dm:muái,njiiia). It is well known that dh before a pause becomes (t). The latter part of the word is given on the analogy of what follows. The next sounds shew remarkable effects, and I had the word repeated many times to note them. The Sanscrit letters indicate only (ma:njoo), all else is generated. The labiality of (m) generated either an (n) or (o) sound upon the coming (a); (a) being as we know the labialisation of (a), it would be most natural, but as Indian organs are not accustomed to any short (a, o)-sound, but are used to short (u), it is probable that (u) was really uttered, although I received it as (u). It was very transient, but unmistakably

14. (wh)—*continued*.

touched. Then came (a) short with the force, and followed, as in the last case, by an (i) anticipated from the य (j) in the next syllable. Result so far, (muái), which is probably more correct than (muái). Representing a short vowel, the whole triphthong was short and glided on to the (n), on which weight was laid. Now however ensued an action of the य (j), converted into (i) after a consonant as usual, and this displayed itself by converting (n) into (nj), as it sounded to me, but (qj) may have been the sound of course, as a palatal generated by the palatal. By this introduction sufficient time was gained for lengthening the syllable, and then the voice fell rapidly and briefly on the (i), and passed on to a long broad sustained (oo), producing the singular result (bra:muái,njiióo), as it may perhaps be written.]

वेदविच् कूरो *Vedorum-gnarus*,

heros, (vee,davit kjuu:roo). I think (tkj) was (tjkj) meant for (kjkj), after the Italian model. Mr. Gupta complained of the separation of the words, the च् कू for कू causing him to hesitate. There was no real doubling of (kj), but the first seemed to be a coronal (t), and not the dental (t), which would have been impossible as the substitute for a palatal. The lengthening of the syllable (vit) by the doubled consonant was very clear.] The quantities were brought out beautifully.

निषधेयु in *Nischadhis* (nishadhee-shu). [The long vowel quite distinctly marked, no glide of (shu) on to (du), the (dhee) given very quietly, but quite distinct from (dec), and with no approach to (shad)uhee].]

महीपतिः *terrae-dominus* (mauii-pa:ti). Observe the visarga at the end distinct. [The effect of (ti) was clearly (ti:i) or nearly (ti:hi), but very short and quick, just touched, and hence not so strong as would be implied by writing (ti:h). The medial (u) was quite different from (uh). The first six words that follow are from the 5th sloka of *Nalus*.]

तथै 'वा' सोद्र विदर्भेयु *ita quoque fuit in Vidarbhis* (ta:taí vaa siú)

14. (wh)—*continued.*

vi_{darbueesha}). [The dentality of (r) not observed.]

भीमो भोमपराक्रमः *Bhimus timenda-ri* (bhiimoo bhiimapaarakrama). [The dentality of (r) not observed; the (a) distinct.]

धर्मवत् *officiorum-gnarus* (dharmavīti). [Sloka 7.]

सुमध्यमा *pulchro-medio corpore praedita* (suma dhiidmaa). [There being no hiss, there is no generation of (jh) in (dhiidā). It is seen that the difficulty of (dhj) was got over by taking (j) as (i). From sloka 10.]

शतं सखीनञ्च *centum amicarum* (shataq sakji,uaanj kja). [Perhaps (qj) would have been more correct than (nj). Sloka 11. This concludes the observations on Mr. Gupta's pronunciation.]

Returning to English sounds I may notice the following information received from Prof. Haldeman: "About the year 1850, the lower classes of New York developed the form *b'hoy* from *boy*. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say *b'hoy*. This sound is rather an enforced than an 'aspirate' *b*, and is due to energetic speech, like German *pf* for *p*. In questions between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that *p* is older than *p'h*, *pf*, and *f*, and *f* often newer than *p'h*; and *k*, *k'h*, *kh*, *χ*, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself *p'hal*, fruit, has fallen into *fal* dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial *ph*." Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bn'f'i), and was it adopted from the Irish (bn'f'iz) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p b, t d, k g), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (ph bu, tñ du, kñ gu). It has also the pairs of hisses and buzzes (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh) and, as I think, (wh w, jh j). But the murmurs (r, l, m, n, ŋ) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a *sauhitā* action of a following voiceless letter (1111, *b*), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most

14. (wh)—*continued.*

marked European correlative of this combined Sanscrit action, to which we have very little corresponding in English. In all languages there are many synthetically generated sounds which are not marked in the alphabet. Thus I noticed a generated (z) in Mr. Magnússon's Icelandic (547, *ab*), and a generated (lh, mh, nh) after or before mutes (545, *d*. 546, *a*). In Sanscrit we have already noticed (1132, *a*) a generated (kh, ph) from Prof. Whitney, and other generated sounds from Mr. Gupta's pronunciation. The rules for the conversion of Sanscrit *m*, *n*, before surd mutes, into *risarjaniya* (Whitney, *ibid.* pp. 84, 85), seem to me to speak of this insertion of a generated (mh, nh) as (m-mh-p, n-nh-t) for (mñh, nñh) = (m-mh, n-nh). "It is sufficiently evident," says Prof. Whitney (*ibid.* p. 86), "that this insertion of a sibilant after a final *n*, before a surd mute, is no proper phonetical process: the combination of the nasal and following non-nasal is perfectly natural and easy, without the aid of a transition sound, nor can any physical explanation be given of the thrusting in between them of a sibilant which only enumerates the conjunction," and consequently he resorts to an historical development, which of course may have been the real process adopted. But it does not follow that the insertion may not be perfectly natural. The difficulty arises, not from the passage of a nasal into a non-nasal, but from voice to voicelessness. Now to us such a passage as (tiit) is easy enough, and most of us say simply (t < ii > t'). But it is easily imaginable that the glides must be mixed in some persons' mouths as (t < "ii-ii-ii-ii-ii" > t < 'h) or (tññññt'), where the change from voicelessness to voice takes place in the position of the voiced letter. In this case such a combination as (felt, kemp, tent, thi'qk) would be impossible, or at least disagreeable to his organs, which demand (fel-lh-t, kem-mh-p, ten-nh-t, thi'q-ql-k), or, using the *risarjaniya* (ñh), as would be natural in languages which had a sign for that, and not for (mh, nh), we should write (felñht, kemñhp, tenñht, thi'qñk). Is such a state of things actual or only theoretical? I hear the four English words as (felt', kemp', tent', thi'qk'), Mr. Melville Bell gives them as (felñht, kemñhp', tenñht', thi'qñk'),

14. (wh)—*continued*.

and says expressly (English Visible Speech for the Million, p. 15): "The abrupt *non-vocal* articulation of the 'liquids' *l, m, n, ng*, when before non-vocal consonants, is exhibited in the printing of such words as *felt, lamp, tent, think*, etc. In deliberate pronunciation, the voiceless *l, m*, etc., receive an initial *trace* of vocality from the preceding vowels;" that is, he admits (fē-l-lht'), etc., "but if an attempt be made to *prolong* the 'liquid,' without altering its vernacular effect, the *characteristic voicelessness* of the latter will be demonstrated to the ear. The peculiarity of 'foreign' pronunciation of these English syllables arises simply from the undue *vocality* which is given to the *l, m*, etc." I do not know to what particular 'foreign' pronunciation he was alluding, but I do not recognize a *predominance* of (lh) as English. It is possible that (fel-lh-t'), etc., may be said, but I have no more difficulty in saying (felt') than in saying (fiet'), that is, I can run the vocality on to the voiceless mute, and then cut it suddenly off, without any interposition of the hiss (lh). A distinct and much more a predominant pronunciation of (lh), etc., is something new to me. But in listening in 1870 to the English public speaking of Keshub Chunder Sen, a Bengalese gentleman, of considerable education, founder of the Brahmo Somaj or Indian theistic church, I was struck by the way in which he conveyed the vocality of his (l, m, n) into the following consonant, when it should have been quite voiceless, and then having given a faint indication of the voiced effect, passed on to voicelessness, *during* that consonant. This was more apparent when the following consonant was a hiss. His *since* was (sîn-lz-s), his *felt* was (fel-l-t'), the effect of which to an English ear was to create a confusion between *since* and *sins*, *felt* and *felled*. Now this was the more remarkable, because of our own habit of calling *sins* (sînz), see (547, *b*) and (1104, *c*), so that it would certainly be more English to call *since* (sînhz) than (sînz). But the point to be noticed here is the *visarjanīya* or (h) effect produced, the real change from voicelessness to voice and conversely, in the same position. We might write (sînhz, sînzph) for (sîn nh-s, sînz-s). The introduction of whisper before or after

14. (wh)—*continued*.

voice is *not* confined to vowels, but may occur with any voiced consonants, and different ears will recognise the effect of the same pronunciations differently, according to the attention which education or habit has led them to give to the voiced or voiceless parts respectively. A German says (szizeren) for *sir sehen*, and (szii! szii!) for *sich! sich!*, but he only knows and teaches that he says (zizeren, zii! zii!). An Englishman says (briidhz), but believes he says (briidhz), and if a voiced letter follows he does so. But he never says (thdheer) as a German would, if he could. German is very deficient in correspondences of voiced and voiceless letters. Even if we admit initial and medial (p_h b, t_h d, k_h g), we find only final (p, t, k) or at most (-bp, -d_ht, -gk). Then to German (f) there is no (v), except in the north of Germany, and even there the (v) for (bh) arises so differently that there is no feeling of pairing, and hence (fvii) for (bhii) would be strange. And in those parts of Germany where (bh) is certainly pronounced, (ph) is only generated, and not even acknowledged, except by phonologists, in *pfau*=(p-phâu), so that (p_hbhii) could not occur. The Germans have (sh) but no (zh), and (t sh) but no (d zh). They have (kh, kjh), but only medial and final, except in the syllable *-chen*, and some generated *ge*'s. Their (gh, gjh) are only medial. They know nothing of (lh, rh, mh, nh, qh), and hence there is no tendency to any *visarjanīya* consonant effect, except in initial (sz-). In English we have certainly, before a pause, (-zs, -dhth) frequently, and (-vf) occasionally, but as (zh) is never final, we have no (zh, sh). The consonantal diphthong in *judge*, however, often yields (d_hzhədz_hsh), which Germans, at best, pronounce (t_hshədt_hsh), and a very curious effect they produce, making the (əd) extremely short. In the case of (l, m, n, q) we prolong them indefinitely as vocal, and so, I think, do Germans, with the exception of (q), which becomes (qk') very often in Germany.

We are now prepared to consider the very difficult Ags. *hw, hr, hl, hm, hn*, with the Old Norse *hj, hr*, see (513, *a*), (544, *a*). Prof. Whitney, after defining *h* as (jh), see (1132, *a'*), continues (Ath. V. Pr. p. 66): "Thus the *h*'s of *ha*, of *hi*, of *hu*, and those heard before the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

semi-vowels *w* and *y* in the English words *when* and *hue*, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. *H* is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it." He therefore says, and hears from such American English speakers as do not omit the voiceless part altogether, (phaa, phii, phuu, phwen, phiú), and he is apparently so convinced that all English speakers agree with himself and those whom he has both heard and noted, that he says elsewhere (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 251) that Prof. Max Müller's "definition of the *wh* in *when*, etc., as a simple whispered counterpart of *w* in *wen*, instead of a *w* with a prefixed aspiration, is, we think, clearly false." When Prof. Max Müller, as a German, appealed to the opinions of Mr. M. Bell and myself as English phonologists who agreed with him, Prof. Whitney replied (*ibid* p. 271): "The true phonetic value of the *wh*, as is well known to all who have studied English phonology, is greatly controverted; we happen to have a strong conviction on one side, which we take every convenient opportunity of expressing, without intending disrespect to those who differ from us." And then, alluding to me, he says, "We feel less scruple about disagreeing with him as to this particular point, inasmuch as he (and Bell as well) has what we cannot but regard as a special weakness in respect to labial modifications of vowels and consonants. With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *dwell*, for example, to be not a *w* with *d* prefixed, but a labially modified *d*, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound." On (*dwe*) see (1115, *b*), where the last sentence was quoted without its context. The cases of (*wh*, *dwe*) are not quite parallel, but this is of small importance. Prof. Whitney's *wh* = my (phw) = my (wh-w). Now, of course, Prof. Whitney is an incontrovertible authority as to the way in which he pronounces, and wishes others to pronounce, the initial sounds of his own name, but that he should find it necessary to "take every convenient opportunity of expressing" his own "strong conviction" respecting the correctness of his analysis, shews me that he must have met with many who dis-

14. (wh)—*continued*.

puted it. Possibly he is often called (Wítu), as he certainly would be generally in London, and that must be as annoying as for *Smith* to be called (Zmis), as he would certainly be in France. That, however, (phwiil) = (whwiil) is an acknowledged theoretical American pronunciation, the uncorroborated assertion of Prof. Whitney would be sufficient to establish. And it is not uncorroborated.

Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Columbia, Pennsylvania, U.S., says (Analytic Orthography, p. 101): "Latin *V* has a surd aspirate in English *wh*, which is always followed by *V way*, as in *when* = (whwen), which is not (when), as some suppose, nor is it *hwen*, as *hden* is not *then*. Unfortunately, this sound is departing. We heard *wig* for *whig*, the first time in July, 1848, and not unfrequently since. When this confusion is established between *when*; *wen*; *where*; *which*; *witch*; *wet*; *wet*; *wey*; *way*; *wheel*; *weal*; the language will have ceased to be a refined one. The sound probably belongs to Welsh, provincial Danish, and ancient Greek." And in a note received while this was being prepared for press he observes: "If *when* is not my *wh-w-e-n* but *wh-e-n*, it approaches *fen*, as *wh-i-ch* approaches *fitch*," [precisely, and so we get Aberdeen (f) for initial (wh), and have got our received final (f) in *laugh dwarf*.] "I think those who say *w-e-n* drop *wh* and do not drop the aspirate merely. Similarly if *hue* is not (jh-j-u) but (jh-u), then it approaches (sh-u). Query, are not Lancashire *hoo* and Leeds *shoo*, both meaning *she*, both derived from *heó* ags., the one through (nhéóo, nhúó, nhú?, nhun) regular dialectal changes, and the other through (nhéóo nhíóó jhóó shóó)? The peculiar dialectal pronunciations will be discussed hereafter. The usual theory gives *hoo* to *heó*, and *she*, *shoo* to *seó*. But *she* could also come from *heó* through (nhéóo nhéóo jhé' she). The vowel changes will be justified hereafter. The form *gho* occurs in Ormin (488. *d*), and *ghe*, *ge* in Genesis and Exodus (467, *ed*).

Prof. Haldeman adds: "I have known an intelligent lecturer on grammar to assert that in *when*, etc., the *h* precedes the *w*—meaning a true *h*. I then proposed that he should set his mouth for the initial of *hen*. 'Now

14. (wh)—*continued*.

say *when*.' Of course he failed, and admitted the labial nature of the initial. I have a cognate experiment upon about the only point where we do not agree. I say, 'Set the mouth for the initial of *ooze*, let it stand while you are *imagining* the syllab *now*, but relax at its final element and let the lips drop into —*w*. The result is a closer sound than that of *ooze* or *full*.' 'Set the mouth for the vowel of *eel* or *ill*, then imagine the organs relaxed upon the last element of *eye* or *boy*, when a closure of the organs will be felt.' I admit your glide, but a glide that proceeds to a consonant, and might proceed from *oo* to *b*. The glide is present in *boa* and *chaos*, but it cannot turn them into monosyllabs." These last remarks relate to my theory of diphthongs, and the experiment is to shew that the last element is consonantal. So it is, in the pronunciation of several English persons, but that is not sufficient for a general theory of diphthongs. The last examples, *boa* and *chaos*, are met by my slur — theory.

Prof. F. A. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., in his private letter of 22 March, 1872,—already cited (1092, c),—has most obligingly entered into so much detail that I think it will be interesting and useful to quote his remarks at length. He says: "You call my *wh* (wh + w). I suppose you call my *h* (wh) because I have set my organs for (w) when I issue it. I suspect something wrong here, and fear that I have misled you as to the sound. When I say *he*, I set the organs for *e* (i) and issue surd breath; to say *ha*, I set for *a* (aa) and issue surd breath, and so for other combinations" [That is, he says ("i", "aa") initially, or (hi), (phaa) conjointly.] "No separate characters are used to indicate these 'settings.'" [*Hinc illuc lacrymae*!]" "I do not then see why *hw* is not the proper notation for my *wh*." [If *h* always indicated (h), then *hw* would indicate (hwh) = (whw), which is Prof. March's *wh*,—but not mine.] "When I compare *hoo* and *hwen* = *when*, it seems to me that the initial surd sound before the lip movement in *hw* is identical." [If (w) differ from (u), as I believe, then (hwh) differs from (phu), the first giving (wu-w), the second ("u-u).]" "I have this moment stopped writing, and tried the experiment of saying *who eat*, pronouncing it as one word with

14. (wh)—*continued*.

the accent on *eat*, and the *o* = *oo* with slight sonancy. I find a person of good ear and some skilled attention takes it for *wheat*, and thinks it correctly uttered, though often repeated." [This depends upon habit. Now there are very various ways of uttering these words, and I feel sure that my *who eat* (uɹji:t), even when allowed to degenerate into mere (niɹi:t) is not at all like Prof. March's *wheat* = (whwi:t), but of course his (phu:it) would differ from (whwi:t) only as (uii) from (wii), and the existence of this difference for at least 300 years, since the time of Sir Thos. Smith (185, a), has been a matter of dispute in England.] "This seems to me to indicate that in our pronunciation the initial sound is *h* as in *hoo*, and that the following sound is very like your diphthongal *oo*" [that is, (u) forming a diphthong with a following vowel which has the chief stress. Here I omit a passage on etymology, subsequently referred to.] "I cannot but think that phonetically, as certainly etymologically, Ang.-Sax. and New England *hw*'s are labialised *h*'s, standing parallel with Lat. *qu*." [Here Prof. March actually adopts as an argument an idea of my own, that *qu* = (kw) and not (kw), which Prof. Whitney adduced as a reason for disagreeing with me!] "I think it likely that these remarks are wholly needless; but I find that I *can* issue breath through organs set for *w*, in such a way that it will have from the first a plain labial modification, so that I should call it *wh*. The sound I *do* make for *hw* is not that, I think; but, as I have tried to expound it, like *h*. Perhaps, I do not really set my organs for your *w*."

Another American phonetic authority propounds a slight difference. Mr. Goodwin (*op. cit.* p. 10) says: "As to *wh*, it has generally been maintained by modern English grammarians that it is pronounced *hw* (i.e. *hoo*), as it was written by the Anglo-Saxons. But we doubt not that if a man will observe carefully for himself how, and with *wha* difference, he pronounces *wit* and *whit*, he will be satisfied that the *h* is really pronounced neither before nor after the *w*, but in the same sort of constant combination with it, which characterizes any other aspirate as connected with its *h*-ene. Whether the *h*, therefore, should be printed before or after the *w*, is a matter of indifference,

14. (wh)—continued.

except so far as consistency in the notation of a given alphabet is concerned. *Wh* is certainly the most consistent with the rest of the English alphabet." This seems to favour (wh) rather than (ɬwɪt).

It seems to me that the difficulty has arisen from want of discriminating symbols. Now that it is quite possible to distinguish (ɬwɪt, ɬhuɪt, ɪɬhuɪt, ɬhuɪt, whiit, ɪwhiit = ɪɬhuɪt, whiit = ɬhuɪt, wiit), we may inquire in any particular case what *is* said. It is very probable, most probable, that in a case where accurate attention has been little paid, and where even symbolisation failed, great diversities exist, both traditionally and educationally, and that theorists should differ. Now it is certainly curious that three such competent American observers as Professors Whitney, Haldeman, and March, should practically agree in (wh-wiit) = (ɬhuɪt); and that two practised English observers like Mr. Melville Bell and myself should agree in (whiit). I have myself heard (wh-w) from Americans, and know that it differs from my own (wh-). Our Scotch friends called *quhat* (kwat), not (khwat), and in Aberdeen we have (fat), or perhaps (phat), see (188, b. 580, c). Now this last (fat) is as easy to say as (fæt), which no one would think of calling (fvæt), except perhaps in the Somersetshire district, where this may be the real sound that generated (fvæt), see (1104, b). But such combinations as (fv-, thdh-, sz-, shzh-) are as un-English as (ɬl-, mɬm-), etc., and hence I think that the analogy of our language is in favour of (whiit, ɬhu) = *wheat, hew*. It is true, I call the last word (ɬhiúu), which certainly approaches (ɬhuu), but may be an individuality, but the word is not common; and when it is used, the sound flutters between (juu) and (ɬhiúu). And similarly for *human, humour*, etc.

What *ought* we to say is another question. Should the Anglo-Saxon *hw* lead us to (wh-w-) in all cases? Prof. March, who is a potent authority in Anglo Saxon, says, in passage omitted on (1143, b'), from the letter there cited: "Is it not true that this initial *h* is a weakening of a guttural aspirate *ch*, which again is a shifting from a mute *k*, and that the labial *v, w, u* is a parasitic utterance, which has here and there attached itself to the true root letter? Sansk. *ka-*, Lith. *ka-*, Slav.

14. (wh)—continued.

ko-, Lat. *quo-*, Goth. *hwa*, A. Sax. *hwa*, Engl. *who*." We enter now on a great question, the discussion of which would lead us very far, namely on "parasitic utterances," where a new sound intrudes itself. This new sound in the case of vowels is generally (i, u), which shews itself often by a mere palatalisation or labialisation of the preceding consonant, and sometimes ousts the consonant altogether, compare Lat. *homo*, Ital. old *huomo*, new *uomo*. Sometimes the intruder is (a) before (i, u), which through (ai, au) sometimes pass to distinctly different vowels, as (e, o), and sometimes dropping the old original vowels altogether, yield up their lives to the intruder, as in Yorkshire (aa) for *I*, and (aas) for *house*, ags. *hús*. All of this will naturally present itself later on, § 2, No. 6, iv. It would be too far to go to Sanscrit *ka-* or Latin *quo-* as an authority for the pronunciation of English *who*. It is enough to go to ags. *hwa*, and observe that what on this theory we must regard as an intrusive parasitic *v* has in this case quite absorbed the *á*. If ags. was (whwaa), English is (huu) or (ɬhuu), or rather both.

Let us rather observe what has happened in old spellings, and we find *hw* of the xiith and xiiith centuries becoming *wh* in the xivth, which may be due to a change from (whw-) to (wh-), or may simply be due to a revision of orthography, the sound remaining unchanged. In the latter case the *h* was placed after to shew that the sound was one, not two, precisely as in the case of *th, sch*. But we also find at a very early date simple *w*, continually in Robert of Gloucester, sometimes in Layamon. The old *hl, hr, hn*, sank to *l, r, n* very rapidly. I see no means of determining whether the sounds were originally (khw, khɬ, khl, khr, khm, khn) or (ɬhw, ɬhɬ, ɬhl, ɬhr, ɬhm, ɬhn) = (whw, whɬ, ɬhl, ɬhr, mhm, nhn) or (wh, ɬh lh, rh, nh, nh). Plausible arguments and analogies will apply to all of them. The modern (w, j, l, r, m, n) could descend from any one of them. But on the whole I am most tempted to believe that (wh, ɬh, lh, rh, mh, nh) existed at so very early a time, that I feel unable to go higher. As a matter of, say, habit, I use (wh, ɬh, l, r, m, n) at present. If asked what is the sound of *wh* in *wheat*, I reply, that *I* say (wh), others say (whw), and by far the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

greater number of educated people in London say (w). These speakers are mutually intelligible to each other. Perhaps the (wh) and (whw) people may mark the (w), and think that "h is dropped." Perhaps the (w) may think the (wh) and (whw) folk have an odd northern pronunciation, but generally they will not notice the matter. The (wh) and (whw) people might converse together for hours without finding out that there was any difference between their habits. How many Englishmen, or even Germans, know that Germans habitually call *sieh* (szii) and not (zii)? How many Englishmen know that they habitually call emphatic *is* (izs) and not (iz) before a pause? Who is to blame whom? In such a matter, at least, we must own that "Whatever is, is right"—(whate:vari'z, izrə'it), as I repeat the words.

In these very excursive remarks the subject of aspiration is far from being exhausted, but as respects *wh* itself, it has been considered initially only. It constantly occurs *finally* in older English, as a form of *z*, perhaps at one time for (kh), or (kwh), of which it is an easier form, the back of the tongue being not quite so high, and hence the frication much less harsh, in (wh). Now this (wh) falls into (u), or drops away entirely, or becomes (f). Does not this look like (-kwh, -wh, -ph, -f) on the one hand, and (-kwh, -wh, -w, -u) on the other? I do not see a place for (-wwh)=(-wph), or *w* with *visar-janiya*. This observation points to the pure hiss (wh) in all cases, rather than the mixed (whw-) in one case, and the pure (-wh) in the other. But these are points for the older pronunciations. To gather present usage, we shall have to watch speakers very carefully.

(i). See No. 3, (ii), and No. 6, (i).

(p). The lips shut firmly, and the glottis closed airtight. If the glottis is in the voice position, the voice will sound producing (b), see (1103, a). In this case, where (p) is final, the effect is described (1111, a').

(whip). The glide (wh < i) is similar in its nature to the glide (s < i), see (1106, a). The glide (i < p) is similar

14. (whip)—*continued*.

to the glide (i > k), *ibid*. And the (p) glides off into pure flatus ('h) before a pause. Thus (whip) = (wh < i > p < 'h) before a pause.

With regard to the length of the glide (i > p) and such like, the following remarks of Mr. Sweet are very important (Philolog. Trans. 1873-4, p. 110): "In Danish all final consonants are short without exception. In English their quantity varies, the general rule being that they are *long* after a short, *short* after a long vowel; *tell* (tɛll), *bin* (bɪn), *tale* (tɛl), *been* (bi:n). Compare English *farewell* (fæɹəweɪl) with Danish *færvel* (fæɹvɛɪl). Liquids and nasals coming before another consonant follow the same laws in both languages: they are *long* before voice, *short* before breath consonants: (this was first noticed in Danish by E. Jessen; see his *Dansk Sproglaere*, p. 21. He has also noticed (in the T. f. Ph. ii.) the length of the E. final voice stops, treated of below, which I first discovered from comparing the E. and Norse sounds:) *ham* (ɸam), *hamre* (ɸammɪɹə), *vel* (vɛl), *vældig* (vɛldigh), *vælte* (vɛltɔ); *bill* (bɪll), *buil* (bɪld), *built* (bɪlt)." [It is possible that the different lengths of (ll, l) in such words as (bɪld, bɪlt) led Mr. Bell to his distinction (bɪld, bɪlt), see (1141, a).] "The short final stops in Danish and Norwegian are important as bringing out very clearly a peculiar feature of English pronunciation, which has not hitherto been noticed. This is our tendency to lengthen the final stops. It is seen most clearly in the vocal stops. Compare E. *egg* (egg) with Norw. *ægg* (eg). That the voiceless final stops are also long in E. is apparent from a comparison of Danish *kat*, *hat*, with E. *cat*, *hat* (kætt, hætt). In short we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tɛll, tɛil). In the ordinary London pronunciation, the quantity of originally short vowels seems to be perfectly indifferent, the only limitation being that a short vowel and a short consonant must not come together. No Englishman ever says (tɛl). He must either lengthen the consonant (tɛll), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (tɛɪl). I have often heard the latter from people of every rank, but chiefly among the vulgar."

14. (whip)—*continued*.

I wish to direct close attention to this original and acute observation. But the subject is, I think, far from exhausted. Mr. Sweet has not spoken of the *glide* between the vowel and the consonant. The very short (tel) of which he speaks would, to an Englishman, sound like an 'unfinished' (te!l), and be most safely written (tel:), and so pronounced would, if (EE) occurred in our language, give the effect of a long vowel, as in (teel), which we should have to write (teel:). If we are speaking of the relative lengths of the parts of syllables, we can only properly indicate them by superimposed numbers, as already suggested (1131, *d*). In

1 2 1 5 1 2 1 1 1 5 1 2
(t < E > l, t < E > l, t < E > l) we have perhaps the relations roughly indicated by (tel) or (te'l), (tel:) and (teel). Mr. Bell marks Scotch *ell* = (E'l), did

he mean (E'h > l) or (E'h > l)? For practical purposes I should prefer writing (te'l, tel, teel), and (tell, tel:, teel:) for theoretical investigation, when the exactness of numbers is not necessary.

15. LAMP, Bell's (læmhp),
my (lemhp).

(l). One of the divided consonants. The tip of the tongue in the (d)-position, but the sides free; whereas in (r) the sides are fixed in the (d)-position, but the tip is free to trill. Hence (d) is, so to speak, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (r) together, resulting in a complete stop, as (l) stops the central and (r) the side passages. If (lh), or flatus through the (l)-position, occurred either consciously or unconsciously in *hl* in ags. (1141, *d*), it is quite lost now. Even if Mr. Bell is right in supposing (lh) to be generated now (1141, *a*), it must be touched very lightly indeed. The Welsh *ll* (llh) differs from (lh), see (756, *bc*). In (756, *d*) it is wrongly said that (llh) occurs in Manx, whereas it is only the buzz of (llh) or (llh) which there occurs. Frenchmen do not admit that (lh) occurs in *table*, as stated in (756, *c*), but (lh) occurs both directly as *hl*, and indirectly before (t) in Icelandic (544, *a*, 545, *d*).

To the curious relation (d)-position

15. (l)—*continued*.

= (l)-position + (r)-position, is to be attributed the frequent confusions among (d, l, r). My own name, *Ellis*, has been frequently confused both with *Harris* and *Herries*. The Chinese, Japanese, as well as the Ancient Egyptians, and probably many other nations, confuse (l) and (r) systematically. In fact they seem not to know either (l) or (r), but to produce some intermediate sound, written (lr) and explained on (1133, *a*). The effect was that of a very short (l) or 'blurred' (r), followed by a distinct (r). When the (l) is distinct and (r) blurred, (lr) will be the proper form. Generally the combination (lr) or (lrr) is sufficient. The sounds could not be simultaneous, and the order appears to be (lr) not (rl). Both however are possible, and the symbols (lr, lr, lr, rl, rl, rl) must be selected accordingly. The combination (lr) necessarily recalls the transcription *brī, brī*, for Sanscrit ब्रि ब्रि, which in form are the letter *l* ल, with the combining form of the vowels ब्रि ब्रि, usually written *ri, ri*. Now these last may have been ('r, 'r, r) a short and long trilled voice, which is quite vocal. That Pāṇini should place them among the dentals, and the commentator on the Ath. V. Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 22) among the gutturals or *jihvāmūltya*, 'formed at the base of the tongue,' Prof. Whitney attributes to a diversity of pronunciation, as a dental (r) and uvular (r), while he considers the classification of *brī, brī*, in the same category as due to its occurring solely in the root *kb ip*, which begins with a guttural. The Rik Pr. makes the same classification; the Vāj. Pr. omits *brī, brī*, from the list. Now I think that the sign shews merely that ब्रि *brī* bears the same relation to ल *l* as ब्रि *ri* does to र *r*. All will in that case depend on the *ri* vowel. This the Ath. V. Pr. commentator (Whitney, p. 32) describes as "an *r* combined with a half-measure or *mātrā* in the middle of the vowel-measure in the *ri*-vowel, just as a nail is with the finger; like a pearl on a string, some say; like a worm in grass, say others." Now reflecting on the Polish *szez*, in which a continued (sh) is interrupted for a moment by throwing the tip of the tongue on to the hard palate and instantly withdrawing it, I

15. (l)—*continued*.

interpret this as a continued (ə) or (a), interrupted for a moment by two or three beats of a trill, produced by trilling the point of the tongue, which is tolerably free for (ə), so that we have nearly (ara), but by no means quite so, for first we have no proper glides (ə > r < ə), the true *r*-position not having been assumed, and secondly there is a feeling of a continued vowel-sound made *tremolo* in the middle, as has become the fashion in singing, and, consequently, thirdly the trill would differ from, at least, the theoretical (r), as the sound produced by a free-reed, or *anche libre*, as in an harmonium, from the sound produced by a striking-reed, as in the clarinet. It is remarkable that it acts to change (n) into (x), "within the limits of the same word" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 174), which would confirm this view, making (ora) in fact retracted in comparison with (r). There seems to have been a difficulty with the Indians as well as the English in pronouncing (r) trilled before any other consonant. I have heard German *kirche* given as *kiriche*. This is the case of (r) before a spirant, where the Indians seem to have required a more sensible insertion of a *svarabhakti*, 'fraction or fragment of a vowel' (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 67), in short of Mr. Bell's voice glide (h), than before other consonants. The Irish (wa-rək) is well known. Probably the process of speech changed Sanscrit (a-r) into (ara) and then into (ra) only. The 'guttural' classification of the (ara) may merely indicate the retraction of the root of the tongue consequent on its vowel instead of its dental character. The *tri* may have been merely (ala), a continued (a) interrupted in the middle by a non-dental (l) or approximation to it, and probably with no sound of (r) in it at all. These sounds are perhaps best written (ra, la), as the consonant part became predominant.

Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (see 1102, b), called *ri, ri* (uri, urii), with a very distinct (u), but he said that *tri, trii* were simple (li, lii). Both of these are apparently modernisms. But the (uri) at least shews that the sound consisted of some vowel, interrupted in what was perceptibly the middle of its duration by the beats of a trill. Mr. Gupta differed in this respect, (1136, d'. 1138, b').

15. (æ).

(æ). This vowel, as I pronounce it, is very thin, and foreigners have told me that I make no distinction between *man* and *men* (mæn, meū), or (mæn, men) according to Mr. Bell. The position of the tongue appears to be identical for (æ) and (e), so that all Germans, French, and Italians hear (æ) as their open *ä, é, e*. But the back parts of the mouth and pharynx appear to be widened, and the quality thus approaches to (a), which it has replaced. Many persons, however, seem to me to use (ah), even now, for (a). The true thin English sound occurs in Hungarian, written *e* in accented syllables, but I observed that on removing the stress, it seemed to fall into (æ). Land (*op. cit.* p. 16) says that the openest Dutch *e* sometimes approaches (a) in sound, and in the mouths of some speakers becomes quite the English (æ) in *man, bad*. He also says that Donders' *æ* (*op. cit.* p. 11), heard in Dutch *vet, gebed* = law, prayer, which is quite different from his *ea* heard in *bed*, is this (æ). In the Dutch of the Cape of Good Hope, (æ) appears to be the general pronunciation of open *e*. For the Somersetshire use, see (67, a), and for Welsh (67, e. 61, d). Mr. Nicol tells me that some English friends in Monmouthshire call *fach* (vekʰ, vekʰ) rather than (vækʰ), but call the first letter of the Welsh alphabet (aa), not (éé). With regard to the presumed use of (ææ) in Copenhagen, Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105) makes it (a) or "mid back wide forward," or "outer," as I have called it on (1107, c), for he says: "This vowel has a very thin sound, almost as in E. *hat*, the tongue being considerably advanced in the mouth, but without the front being raised, so that it is distinct from the mid-mixed (ah): *mane* (m.aanə); *mand* (m.a'u); *kat* (kʰ.at)," where I have duly marked the (a, 'u) and changed his (kʰ) into (kʰ). Really to distinguish (a, ah, æ) becomes very difficult, and few ears are to be trusted. Signor Pagliardini makes the French *a* rather (a) or (ah) than (u), the order of his vowels being, *pea, paid, pair, pat, patte* Fr., *part, (pur ʔ), paw, polygon, pole, pool, punir* Fr. These slight differentiations of sound, however, are important in the history of the transition from (a) to (æ), in England for the short vowel, and in Ireland for the long. I heard (pæepəɹ) only the

15. (æ)—*continued*.

other day from an Irish labourer. In England, however, the long vowel has gone much further, even to (e'j) or (éi). In a certain class of words there is even now great diversity of use (68*d*). Fulton and Knight (Dictionary, London, 1843) say: "A sounds (aa) before *rm*, *lm*, *lf*, and *tre*, as in bar ear, barb garb, bard pard, lark pork, harl (:) snarl, arm farm, barn darn, carp harp, art dart, barge large, earve starve, farce parse, march parch; *ba'm* *ea'm* *pa'm* *psalm*, *ca'f* *half*, *ea've* *ha've*. This sound is contracted into (a) before *ff*, *ft*, *ss*, *sk*, *sp*, *st*, (th) and *nce*, as in: chaff staff, graft shaft, lass pass, ask bask, asp clasp, east fast, bath lath path wrath, chance dance." Now in London I constantly hear (aa) in all these words from educated speakers, the *r* in *ar* being entirely dropped. On the other hand, I have heard (æ) in every one of the words also, and then, in the case of *ar*, either (æ') or (æ_c) was said, the vowel being short. I have also heard (a) short in every one, (a', ar_c) being used. Again, in those words which have no *r*, I frequently hear (ææ), and more frequently (ah), both short and long, especially from ladies, and those who do not like broad sounds. Apparently this dread arises from the fear that if they said (aask, laaf), they would be accused of the vulgarity of inserting an *r*, and when *arsk*, *larf*, are written, they "look so very vulgar." Yet these speakers frequently drop the (k) and say (ahst) for (aas't'). The tendency seems to be towards (baa, paak, baahm, saahm, raahf, tshæf, stæf, bahth lahth, raath, tshæns dæns), but the words vary so much from mouth to mouth, that *any* pronunciation would do, and *short* (a) would probably hit a mean to which no one would object. In a performance of *King John*, I heard Mrs. Charles Kean speak of "(kaæf) skin," with great emphasis, and Mr. Alfred Wigan immediately repeated it as "(kaaf) skin," with equal distinctness. Both were (I am sorry to use the past tense, though both are living off the stage) distinguished actors. Mr. Bell hears (a) in *part*, but I do not know (a) as a southern English sound.

(m). The lips are closed as for (b), but the uvula is detached from the

15. (m)—*continued*.

pharynx and there is *perfect* nasal resonance (1096, *d'*, 1123, *d*). As there is a perfectly open passage for the voice, there is no condensed air in the mouth. The hum of (m) is well known, and it is instructive to *sing* upon (m, n, q), with the mouth first closed throughout, and then open for (n, q). It will be found that the opening of the mouth makes no difference, and that the three sounds scarcely differ when the glides from and to vowels are omitted. When I had a phonetic printing office, the letters (m, n, q) had to be frequently asked for, and such difficulty was found in distinguishing them when the same vowel was used for each, as (em, en, eq), that it became necessary to alter the vowels and call the letters (æm, en, i'q), after which no trouble was experienced. Compare the modern Indian confusion of (n, n), mentioned in (1096, *c'*).

As to the use of (m) or (mh) or (m-mh) before (p) see (1141, *a*). The case is different when the following mute belongs to another organ. -*mk* does not occur, but -*mt* is frequent, as in *attempt*, and the tendency is to ent off the voice and close the nasal passage, before the lips are opened, so that (mp) or (mph) is generated. As to the length of the (m) in this case, see (1145, *be'*). It is I think usually short. When *mb* is written, as in *lamb*, the (b) is not heard, but (m) is long, as (kæmm, læ'm). Possibly at one time the nasality may have ceased before the voice, and thus real (lamb) may have been said, but I have not noticed such as a present usage. Compare (lægg) on (1124, *b'*). There is no tendency to develope an epenthetic (b) medially, compare *timmer*, *timber*, *longer* = (li'mæ, li'mbæ. læ'qgæ). But between (m) and (r) both French and Spanish introduce (b), compare Latin *numerus*, French and Spanish *nombre*. But in English dialects there is much tendency to omit any such (b), as Scotch *nummer*, and dialectal *timmer*, *chammer*, for *timber*, *chamber*.

Initial (m) is always short, except rhetorically, expressing doubt, but final (m), after even a buzz, becomes syllabic, as *schism*, *rhythm* = (si'z'm, ri'th'm). After *l* it is not syllabic, as *l* is either very short as in *elm* = (elm'), often vulgarly (e'l'm, e'lum), or *l* quite disappears, as in *alms* = (aamz's). After *r*,

15. (m)—*continued*.

when untrilled, and therefore purely voiced, *m* is not syllabic, and may be quite short, as in *warm* = (wAam) or (wA'hm, wAr,m). But when *r* is trilled, we frequently hear the syllabic *m*, as (wAr'm). This, however, is not a received sound.

(p). See No. 14, (p).

(læmp). The voice is set on with (l), which should be (l), not (l) or (phl). The murmur of (l) is very brief. The glide (l < æ) is almost quite the same as (d < æ), and the glide (æ > m) almost the same as (æ > b), but must be slightly changed by the dropping forward of the uvula at its termination. The lips should close at the same instant as the uvula falls, so that no (æ,) or (æx) should be heard. Then, as I think, the murmur (m) is continued for a short time, till both voice and nasality are cut off and (p) results, which, before a pause, is as usual made audible by flatus, thus (l < æ > m-p'). Mr. Bell, however, cuts off the voice with the closing of the lips and dropping of the uvula, allowing occasionally a trace of voice after closing the lips, and hence has generally (l < æ > mh-p') and occasionally (l < æ > m:-mh-p'). See (1140, d'). In all cases (p), having the position of (m), would be inaudible after (m), without some following flatus or voice.

16. ONIONS, Bell's (ænjenz), my (ə'njənz).

(ɜ, ə). See No. 1, (ɜ, ə).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(j). This bears the same relation to (i) as (w) does to (u). The position for (i) is so much contracted that clear resonance becomes no longer possible, and the buzz is produced. German writers pair (kjh, j), that is, they confuse (gjh, j) together. But the buzz of (gjh) is, to an Englishman's ears, much harsher than for his (j). Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed. 1863, p. 73) says: "It is to be observed that (gjh)," which he defines as the voiced form of *ch* in *milch* = (milkjh), "and the semivowel (j) are so near each other that (kjh) will hardly appear in any language as a

16. (j)—*continued*.

distinct sound by the side of (j)." But both of them really seem to me to exist in German. At least in Saxony, *general*, *könige*, *berge*, sounded to my ear as (gjhENERA:l, kɔ:ni:ghe, bER:gjhe); and I often heard (jENERA:l, kɔ:ni:je, bER:je), especially the last, ridiculed by Dresdeners. The sounds were therefore distinguished. Brücke (Grundzüge, p. 44) distinguishes palatal k = (kj) and velar k = (k), and Arabic *kaf* ق = (k), with their sonants (gj, g, G). Then, proceeding to the corresponding hisses, he has (kjh), "as in *Recht* and *Licht*" (*ibid.* p. 48), (kh), "as *Wache*, *Woche*, *Wacht*," where I may notice that the (kh) frequently becomes (kɔrh) after (u) in German, and (kh), which he believes is the χ of the modern Greeks, before *a*, *o*, *ov*, *ω*. From what he says (*ibid.* p. 49), I am inclined to think that he confuses (kh) with (krh). Then he adds: "Allowing the voice to sound, we come to *Jot*, the *I consona* of the Germans," so that he makes German *j* = (gjh). Similarly he finds the voiced (kh), or (gh), in Platt-Deutsch *lüge* = (læ'ghe); it is quite common in Saxon, as in *lage* = (la'ghe). Finally, he makes (gh), the modern Greek γ , before *a*, *o*, *ω*. Then (*ibid.* p. 70) he says, referring to the English sounds: "Produce (i) and narrow still further the space between the tongue and palate where it is already narrowest, you will obtain a *Jot*, because you will have reached the position of (gjh). The vowel (i) does not become lost by so doing; we really hear both the vowel (i) and the consonant *Jot* at the same time." This seems to me an impossibility. "The most suitable example is the English *y*, when consonantal. When an (i) follows, as in *year*, it is exactly the same as the German *I consona*; but when another vowel follows, a light sound of (i) is heard before it, in educated pronunciation, which arises from raising the larynx, and consequently introducing the condition for (i)." Now I know that Englishmen in Saxony had the greatest difficulty in learning to say (kjh, gjh), which could hardly have been the case if they were their own (jh, j). The antecedent (i) in *you*, *yeast*, *yacht*, which he would of course call (jigjhuu, jigjhest, jJA:t), remind me of Prof. March's (juw), see (1092,

16. (j)—*continued*.

c'). Brücke's identification of English *y*- with (ɿgjh-) is on a par with his identification of English *w*- with (ɿbh-), where, however, he says: "the vowel (u) and the consonant (bh) are really sounded at the same time," which is incorrect. But an attempt to pronounce (u*bh) will generate (w), and so an attempt to pronounce (i*gjh) might generate (j), but I think this attempt would not be quite so successful. I attribute this error to Brücke's Low Saxon habits of speech, to which real (gjh) is unknown, so that he imagines (j) to be the buzz of (kjh), with which he is acquainted practically. Merkel, however, a Middle Saxon, had no business to be astonished (Phys. d. mensch. Spr. p. 178) that Lepsius could find no hiss to (j), and had distinguished (j, gjh). In Saxony I have not unfrequently heard *ja* called (jhaa), where the speaker would have been posed had he been told to begin the word with *ch* in *ich*, because he would not have known how to arrange his organs, and would probably at least have said (kjh)ida), thinking of *chia*. Again (jaa) is the received and more usual pronunciation of *ja*, though great varieties are heard in a word which often sinks into an interjection. But to be told to begin with a "soft g" would sorely try a Saxon's phonetic intelligence. I found in Saxony very distinct differences (kh gh, kjh gjh, jh j). Merkel calls (kjh) *g molle*, and (gjh) = (j) voiced *g molle* (*ibid.* p. 183). Merkel allows of a modification of *g molle* when it comes from (y) instead of (i). In fact, we may have (jw) = (wj), the consonant formed from (y), similar to (j) from (i) and (w) from (u). And we have similarly (kwh, kwjh, gwh, gwjh). The hiss of the English (j) is heard only in a few words, as *Hugh*, *hue*, *human* (see 1144, c).

All these German confusions of (kjh, gjh) with (jh, j) depend upon the prior confusion of (kj, gj) with (kj, gi), and receive their proper explanation so soon as these consonants are admitted; for which we are indebted in English books to the acuteness of the American Mr. Goodwin and the Englishman Mr. Melville Bell, although they have been long known in India (1120, c). The series (kj jh 'i-; gj j i-), where the hyphens point out the diphthongising character of the vowels, shew the exact

16. (j)—*continued*.

relation of (jh, j) to vowel and consonant. The labial series are much more complex, on account of the back of the tongue being raised for (u), giving it a labio-guttural character. They are, therefore, (kwh kwjh wh "u-; gw gwh w u-). Helmholtz (*Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed. p. 166) recognizes an (u), for which the tongue is quite depressed; this would be (Au), a much duller sound than (u). For this then we have the labial series (p ph "Au-; b bh Au). The (f, v) whises do not enter into either of the latter series, as they have no corresponding vowels. The usual (b v u) and (b w u) series are quite erroneous.

The whole history of (jh, j) is analogous to that of (wh, w), and we have the same varieties. On (186, c) I have elected to write (ja, ai), whatever the orthoepists wrote. But it must be observed that real differences exist, that (ia jia ja jia) are all possible, and different, and that (ai aij aj) are possible and different. Mr. Sweet says of Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 107): "The voice-stop (g) becomes (gh), and often undergoes further weakening, passing through (gwh) into (w), which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into (j). Thus are formed quasi-diphthongs, the only ones which the language possesses." This is extremely interesting in reference to the generation of (ai, au) in English from ags. *ag*, *aw*. The only diphthongs the English possessed independently of the Normans came in the same way, and the rhyming of these (ai) diphthongs with Norman *ai* proves that the English pronounced the Norman in the English way, whatever was the Norman sound. The Danish examples which Mr. Sweet gives are instructive. Thus, *en sag*, also written *saug* and *sar* (saw), 'saw,' *en vogu* (vow:n); *farr* (faw:n) = Icelandic *fagr*, *en skov* (skow) = Icelandic *skógr*; *et narn* (naw:n) = Icelandic *nafn*, *en orn* (ow:n); *jeg* (jaɐ), *en lög* (lɔɐ:n), *et øje* (ɔɔ), *en hvide* (uhvɔɔɔɔ). One sees here an exact modern presentment of the way in which Ormian perceived the formation of English diphthongs 700 years ago (489, b). The very change of the common -li into (lai) is paralleled by the colloquial Danish *mig*, *dig*, *sig*, *steg*, *meyen*, *røg*, *bøger* = (maɐ, daɐ,

16. (j)—*continued*.

saʒ, staʒ, maʒn, tʒʒ, bʒʒʒt. Mr. Sweet adds: "In identifying the second elements of the Danish diphthongs with (j) and (w) I have been partly influenced by the views of Danish phoneticians themselves; as far as my own impressions are concerned I must still consider the matter as somewhat doubtful: these combinations may after all be true diphthongs with the second element rather closer than in other languages." If the glide is short, and the second element always short, instead of being long at pleasure, as in English, it becomes extremely difficult to determine whether it is (i, u) or (j, w). The closeness of diphthongs consists, I think, 1) in the shortness of the *first* element, 2) in the shortness of the glide and its continuously decreasing or increasing force, 3) in the shortness of the *second* element, but this last has least share in producing the effect. The 'looseness' or 'openness' of diphthongs consists, 1) in the lengthening of the first element, especially when in connection with the lengthening of the second element, 2) in the first decreasing and secondly increasing force of the glide, which may amount to a slur (1131, *b*), and is, I think, then characteristic of the Italian diphthongs, whose existence is even denied by some writers. The actual forms of diphthongs, and the 'vanishes' of vowels, or sounds into which they merge on prolongation in various languages, have to be studied almost *ab initio*. The two usual statements, that they consist of prefixed and affixed (i, u) or (j, w), are the roughest possible approximations. The 'glides' of Mr. Melville Bell were mere evasions of the difficulty, and have been given up by his son, Mr. Graham Bell, and by the two persons in England who have most used his Visible Speech, Messrs. Sweet and Nicol. The investigation has considerable philological interest, from the Sanscrit treatment and resolution of diphthongs, down to the introduction of diphthongs into English. But we are only just beginning to appreciate the determinants of the phenomena heard.

(v). See No. 12, (v, i, j). The peculiarities of unaccented syllables will be considered afterwards.

16. (n).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(ənˌjenz). The only difficulties in the glides occur in the passage from (n) to (j). The first, and, I think, the usual English method, is to pass by a slur (1131, *b*), so that, although the voice never really ceases, it is so much reduced in force that the nature of the gliding sound necessarily produced while rapidly shifting from the (n) to the (j) position, is inappreciable. The (n) may be lengthened as much as we please; but if very long, the force of sound decreases rapidly. It is of course un-English to make it very short. The second plan is to pass from the (n) to the (j) position *gradually*, so that, *before* the (n) position is released, the middle, or, as Mr. Bell calls it, the front of the tongue rises into the (j) position, the nasalised voice continuing all the time, and then the tip of the tongue is removed from the (n) position, the nasality ceases, and a pure (j) glides on to the (v). We have thus (ə > n-nj-j < v > n-s), and this action is most conveniently introduced for teaching Englishmen the real value of French and Italian (nj), which they are apt, like Brücke (*Grundzüge*, p. 71) and Goodwin (*op. cit.* p. 11), to confuse with (nj). The French *oignon* (onjoʒ), in which neither (n) nor (j) are heard, but only (nj), should be carefully compared. An (lj) may be similarly generated from *million* viâ (m < i > l-lj-j < v > n), the intermediate (lj) not occurring in English. Of course these (nj, lj) have been generated by the action of (i), and we find in modern French a tendency to omit (l) in such words as *chevalier*, which is quite similar to the reduction of (lj) to (i-) in that language. In Italian *gl* the (lj) remains pure. The (nj) is also pure in French. Englishmen should carefully study a Frenchman's pronunciation of this final (nj) in *signe prigne Espagne Cologne Boulogne*. The last two words in especial are usually execrably pronounced in England, where they are very commonly attempted. (Bulɔːq Bulɔːn Bulɔːi-n) may all be heard in place of (Bulonj). See also (1124, *d*).

17. BOAT, Bell's (bóut), my (boot).

17. (b).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(oo). The controversy respecting (ou, oo) is precisely similar to that about (ei, ee), see (1108, c'), and the same peculiarities are observable in Dutch (1109, d'). Thus Donders gives "*ou* in *hó* with short *u*" (*op. cit.* p. 15), and Land says, that Dutch *oo* in *boon*, *dook*, *loop*, is (oo), noticing that it becomes (oo) before *r*, but adds that "in English and low (*platte*) Hollandish it is replaced by *o^{2u}* or even *o^{2u}* (*óou*), and is even used before *r*" (*op. cit.* p. 18). The usage of (*óou*) before *r* is not now known in England.

As regards my own pronunciation, I feel that in *know*, *sow* v., etc., regularly, and in *no*, *so*, etc., often, I make this labial change, indicated by (oo'w). Wherein does this consist? In really raising the back of the tongue to the (u) position, and producing (oo'u) or (*óou*)? or in merely further closing or 'rounding' the mouth to the (u) degree, thus (*óo-ou*)? or in disregarding the position of the tongue, and merely letting labialised voice, of some kind, come out through a lip aperture belonging to (u), that is strictly (*óo'w*)? There is no intentional diphthong, but a diphthong results so markedly, especially when the sound is forcibly uttered, that I have often been puzzled, and could not tell whether *know*, *sow* serere; *no*, *so*; or *now*, *sow* sus, were intended; I heard (*nóu*, *sóu*). But these are exaggerations, and I believe by no means common among educated speakers. Whether they will prevail or not in a hundred years, those persons who then hunt out these pages as an antiquarian curiosity will be best able to determine. But that (i, u) should have developed into, say, (ai, au), by initial modification, and that (e, o), which are constantly generated from these diphthongs, should shew a tendency, which is sporadically and vulgarly consummated, to return to the same class of diphthongs by final amplification, is in itself a remarkable phonological fact which all philologists who would trace the history of words must bear in mind. As to the English tendency, I think that (oo) develops into (oo'w) most readily before the pause, the (k) and (p) series; the first and last owing to closing the mouth, the second owing to

17. (oo)—continued.

raising the back of the tongue. I find the tendency least before the (t) series. This, however, is crossed by the vocal action of (l, n, r), which develop a precedent ('h), easily rounded into ('h^{ue}), and hence generating (oo'w). So strong was this tendency of old that (*óul*, *óun*) were constant in the xvth century, and (*óul*) remains in Ireland, and many of the English counties also, even where no *u* appears in writing. Before (t, d) I do not perceive the tendency. In fact, the motion of the tongue is against it. The sound (*bóut*) is not only strange to me, but disagreeable to my ear and troublesome to my tongue. Even (*boó'ut*) sounds strange. Mr. M. Bell's consistent use of (*éi*, *óu*) as the only received pronunciation thoroughly disagrees with my own observations, but if orthoepists of repute inculcate such sounds, for which a tendency already exists, their future prevalence is tolerably secured. As to the 'correctness' or 'impropriety' of such sounds I do not see on what grounds I can offer an opinion. I can only say what I observe, and what best pleases my own ear, probably from long practice. Neither history nor pedantry can set the norm.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(boot). The synthesis occasions no difficulty. The glide from (oo) to (t) is short. The voice ends as the closure is complete (1112, c').

18. CART, Bell's (kart), my (kaart).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(aa). See (1148, b) as to (aa, aa). The sound of (a) is, so far as I know, quite strange to educated organs, though common in Scotland (69 c, d). "In reality," says Mr. Murray (Dialect of S. Scotland, p. 110), "the Scotch *a*, when most broadly pronounced, is only equal to the common Cockney *pass*, *ask*, *demand* (*paahs*, *aahsk*, *demaahnd*), and I have heard a London broker pronounce *demand drafts* with an *a* which, for broadness, I have never heard bettered in the North." It is the repulsion of such sounds which drives the educated, and especially ladies, into the thinness of (ah, w).

18. (ɹ).

(ɹ). I use (ɹ) in Mr. Bell's (k_ɹat) for his 'point-glide' or 'semi-vowelized sound of (r_ɹ).' (Vis. Speech, p. 70) and (1099, d). I believe I almost always say and hear (kaat); but as I occasionally say (kaa_ɹt), I write (kaa_ɹt). I am not sure that I ever hear or say (kaa't). I have heard (pa'k). No doubt many other varieties abound unobserved. But (park, kart), with a genuine short (a) and trilled (r), sound to me thoroughly un-English, and (park, ka't) are either foreignisms or Northumbrianisms.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(k_ɹat). The voice begins at the moment that the (k)-position is relaxed, and not before, the glottis being placed ready for voice from the first. The glide on to (t) is short, (a_ɹ) being treated as a long vowel. Read (k < aa > t').

19. TEXT, Bell's (t_ɛnht), my (tent).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(ɛ, e). See No. 7, (ɛ, e).

(nh, n). See (1140, d') and (1148, b'e').

(tent). Glides (t < e > n - t'). The nasalised voice is heard up to (t), when both voice and nasality are cut off. But (t) would be quite inaudible unless some flatus or voice followed. In (tents) the (s) gives sufficient flatus to make (t) quite distinct. In *scentless* there is apt to be a glide on to the (l), which is etymologically wrong, but easy, (tl-) being often preferred in English speech to (kl-). But in *scent-bottle* (se:nt'hbɔ:t'l), a complete (h) is heard. Observe that in this word (t'hb) and not (t'b) is written, because to write (t'b) would be ambiguous, as it might = (t+'b), instead of = (t'+b). A Frenchman would use (t'hb).

20. HOUSES, Bell's (nháuzyz), my (hó'wzez).

(h, nh). See (1130, b. 1132, d. 1133, d. to 1135, e), and (598, b').

20. (áu, óu).

(áu, óu). As to the first element, it is subject to at least all the varieties of those of long i (1100, d'). But owing to the labial final, the tendency to labialise the first element is more marked (597, d'). Our (æu, ahú, æu) must be considered as delabialisations of (ou, ou). The second element is rather (u) than (ú), and may be even (ou). Mr. Sweet analyses his own diphthong as (æu'o) or (æu'hú). The great variety of forms which this diphthong consequently assumes, renders it difficult to fix upon any one form as the most usual. But as a general rule, the 'rounded' or labialised first element is thought provincial, and the broader (áu, áu) seem eschewed, the narrower (áhu, óu) or (óu) finding most favour. The first element is, I think, generally very short, the diphthong very close (1151, b), and the second element lengthened at pleasure. Mr. Sweet, however, lengthens the first element.

(z, zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(y, e). The unaccented vowels will be considered hereafter.

(hó'wzez). The initial (h) has been already considered (1030, b'). I pronounce it generally by commencing the following vowel with a jerk, not *intentionally* accompanied by flatus. There is therefore no glide from (h) to (óu). The glide from (ə) to (u) is very short and rapidly diminished in force. The glide thence on to (z) is short and weak. The (z) is not prolonged, but treated almost as an initial in *zeal*, and hence has a very short buzz. The first syllable practically ends at the end of the glide from (u) and does not enroach on the buzz of (z) at all. It is possible, and perhaps usual, to distinguish in pronunciation the verb and substantive in: 'he *houses* them in *houses*.' In the first the glide on (z) is distinct, and *all* the buzz of (z) seems to belong to the first syllable, the glide on to the following vowel being reserved for the second. The difference may be indicated thus, the slur dividing the syllables, which have no pause between them: (hnhó'wz - ezdhym) into'w - zes).

21. DOG, (dɔg).

(d, g). For the distinction between these sounds and (t, k) see No. 9, (b). For the position of the tongue in (t, k) see (1095, *d'*. 1105, *d'*).

(ɔ). See No. 10, (ɔ, A). To lengthen (ɔ) in this particular word is American, Cockney, or drawing (dɔɔg, dʌɔg).

(dɔg). It is instructive to compare *dock*, *dog* (dɔk, dɔg'), pronounced with very short and very long glides, and consonants, as (d < ɔ > k / k < 'h, d < ɔ > gg < 'h) and (d < ɔ > k', dɔ < ɔ > g'), where (ɔ) is used to indicate extreme brevity. The 'foreign' effect of the latter will become evident. See (1145, *c'*).

22. MONKEY, Bell's (mɔqhkɪ), my (mɔ'qkɪ).

(m). See No. 15, (m).

(ɜ, ə). See No. 1, (ɜ, ə).

(q, qh). See No. 13, (q), and also generally (1140, *d'*).

(i). See No. 6, (i). As to the influence of the removal of accent, see hereafter.

(mɔ'qkɪ). The voice begins nasal, and continues very briefly through (m), but the nasality is not dropped as long as the (m)-position is held, else we should get (mɔq) which is a South African initial, and almost inconceivable to an Englishman. The vowel (ɔ) must not be nasalised at all, though lying between two nasals (m) and (q). The nasalisation and the voice are dropped at the same moment in passing from (q) to (k), without altering the position of the tongue, but the retraction of the uvula causes a glide which will be heard distinctly on saying (mɔqq, mɔqk) sharply. The latter ends almost metallically. The syllable divides at the end of this glide, which, in ordinary speech, is followed by the glide of (k) on to (i) without sensible interval. We have then (m < ɔ > q-k < i).

23. CAGE, Bell's (kɛɪdzh), my (kɛɪdzhɪ).

(k). See No. 6, (k). There is no tendency to (kj-) before the sound of (ɛ).

(ee, éi). See No. 8, (ee).

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(zh, ʒh). See No. 10, (sh, sh).

(ʒh, sh). Used only before a pause, see (1104, *c*).

(dzh). See (1118, *d*) to (1119, *c'*). The change from (k) to (tsh), through a palatal vowel, is distinctly developed in English (203, *d*) to (209, *b*), but the change of (g) to (dzh) is not so common, and hardly occurs initially. The French *ch, j*, became (tsh, dzh) in English words, but reason has been assigned for supposing the French sounds to have been originally (tsh, dzh) on (314, *c*), meaning of course (tsh, dzh). The subsequent recognition of an Italian (sh, zh), independent of (t, d), on (1118, *a*. 800, *b'*) and Mr. Goodwin's re-discovery (1119, *c*) of the Indian (kj, gj), see (1120, *c*), renders it of course doubtful whether the passage of (k, g) Latin, into (sh, zh) French, as in *chant*, *gens* (shaax, zhax), was really through (tsh, dzh) at all. The transition may have been simply (k kj kj zh sh; g gj gj j zh), just as (ɜ) or diphthongising (i-) certainly became (zh) in French. It is, then, satisfactory to be able to shew a transition from (k, g), before palatal vowels, into (tsh, dzh) at so recent a period and in so short a space of time that there is hardly room for the interposition of transitional forms. Martinique, in the West Indies, was colonized by the French in 1635, hence any French upon it cannot be older than the xviii or xviii century. To a large emigration from Martinique to Trinidad, which was only for a short time in possession of the French after 1696, Mr. J. J. Thomas (a negro of pure blood, who speaks English with a very pure pronunciation, and is the author of *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*, Port of Spain, 1869, on sale at Trübner's, London, a most

23. (dzh)—*continued*.

remarkable book, indispensable to all students of romance languages) attributes the introduction of French into the (formerly Spanish, and since 1797 British) Island of Trinidad. Mr. Thomas was kind enough to give me an oral explanation of the principal peculiarities of the sounds in this Creole French (25 September, 1873), which is by no means merely mispronounced French, but rather a romance language in the second generation. The *ch*, *j* of the French remain as (sh, zh), but *k*, *g*, before palatal vowels, become (tsh, dzh). I ascertained, not merely by listening, but by inquiry, that Mr. Thomas really commenced the sound by striking his palate with the tip of the tongue behind the gums. The following are examples: French *cuite*, *culotte*, *re-euler*, *quinze*, *marquer*, *em-barquer*; Creole, in Mr. Thomas's orthography, *chuite*, *cnilotte*, *cnouler*, *chnize*, *mâcher*, *bâcher* = (tshiit, tshidot, tshule, tshé, z, maatshe, baatshe), where (*e*, *i*) indicates Mr. Thomas's Creole nasality, which sounded to me less than the French (*ea*), and more than the South German (*e*). French *figure*, *guêpe*, *gueule*; Creole *figie*, *gêpe*, *gôle* = (fidzhi, dzhéep, dzhool). Observe the short (*i*). For sound of vowels Creole *tini* (*tini*) would rhyme with *funny* (*fi-ni*), but the accent is of the French nature. Now French *e*, *qu*, *gu* in this position were considered by Volney (*L'Alphabet Européen appliqué aux langues Asiatiques*, Paris, 1819) to be quite palatal, apparently (kj, gj), and are distinguished as his 23rd and 24th consonants from (k, g) his 26th and 27th. Whether in his time, and in the older xviiith century, the (kj, gj) were distinctly pronounced, there is no proof; but this Creole change leads to this hypothesis.

As I have had occasion to refer to this pronunciation, I may remark that the old pronunciations of *oi* occur, (*ué*) in *boîte doëgt toële* and (*ue*) in *elœson poëson poësson*; also that *eu* (*æ*, *œ*) falls into (*e*), and *u* (*y*) into (*i*) or (*u*), as so frequently in Germany, and that *e muet*, when not final, is often replaced by *é*, *i* as *lérer*, *ritoù*, Fr. *lever*, *retour*, indicating its probable audibility in the xviiith century, because these changes were entirely illiterate; and moreover that when the *h* is pronounced, it is, with Mr. Thomas, a distinct (rh), as *huler* =

23. (dzh)—*continued*.

(rhaale). The letter *r* seems to have suffered most. When not preceding a vowel, it is entirely mute. Elsewhere Mr. Thomas seemed to make it the glottal (ɾ), as in Danish; and just as this is sometimes replaced by uvular (ʀ) in cases of difficulty, so *r* seemed to become (ʀ) in Creole, especially after *a* and *g*, when an attempt was made to bring it out clearly. Also just as (ɾ, ʀ) suggest (*a*, *u*) sounds, the *r* after *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, seems to Mr. Thomas to be the tense labial *r* (ʀ) of those Englishmen who are accused of pronouncing their *r* as *w*, as distinct from the lax labial *r* (brh). He therefore writes *bouare*, *bouide*, *pouatique*, *pouix*, *roué*, for Fr. *brave*, *bride*, *pratique*, *prix*, *vrai*. But it seemed to me, when listening to his pronunciation, that even here the sound was (ɾ), thus (bræv, bɾid, pɾætik, pɾi, vɾe). At any rate this glottality would account for all the phenomena. Observe (*æ*), which, as well as (*i*), seemed to be used by Mr. Thomas. It is a pity that Mr. Thomas, in reducing the Trinidad Creole French *patois* to writing, did not venture to disregard etymology, at least to the extent of omitting all letters which were not pronounced. His final mute *e* has no syllabic force even in his verse. The final *e* then had disappeared from pronunciation before the internal. Of course Creole French differs in different West Indian Islands. See *Contributions to Creole Grammar*, by Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Newhaven, U.S., in the Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assn. for 1869-70, where an account is given of the varieties in Hayti, Martinique, St. Thomas, and Louisiana. It appears that in Louisiana (tsh) is also developed as in English from a palatal *t*, as *tehiré*, *tehué* = Fr. *tirer*, *tuer*, and that (dzh) is found in all the varieties in *djôle* = Fr. *gueule*. There are also Dutch, Spanish, and English Creole dialects.

(keedzhsh). The voice is put on as the (k)-position is released, the glottis being from the first disposed for voice. The (*æ*) is, I think, seldom run on to (*æ'*) in this word. The glide on to (d) is short, the buzz of (d) is very brief, so that (dzh) acts as an initial, and the voice, as a general rule, runs off into (sh) almost imme-

23. (keəd, zh, sh)—*continued*.

diately. Observe the effect of prolonging the voice in *caged* (keəd, zhd), which some seem to call (keəd, zh, sh't').

24. AND, Bell's (ahnd), my (ænd).

(ah, æ). See No. 15, (æ). Mr. Bell is treating *and* as an 'unaccented' word, accented he would have written (ænd). The unaccented form will be considered presently.

(n, d). See No. 1, (n).

(,ænd). The voice begins with a clear glottid (1129, d'), and is continued through (æ) with a glide to (n), care being taken that nasality does not begin too soon, as (æ-æ, > n-d), or too late, as (æ > d-n-d). The passage from (n) to (d) simply consists in dropping nasality. When the word is emphatic, the (n) is specially lengthened, and the glide from (æ) to (n) becomes clearer.

25. BIRD, Bell's (bəəd), my (bəd).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(əɪ, ɪ). For (ɪ) preceded by other vowels, see No. 4, (ooɪ). What is the vowel-sound heard when (ɪ) is not preceded by other vowels? See (8, b, c. 197, a). Mr. Bell seems to me very theoretical in his distinctions (197, e to 198, a). No doubt that in Scotland, the west of England, and probably many outlying districts, the sounds in *word*, *journey*, *furnish*, are distinguished from those in *prefer*, *earnest*, *firm*. Smart says (Principles, art. 35) that these distinctions are "delicacies of pronunciation which prevail only in the more refined classes of society," but adds that "in all very common words it would be somewhat affected to insist on the delicacy referred to." This is quite Gill's *docti interdum*, and indicates orthoepical fancy. It is easy enough to train the organs to make a distinction, but it is very difficult to determine the resulting vowels. In Mr. Bell's table of the relative heights of the tongue for the different vowels (Visible Speech, p. 74) they appear as follows, the left hand having the lowest

25. (əɪ, ɪ)—*continued*.

and the right hand the highest position of the tongue, and that position remaining the same for the vowels in each column, as the differences of effect are produced by other means:

Primary .	æ	ɛ	ə	ɔ	ə	ɪ	ʊ	ɛ	ɪ
Wide	a	ɑ	ʌ	ɔ	ah	y	ʌ	e	i
Round	ʌ	o	u	ah	oh	u	ə	ə	ɪ
Wide round	ə	o	u	ə	oh	oh	ə	ə	y

Hence in assigning (ə) to the *ir, er* set, and (ɪ) to the *ur* set, he does raise his tongue higher for the first. As I say (ə) for his (ɪ) always, it is natural that I should say (ə) for his (ə) as well, that is, in both the *er* and the *ur* set of sounds. To say (ɪ), or even (æ), as I seemed to hear in the west of England, is disagreeably deep to my ears. I recollect as a child being offended with (gæɪ) or (gæɪɪ), but I have never been able satisfactorily to determine how this extremely common word *girl* is actually pronounced. Smart writes "gu'eri," where "gu" merely means (g) and ' indicates that speakers "suffer a slight sound of (i) to intervene, to render the junction smooth" (Principles, art. 77). As far as I can discover, I say (gɛəɪ). I do not feel any motion or sound corresponding to (r). The vulgar (gæɪ), and affected country actor's (gɛɪɪɪ), seem to confirm this absence of (r). But I should write (gɛɪɪ), the (ɪ) shewing an (ə) sound interrupted, if desired, with a gentle trill. I trill a final *r* so easily and readily myself with the tip of the tongue, that perhaps in avoiding this distinct trill I may run into the contrary extreme in my own speech. Yet whenever I hear any approach to a trill in others, it sounds strange.

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(bəd). The voice begins as soon as the lips are closed, continues through their closure, and glides on to the (ə)-position, and this vowel ends with a short glide on to a short (d). Were the glide distinct or the (d) lengthened, we should have (bədd). Whether, as I speak, the words *bird*, *bad* are distinguished otherwise than by the length of the glide, or of the (d), I am not sure; but as the short glide and (d) indicate a long vowel (1146, b), the effect is that of (bəəd, bəd). The distinction is very marked, and no

25. (bʌd)—*continued*.

doubt that it is partly the absence of means to indicate long (æ), partly the distinction felt between the little marked glide on to (d) in *bird*, and the strongly marked glide in *bad*, and partly the permissibility of trilling, that has made the use of *er*, *ur* so common for (æ), or whatever the sound may be in different months. Any one of the sounds (bæd, bæd, bæd, bæhd, bæd) would be recognized as an English, though often a broad and unpleasant, sound of *bird*. The recognition would not be destroyed by inserting a faint trill (ɹ). But (berd), with short (e) and clear trill (r), would be provincial or foreign, and (bærd) provincial. Such sounds as (bee'd, be'd, be'd, bi'd) would hardly be understood.

26. CANARY, Bell's (kah-nee'r_ori), my (kænee'r_i).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(ah). See No. 24, (ah, æ).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(ee). This is the long sound of (e), see (1106, e). It is remarkable that though Mr. Bell does not admit (e) as the short vowel in accented syllables, but always employs (ɛ), yet he admits only (ee) as long, and not (EE), although we have the vulgar American confusion with (æe). The long (ee) never occurs in received English except before (j) or (r), but it then always replaces (ee).

(r). On referring to p. 197, it will be seen that where Mr. Bell wrote (r), or, as it would be more accurate to transcribe him (r_o), I had written (ar), as in (kænee'r_i). But as this (a) only indicates the vowel sound, an (r), followed optionally by (r), see (1099, c), it is clear that (r) is quite enough when (r) must follow, so that (kænee'r_i) has the same meaning as (kænee'r_i). Observe that whenever in course of inflection or apposition a vowel follows (j), this last sound becomes (r), that is, the trill becomes necessary instead of optional. Now Mr.

26. (r)—*continued*.

Bell always writes his 'point-glide' (5d on p. 15) when in ordinary spelling *r* does not precede a vowel, but (r_o) when a vowel follows. I conclude therefore that his 'point glide' is always meant for (r) or (h), forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. If so, and there was no option of trilling, I was not quite right in transcribing it by (j). Mr. Sweet at first analyzed this vocal *r* into (əh), forming a diphthong with the preceding element, but at present he feels inclined to substitute the simple voice glide unrounded, this is (h), as I have done, and also Mr. Graham Bell himself (1099, d). Cases of this change of (r) into (r), are: *fear* *fearing* (fiə fi'r_i), *hair* *hairy* (heə hee'r_i), *pour* *pouring* (poʊ poʊ'r_i), *poor* *poorer* (puʊ puʊ'r_i). In case of (aa), the (r) is not inserted; *star* is (staa), not generally (staa'), but sometimes (staar), and *starry* is (staa'r_i), not (staa'r_i), which would have a drawly effect. Those who cannot say (oo, oo'r-), generally give (AA, AAr-), and rarely (AA', AA'r-); thus, (pAA, pAA'r_i). They do not usually distinguish *draws* *drawers*, but call both (draazs). For *glory* we often hear (dlAA'r_i), even from educated speakers, which is certainly much less peculiar than (glou'r_i), which, when I heard it from the pulpit, completely distracted my attention from the matter to the manner. The words *four*, *fore*, *for*, would be constantly confused by London speakers, were not the last usually without force. We often hear *before me*, *for me*, *for instance*, pronounced (bifAA'mi, fAmi', fer'instens).

(i). See No. 6, (i). Here it occurs in an open syllable, see (1098, c), and 'unaccented.'

(kænee'r_i). The syllables are all distinctly separated in speech, but by slurs only, thus (k < e ~ n < ee ~ h ~ r_i), that is, although the voice is not *cut off* after (e, h), the force diminishes so much that there is no appreciable glide from (e) to (n) or (h) to (r). Here then we have the rather unusual case of syllabication, assumed to be general by Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 118), where the consonant begins and the vowel ends the syllable.

UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

By *accent* I mean a prominence invariably given to one or more *syllables in a word*, on all occasions when it is used, unless special reasons require attention to be drawn to one of the other syllables. By *emphasis* I mean a prominence given to one or more *words in a clause*, varying with the mood and intention of the speaker. Accent is therefore “fixed,” and emphasis is “free.” The mode in which prominence is given may be the same in each, but as accented syllables may occur in emphatic words, the effects of emphasis must be considered independently of the effects of accent. Modern versification is guided by prominence, whether due to accent or emphasis. Prominence in English accent is due principally to force, occasioning greater *loudness* of the most vocal parts of a syllable, and greater *clearness*. The non-prominent syllables, commonly called unaccented, are usually deficient in force, and in English decidedly obscure. Obscurity is, however, no necessary accompaniment of want of force, and not associated with it in all languages. The same is true for unemphatic syllables. There are many monosyllables which in English speech are habitually united with one another, and with the adjacent words, so as to form temporary new words, so far as pronunciation is concerned. It is only our habits of writing which lead us to consider them as distinct. In this combination they suffer alterations in various ways, but these are habitually disregarded in orthography; and the question of how far they should be recognized in any reformation of spelling is at present quite unsettled. Most English phonologists have written a *pada* or analysed, and not the real *sanhitā* or combined, words of speech. Mr. Melville Bell forms an exception, but only to a moderate extent. *Emphasis* in English does not consist merely of loudness, or of additional loudness. Length, quality, distinctness, rapidity, slowness, alterations of pitch, all those varieties of utterance which habitually indicate feeling in any language, come into play. With these I shall not interfere. The various physical constituents of accent and emphasis have been considered by me elsewhere.¹ Here we have only to consider, to some extent, the difference of pronunciation actually due to differences of prominence, so far as I have been able to note them.

Mr. Melville Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 116) lays down as one of the characteristics of English “the comparatively indefinite sounds of *unaccented* vowels,” and explains this (*ib.* p. 117) as follows: “The difference between unaccented and accented vowels in colloquial pronunciation is one not merely of stress [force, loudness], but, in general, of quality also.” This should mean that there are different series of vowel-sounds in accented and unaccented syllables. “The following are the tendencies of unaccented vowels,” meaning, I believe, the tendencies of the speaker to alter the quality of a vowel as he removes force from it. The speaker thinks that he leaves the vowel unaltered, and the remission of force induces him involun-

¹ Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 113-164.

tarily to replace it by another vowel. In our usual orthography, the *letter* generally remains, and hence we are led to say confusedly that the *vowel* itself alters. We are in the habit of considering two different sounds to be the same vowel when they are commonly represented by the same sign. Possibly at one time there was a clear pronunciation given to these vowels, similar to that given to vowels having the same written form in accented syllables. We have no proof of this, for writers may from the first have contented themselves with approximative signs in the unaccented syllables. This is in fact most probable in English, to which language alone the present remarks refer, every language having its own peculiar mode of treating such syllables. Mr. Bell proceeds to describe these 'tendencies' as follows:—for the technical language, see (13, *b*).

"I. From Long to Short.—II. From Primary to Wide.—III. From Low and Mid to Mid and High.—IV. From Back and Front to Mixed.—V. From 'Round' (Labio-Lingual) to Simple Lingual.—VI. From Diphthongs to single intermediate sounds. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th tendencies combined, affect all vowels in unaccented syllables, and give a general sameness to thin sounds. The 'High-Mixed Wide' vowel (*y*) is the one to which these tendencies point as the prevailing unaccentual sound.¹

"The next in frequency are:—the 'high-back-wide' (*ɐ*), which takes the place of the 'mid-back' vowels (*ɜ*, *a*);—the 'high-front-wide' (*i*), which takes the place of the 'front' (*i*, *ē*);—the 'mid-front-wide' (*e*), which takes the place of (*ɛ*);—and the 'mid-mixed-wide' (*ah*), which takes the place of (*æ*). Greater precision is rarely heard, even from careful speakers; but among the vulgar the sound (*y*) almost represents the vowel-gamut in unaccented syllables.

"The 5th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of unaccented *ō* (in *borough*, pronounce, *geology*, *philosophy*, etc.) as (*ɜ*) instead of (*o*); and the (*ɜ*) constantly tends forwards and upwards to (*ə*, *ah*, *ɐ*) and (*y*).

"The 6th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of the pronouns *I* and *our* (*ə*, *ɔ*); in the change of *my* (*māi*) into (*my*) or (*mi*), when unemphatic; in the regular pronunciation of the terminations *-our*, *-ous* (*ɜ*, *ɜs*); in the change of the diphthong *day* (*dēi*) into (*de*, *di*, *dy*) in *Monday*, etc.

"The possibility of alphabetically expressing such fluctuations of sound is a new fact in the history of writing. In ordinary 'Visible Speech' printing a standard of pronunciation must, of course, be adopted. Custom is the lawgiver, but the habits of the vulgar are not to be reflected in such a standard. The principle may be safely laid down that the less difference a speaker makes between accented and unaccented syllables—save in quantity—the better is his pronunciation."

From this last principle I dissent altogether. Any attempt to pronounce in accordance with it would be against English usage, and would be considered pedantic, affected, or 'strange,' in even

¹ See Buchanan's use of (*i*) in many unaccented syllables, *suprà* pp. 1053-4.

the best educated society. Mr. Bell ends by referring to a table, which, he says, "exhibits the extent to which distinctive sounds for unaccented vowels may be written in accordance with educated usage." This table (Vis. Sp. p. 110) says that the following sounds "occur only in unaccented syllables, and in colloquial speech."

(e) in <i>-tion, -tious, -er</i>	(əh) in <i>-or, -ward</i>
(y) in <i>the, -es</i>	(ʰw) in <i>now, out</i>
(uh) in <i>-ure, -ful</i>	(aw) in <i>our</i>
(oh) in <i>-ory</i>	

Mr. Bell accordingly consistently carries out these 'tendencies' in his Visible Speech examples. I regret to say that I consider them principally theoretical, and that they differ both from my own use and my own observations. Historically of course his 6th tendency, as illustrated, is founded on a mistake, quite parallel to that which declares *a* to become *an* before a vowel, instead of *an* to have become *a* before a consonant. It is not the diphthong which has in these cases degenerated into a vowel, but the vowel which in accented syllables has developed into a diphthong. But so unfixed are the habits of our pronunciation, that almost any utterance of unaccented syllables would be intelligible; and so dreadfully afraid are many speakers of being classed among the 'vulgar' (whom Mr. Bell and most orthoepists condemn, but who, as the Latin *vulgus* implies, form the staple of speakers), that they become so 'careful' as almost to create a *spoken* as well as a *written* 'literary language,' which is altogether artificial.

To analyse our unaccented sounds is extremely difficult. They are so fleeting and obscure, and so apt, when we attempt to hold them, to alter in character, by involuntary muscular action of the speaker, that even when the observer is the speaker himself, no implicit reliance can be placed on his results. A word dislocated from its context is like a fish out of water, or a flower in an herbarium. In the introduction to the third part of this book (subsequently enlarged and distributed), I proposed certain lists of words containing unaccented syllables, in some faint hope of getting a few answers respecting them. I have received none. I shall therefore endeavour to answer them myself, so far, and so far only, as I believe I do actually pronounce in unaccented speech. Before doing so, I beg to call attention to my radical difference from Mr. Bell in using (e, ə) for his (e, æ); to my omission of the permissive trill in (a) and consequent substitution of (ə, e, 'h, '), together with my use of a trilled (r) before vowels in place of his untrilled (r₀), see (1098, *be*); to my use of the simple jerk (u) in place of (uh, ɪh, ph); and to my utter disregard for all conventionalities in this attempted photograph. As to the symbol (v) I do not feel quite sure whether it exactly represents my sound, which however I think is not quite (ə). As a general rule, when (ə) is written, it is supposed to glide on distinctly to the following consonant. When (v) is used, this is not the case. Hence, in closed syllables, (v) has the effect of a long unaccented vowel (əə), and (ə) of a short unaccented vowel. Consequently (v)

answers to the sound which English and American humorists write either *a* or *er* unaccented, in an open syllable; and (ə) to what they write *u* in a closed syllable. The exact analysis of the sounds is extremely difficult. The English sound meant is not French *e* mute, nor is it Icelandic *u* final, both of which appear to me as (ə). But I seem to hear it in the German *e* final as usually pronounced, when it is not pedantically or locally replaced by (e). And it is probably the same sound as was represented by final *e* in Old English, (119, *c.* 318, *a.* 678, *b.*). To those who, like Mr. Murray, use (æ) in accented syllables, the unaccented sound becomes (ə). When, however, as in my own case, the accented sound is already (ə), the unaccented decidedly differs from it, and this difference I represent, with considerable hesitation, by (v). This hesitation arises from my not being satisfactorily conscious of the rising of the back of the tongue in passing from (ə) to (v), as in (bətə) *better*, and hence the uneasy sense that after all the difference may be merely one of mode of synthesis, dependent on the nature and length of glides. See (1145, *c.*).

I. Terminations involving R, L, M, N.

-*and*, husband brigand headland midland (hæzbənd brɪ'gənd hɛd'lənd mɪ'dlənd). I doubt as to (ʌn), or ('n), but feel that there is some gliding and very obscure vocality before (n). Some 'careful speakers' might venture on (ænd) in the last three words, none would do so in the first, ags. hūsbonða; and yet I think the second vowel differs from the first, and that we do not say (hæzbənd). The final (d) of this word is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as (məi hæzben noo'wɪz).

-*end*, dividend legend (dɪ'vɪdənd le'dʒənd). Both foreign words. The first from speakers not much used to it, like the second, ends in (-end), those much used to it say (-ɪnd), some may say (-end), but I think the intermediate (-ynd) more usual. The second, being a 'book word,' has quite an artificial pronunciation.

-*oud*, diamond almond (dʌ'ɪ'mənd æ'mənd). Possibly some say (dʌ'ɪv-mənd), many say (dʌ'ɪmənd), or even (dʌ'ɪm'n).

-*und*, rubicund joennd (ru'ɪbɪkənd dʒə'kənd). Here (ən) is distinct, simply because the words are unusual.

-*ard*, haggard niggard sluggish renard leopard (hæ'gəd nɪ'gəd slə'gəd re'nəd le'pəd). Possibly (-əd, əəd) may be the real sound. Of course (-ɜr.d) might be used, but would probably not be recognized, and also (-rd). But (hæ'gæ'd, hæ'gærd) would be

ridiculous. The glide on to the (d) is short, and hence the preceding vowel has a long effect. Thus (nɪ'gəd) is more like (nɪ'gæd) than (nɪ'gədd). This supplies the lost *r*.

-*erd*, halberd shepherd (hæ'lbɜrd, -bɛt, she'pɜrd). The aspiration entirely falls away in the second word.

-*ance*, guidance dependance abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance (gə'ɪdəns dɪpəndəns ɛbə'ndəns klɪ'rens tɛmpərəns ɪ'gnərəns rɪzɪ'stəns). The termination is sometimes affectedly called (-əns), but this sound is more often used for clearness in public speaking, and it appeals to the hearer's knowledge of spelling. The first word has very frequently (gɪ), even from young speakers. The (dɪ-, rɪ-, v-) belong to III. Some 'careful speakers' will say (ɪ'gnərəns)! Observe that (-əns), considered as the historical English representative of Latin *-antia*, would be erroneous in the second and last words, and have no meaning in the first and fourth. 'Etymological' pronunciation is all pedantry in English, quite a fignent of orthoepists.

-*ence*, licence confidence dependence patience (lə'ɪsəns kən'fɪdəns dɪpəndəns pi'e'shəns). This termination is absolutely undistinguishable from the last, except in the brains of orthoepists. Some 'careful speakers,' however, will give (-əns), some 'vulgar' speakers go in for (-ɪns), and some nondescripts hover into (-yns).

-*some*, meddlesome irksome quarrel-

some (mæd'lsem æəksem kwærulsem). The hiss of the (s) takes up so much of the syllable that the (-em) is more than usually indistinct and difficult to determine, but I do not hear quite (səm). Some will say (kwærulsem), when they think of it.

-sure, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure (plæzhu məzhu lezhu klouzhu fɪʃhu). Some say (li:zhu). Before a following vowel (r) is retained, as (dhi plæzherer məzherɪq fɪʃshez). The spelling (-ure) has produced (-u', -uh, -iu'). They are all pseud-orthoepical.

-ture, creature furniture vulture venture. My own (-tiu', krii'tiu' fœn'tiu' vœltiu' vœntiu') with (r) retained when a vowel follows, is, I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and (krii'tshæ, fœn'tɪtshæ vœl'tɪtshæ vœn'tɪtshæ) are the usual sounds. *Verture verger* are usually both called (vœd'zhu).

-al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial lineal virtuals (sɪmbəl rædɪkəl lɔdzhikəl sɪnɪkəl mɛtrɪkəl poɛtɪkəl lœkəl miɪdʒəl lɪnɪjəl vɪtɛlɪz). The words *cymbal symbol* are identical in sound. Are the pairs of terminations -cal -cle, and -pal -ple, distinguished, compare *radical radicle*, and *principal principle*? If not, is -al really (-əl) or merely ('l)? I think that the distinction is sometimes made. I think that I make it. But this may be pedantic habit. No one can think much of how he speaks without becoming more or less pedantic, I fear. I think that generally -cal, -pal, are simply (-k'l, -p'l).

-el, camel pannel apparel (kæməl pænəl upærəl). Some may say (æpærəl).

-ol, carol wittol (kærəl wɪtəl). Some say (kærəl). The last word being obsolete is also often read (wɪtəl).

-um, madam quondam Clapham (mædəm kwændəm Klæpəm). Of late, however, shopwomen say (mædæm) very distinctly. I do not recall having ever heard (Klæpɪəm) either with (h, uh) or (æ).

-om, freedom seldom fathom venom (fri:dəm seldəm fæðəm vœnəm). Perhaps emphatically (frii'dəm) may be heard, but I think that the (m) is more usually prolonged.

-an, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of *man*, as woman watchman

countryman (sɛbæbən lɔdʒhɪʃshən hɪstœrɪjən Krɪs'tshən mɛtrɔpəlɪtən, wʊmən wɔtshmən kæntrɪmən). No one says (wʊmən), but (wɔtshmən kæntrɪmən) may be heard, as the composition is still felt.

-en, garden children linen woollen (gɑ:dn tʃɪldrən lɪnɪn wʊlɪn). Here great arbitrariness prevails. See Smart's *Principles*, art. 114, who begins by quoting Walker's dictum: "nothing is so vulgar and childish as to hear *swivel* and *heaven* with the *e* distinct, and *novel* and *chicken* with the *e* suppressed," and then observes, "either the remark is a little extravagant, or our prejudices are grown a little more reasonable since it was written," and then adding, "still it is true that we cannot oppose the polite and well-bred in these small matters without some detraction from their favourable opinion; and the inquiry when we are to suppress the vowel in these situations, and when we are not, will deserve the best answer it is capable of," and he proceeds to examine them all. In the mouth of speakers who are not readers, the vowel is suppressed in all words they are in the constant habit of using. In the words learned out of books the vowel is preserved because written. In "polite" and "well-bred" families, the fear of being thought vulgar leads some, (especially the ladies who have been at school,) to speak differently from non-readers, and shew by their pronunciation that shibboleth of education, a knowledge of the current orthography of their language—the rest is all "leather and prunello," for who knows it but word-grubbers? and who are they? are they "polite" and "well-bred"? are they "in society"? Poor *Mopsae*! they are misled to be as bad as the *Docti interdum*! Affectation and pedantry are on a par in language.

-on, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon (dli:kn pɑ:dn fæʃhən lii'ɔdʒhən mɪnɪən ɔkeɪzən pæʃhən vɔjkeɪʃhən mɛnɪʃhən kwæstjən fɛlɔn). Mr. Bell draws attention to the difference between *men shun him* and *mention him*, in the quality of the vowels (mɛn shən, mɛnʃhən), in Eng. Vis. Sp. p. 15. Some, not many, say (kwæʃhən), and fewer still say perhaps (kwesʃhən). In *felon* I hear clear (ən).

-ern, eastern cavern (i:stən kævən).

But if so, what becomes of the distinction between *eastern Easton*? It seems quite lost, unless a speaker exaggerates the words into (iɪ'stɔn iɪ'stɔn). Having lived for some years in a set of houses called 'Western Villas,' I remember the great difficulty I always had in preventing people from writing 'Weston Villas,' shewing that *western Weston* were to them the same sounds.

-ar, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secular (vɪ'ke sɪ'də vɪ'nɪgə skə'lə se'kiʊlə). To say (-aa) in these words would be as disagreeable as in *together*, which I heard Toole the actor in a burlesque

3 4 2 2 7

exaggerate into (tʊ'gɛ'dhaa), the upper figures indicating length, see (1131, *d*).

-er, robber chamber member render (rɒ'bɛ tʃeɪ'mbə mɛ'mbə rɛ'ndɛ), unless a vowel follows, when (r) is added.

-or, splendor superior tenor error actor victor (splɛ'ndɛ sɪ'ʊpiə'riɔ tɛ'nɔ e'rɔ æ'ktɔ vɪ'ktɔ). To use (-ə, -a) with or without (r) is to me quite strange.

-our, labour neighbour colour favour (læ'bɛ nəʊ'bɛ kɔ'lɔ fɛvɔ). Considering that the distinction of spelling in *-or*, *-our* is quite arbitrary, any corresponding distinction of sound is out of the question.

-ant, pendant sergeant infant quadrant assistant truant (pɛ'ndənt sɑ'ʒənt ɪ'nfənt kwɑ'drənt əsɪ'stənt tru'ənt). *Truant* is dialectally monosyllabic, as (traʊnt).

-ent, innocent quiescent president (ɪ'nəsənt kwə'sɪjə'sənt prɛ'zɪdɛnt). I can find no difference between this and the last.

-ancy, infancy tenancy constancy (ɪ'nfənsɪ tɛ'nənsɪ kɔ'nstənsɪ).

-ency, decency tendency currency (di'nənsɪ tɛndənsɪ kə'rənsɪ). The slightly rarer occurrence of *tendency* would lead to occasional (tɛndənsɪ).

-ary, beggary summary granary notary literary (bɛ'gɛrɪ sɑ'mərɪ græ'nərɪ nəʊ'tərɪ lɪ'tɛrərɪ). The last word varies, as (lɪ'tɛrərɪ, lɪ'tɛrɛ:rɪ), with a double accent.

-ery, robbery bribery gunnery (rɒ'bɛrɪ brə'ɪbərɪ gənərɪ), absolutely the same as the last.

-ory, priory cursory victory history oratory (prə'ɪərɪ kəsərɪ vɪ'ktərɪ ɪ'stərɪ ɔ'retərɪ). Some endeavour to say (vɪ'ktərɪ nɪ'stərɪ), and probably succeed while they are thinking of it. In the last word there is often a slight secondary accent, so that (ɔ'retə:rɪ) or perhaps

Mr. Bell might say (ɔ'rehtə:rɪ) may be heard; and similarly (prɪ'pjə'retə:rɪ), etc.

-ury, usury luxury (ʃʊ'ɔ:zərɪ lək'shərɪ). Such forms as (ʃu:zɪ'ɔ:rɪ, lɔ'ksɪ'ɔ:rɪ), or even (ʃu:z'hərɪ lɔ'kshərɪ), are pseud-orthoeptic.

II. Other Terminations.

-a, sofa idea sirrah (soʊ'fə ɪ'di:diəv sɪ'rɛ). There is often a difficulty in separating *idea* from *I, dear*! (ɪ'di di:), but in *dear* (di:) there should be a complete monosyllabic diphthong, in *idea* at most a slur (ɪ'di:diəv). The last word is often called (sɛ'rɛ). In all these terminations the (-v) recalling a written *-er*, and hence the supposed vulgarity of adding on an (r),—which in the *-er* case really occurs euphonically before a following vowel, — 'careful speakers,' and others when they want particularly to call attention to the absence of *r*, will often use (-ah) or (-aa), as (soʊ'fah ɪ'di:diəjah). This is oratorically permissible (by which I mean, that it is not offensive, unintelligible, or pedantic), and very convenient for giving distinctness. In ordinary speech, however, (-v) is universal.

-o, *-ow*, *-ough*: hero stucco potato tobacco widow yellow fellow sorrow sparrow borough (hɪ'ɔ'rə stɔ'kə pə'teɪ'ʃə tɔbæ'kə wɪ'də jə'lə fɛ'lə sərə spæ'rə bərə). Here great varieties occur, but the usual 'educated' pronunciation is (-o); in the last word, however, (-v) is very common, as (bərəv). I think (o) in (hɪ'ɔ'rə) is universal; the (v) in (stɔ'kə), the next word, seems to belong to journeyman plasterers. In the three next the well-known (tɛ'tə bæ'kə wɪ'də), in Ireland (tæ'tɪ wɪ'dɪ), make (-o) obligatory among the "polite" and "well-bred." But (jæ'lə fɛl v) are very common in educated speech, and even (jæ'lə) is heard from older speakers. I don't recollect hearing (sərəv), but certainly (spæ'rəv) may be heard in London.

-ue, *-ow*: value nephew (væ'liú nəvɪú). No educated person says (væ'li nəvɪ).

-iff, *-ock*: sheriff bannock haddock paddock (sherɪf bæ'nɔk hæ'dɔk pæ'dɔk), with distinct ending in England, but all end in simple (-ə) in Scotland.

-ible, *-ibility*: possible possibility. I am used to say (pɔ'sɪbl pɔ'sɪbɪ'lɪtɪ), but the common custom, I think, is (pɔ'sebl, pɔ'seɪbɪ'lɪtɪ).

-*ach*, stomach *lilach* (stəmək lɪ'ɪlək), with distinct (ə), but *maniac* (mæ'nɪæk) preserves (æ).

-*acy*, -*icy*: prelate policy (pre'lesi pə'lisi) are my pronunciation, but (pə'lesi) is, I think, more common. In *obstinacy* (ə'bstɪnesɪ) a slight tendency to secondary accentual force and a reminiscence of *obstinate* (ə'bstɪnet) often preserves (-esi).

-*ate*, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate (lɑː'riːtjet frɪ'ɡet fɪ'ɡiːrjet). Usage varies. In *frigate* the commonness of the word produces (frɪ'ɡɪt); in *figureate*, its rarity gives (fɪ'ɡiːrjet), but (frɪ'ɡet) would be its natural sound. In verbs, as *demonstrate*, I usually say (-et, de'menstrɪet). Many persons, perhaps most, accentuate (dɪ'mənstret). I am accustomed to talk of the (*I*-lostrected Nɪdʒz), the newsboys generally shout out (*I*-lostretɪd Nuuzs), with a tendency to drop into (lɔːstrɪ'tɪd).

-*age*, village image manage cabbage marriage (vɪ'ledʒh ɪ'medʒh mæ'nedʒh kæ'bedʒh mæ'rɪdʒh). Of course (dʒhsh) is said before the pause. The vowel is commonly (i) in all, but I feel a difference in *marriage carriage*. The (i) is very common in *village cabbage*.

-*age*, privilege college (prɪ'vɪlɪdʒh, kɔ'lɪdʒh). Some say (-edʒh); (-iɪdʒh) is never heard. Some say (prɪ'vɪlɪdʒh), apparently to prevent the concurrence of (i).

-*ain*, -*in*: certain Latin (sæ'tɪn læ'tɪn) are, I think, my sounds, but (sæ'tɪn læ'tɪn) are not uncommon, (sæ'tɪn sœ'tɪn) may occasionally be heard. *Captain* is generally (kæ'ptɪn), 'carefully' (kæ'ptɪn), 'vulgarly' (kæ'pɪn).

-*ing*, a singing, a being (v sɪ'ŋɪŋ, v bɪ'ɪŋ). In educated English pronunciation the -*ing*, either of noun or participle, is distinct (-ɪŋ). Any use of (-ɪn) or distinction of (-ɪn, -ɪŋ) is provincial or uneducated.

-*ful*, mouthful sorrowful (mə'ʊθfʊl sɔ'rɒfʊl). Educated speakers rarely seem to fall into (sɔ'rɒfʊl). In *mouthful* the composition is too evident to allow of this, and indeed the word is often made (mə'ʊθfʊ:l).

-*fy*, -*ize*: terrify signify civilize baptize (te'rɪfəɪ sɪ'gnɪfəɪ sɪ'vɪləɪz bæptəɪz). The final diphthong is quite distinct.

-*it*, -*id*, -*ive*, -*ish*: pulpit rabbit rabid restive parish (pʊlpɪt ræ'bɪt ræ'bɪd rɛ'stɪv pæ'rɪʃh). The (i) is quite unobscured.

-*il*, evil devil (ɪi'vɪl de'vɪl). 'Careful speakers,' especially clergymen, insist on (ɪi'vɪl de'vɪl), pseud-orthopepically.

-*y*, -*ly*, -*ty*, etc.: mercy truly pity (mə'sɪ truː'li pɪ'tɪ), with unobscured (i). To pronounce (truː'ləɪ) is not now customary, even in biblical reading; and (truː'ləɪ shuː'ləɪ) are mere 'vulgaries.'

-*mony*, harmony matrimony testimony (hɑː'məni mæ'trɪməni tɛ'stɪməni). The first word has, perhaps invariably, (-məni). In the other two a secondary accent sometimes supervenes, and (-mɔːni, -mɔːni, -moh:ni, -moh:nɪ) may be heard, which occasionally even amounts to (-moo:nɪ).

-*most*, hindmost utmost bettermost foremost (hɔː'ɪndmɔːst ə'tməst be təməst fɔː'mɔːst). This is, I think, the regular unconscious utterance, but (-mɔːst) is occasionally said. The (-mɔːst) is in fact a regular degradation of (-most).

-*ness*, sweetness, etc., (swiːtnes). The (s) generally saves a vowel from degradation, at least with me. Which of the three (-nes, -nɪs, -nɪs) is most common, I do not know.

-*eous*, righteous piteous plenteous (rɔː'ɪtʃəs pɪ'tʃəs plɛntɪʃəs) are, I think, my own 'careful,' i.e. rather pedantic, pronunciations. I believe that (rɔː'ɪtʃəs, pɪ'tʃəs pɪ'tʃɪjəs pɪ'tɪʃəs, plɛntɪʃəs plɛntɪʃɪjəs) are more common. These are all orthographical changelings of uncommon words. The first is merely religious now-a-days, with a bastard, or rather a mistaken, French termination.

-*ious*, precious prodigious (pre'shəs prɒdɪ'dʒəs). Never divided into (-ɪʃəs).

-*ial*, -*ially*, -*iality*: official, partial partiality, special specialty (ɔfɪ'shel, pɑː'shel pɑː'shɪæ'lɪti, spe'shel spe'sheltɪ spe'shɪæ'lɪti). All the (-ɪæɪ-) are orthographical products.

-*ward*, forward backward awkward upward downward froward toward towards (fɑː'wəd bæk'wəd ɑː'kwəd ə'pwəd dɔː'nwəd frɔː'wəd tuː'wəd). An older pronunciation of (fɔː'wəd bæk'wəd ɑː'kwəd) may be occasionally heard from educated speakers; it is common among the 'vulgar.' I have not noticed the omission of (w) in *upward downward*, or its insertion in the rather unusual words *froward toward*. The word *towards* is variously called (tuː'dz, tuːwɑː'dz), and even (tɔː'wɛdz), of which the first is most usual, the second not uncommon, and

the last very rare from educated speakers.

-wise, likewise sidewise (lə'ikwə'izs sə'i'dwə'izs), with distinct diphthong.

-wife, midwife housewife goodwife. Here orthographical readers say (mɪ'd-wə'if hə'wswə'if gʊd-wə'if). But (mɪ'dɪf) is more common, and no actor would speak otherwise in describing Queen Mab, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 54). The thread-and-needle-case is always called a (hɔz'if), and the word (hɔz'i), now spelled *hussy*, shews the old disuse of (w), and similarly (gʊd'i), now written *goody*.

-wich, Greenwich Woolwich Norwich Ipswich (Grɪ'nɪdʒh Wu'ɪdʒh Nɔrɪdʒh I'psɪdʒh). The last is the local pronunciation, (I'pswɪtʃh) is merely orthographical, and similarly I have heard the Astronomer Royalsay (Grɪ'nwɪtʃh). Living in the place, no doubt (Grɪ'n-ɪdʒh) is an abomination in his ears. Railway porters also are apt to 'corrupt' names of places orthographically, as when they call *Uttometer* (ʤu:təksɪtə), in place of (ʤ'ksetə).

-eth, speaketh (spi:kəth). The termination having gone out of use, the pronunciation is purely orthographical.

-ed, pitted pitied, added (pɪ'ted pɪ'tɪd, ædɪd). The *-ed* is lost in (d, t), except after (t, d). What the vowel is, seems to have been a matter of doubt from very early times, *-id*, *-ed* constantly interchanging in MSS. At present (*-ed*, *-id*, *-yd*) are heard. Few make the distinction, here given, between *pitted* and *pitied*.

-es, *-s*, *-s*: princes prince's, churches church's, paths path's, cloth's cloths clothes, wolves (prɪ'nseɪz, tʃhəʊ'tsheɪz, pædʒɪz pæθs, klɔθs klɔdʒɪz, wɒlvz). The vowel in *-es* is subject to the same doubt as that in *-ed*. In the genitive *path's*, I am accustomed to give (*-ths*) in the plural *paths*, to give (*-dʒɪz*). The plural *cloths* is unfamiliar to me, and my pronunciation is orthographical. In *clothes* the *th* is usually omitted, as (kloo'vɪz, kloo'vɪz). The cry (ol tloo)! for *old clothes*! used to be very well known in London fifty years ago, and is not yet quite extinct; although the familiar long-bearded Jew, with a black bag over his shoulder and a Dutch clock (really a Schwarzwälder Uhr) under his arm, the pendulum separate and held in his hand, while one finger moved the hammer which struck the hour, beating a ringing time to his (ol

tloo! tloo! tloo!), has given place to a "card" left in an envelope addressed "to the mistress of the house," and offering to buy "wardrobes" to any extent, "for shipment to the colonies"!

III. Various Initial Syllables.

a-, with various following consonants: among astride alas abuse avert advance adapt admire accept affix *v.* announce append alert alcove abyss. The utmost variety prevails. When two pronounced consonants follow, as in *accept advance admire alcove* (æksə'pt ædvɑ:ns ædmə'i' ælkəʊv), there is generally an unobscured (æ). Otherwise the ordinary custom is to pronounce (ə, v), or even (ʰ) with excessive brevity and indistinctness, on account of the following accent. On the other hand, some speakers insist on (ah), or even (æ), although for (æ) they feel obliged to glide on to the following consonant. This is usually done when the following consonant is doubled in writing, and the pronunciation is then orthographical, as in (ænə'ʊns, æpənd), and in unusual words as (æbɪ's). But (emə'q, l'həmə'q, ah)mə'q, æmə'q) may all be heard. If any one say (e), as (emə'q), it is a pure mistake.

e-, with various preceding consonants: elope event emit, beset begin, depend debate, despite destroy, precede repose. None of these words are of Saxon origin, hence varieties of fanciful and orthographical pronunciations, as (e, i), and the more usual, but unacknowledged (ɪ). In some cases, as *decent descent dissent*, fear of ambiguity will lead to (di:rsent di:se:nt dɪ'sent), but the *two* last words are usually (dɪ'sent). In *emerge immerge*, we have occasionally (i:mə:dzɪz i:mɪmə:dzɪz), but usually (ɪmə:dzɪz) for both. After (r) the (ɪ) is predominant. Simple (e) is often (ii) or (i), as (iiləʊp, iivənt), but (i) seems easier for English organs at present. Many insist on (beset, begin, depernd), etc., but this seems to me theoretical, though I hear occasionally (bɛ-, dɛ-), etc. In *despite destroy*, the (s) preserves the (e) in my mouth, and I say (despə'i:t destrɔ'i). In *eclipse* I think I usually keep (e) and say (ekli'ps), but cannot be sure of not often saying (ɪkli'ps).

bi-, binocular biennial bilingual. Here usage varies. Some insist on distinct (bi'i), but others use (bɪ) when the word has become familiar. Thus

(bā'ínə'kiúlr) used always to be said, but since the binocular microscopes and opera glasses have become common, (bínə'kiúlr) is often heard. In *bisect* we hear both (bā'íse'kt bīse'kt) often from the same mathematical speaker, at short intervals. When the accent falls on the *bi*-, we usually have (bī'), as *bicycle biparous* (bī'síkl bī'perəs), but occasionally (bā'í) remains, as *binary* (bā'í:nəri); compare *combine combination* (kəmbá'ín kəmbá'ínə'shen).

di-, direct divide (díre'kt dívá'íd). The last word has always (dí), the first has constantly (dā'í). The same *diversity* exists in this word with *divert diversion*, etc. All these (dā'í) are clearly orthographical.

o-, *pro*-, etc.: oblige occasion oppose promote produce *v.* propose (oblə'í:dzh əkeə'zhen əpəʊz prəməʊt prədíʊs prəpəʊz) seem to be my pronunciations, but (ə) is sometimes heard in all, and (v) occasionally, as *I should be much obliged to you if you would occasionally promote this proposal*, (s'í: shədbi mə'tshəblə'í:dzh sh'tʊrə í:fəʊdekeə'zhenli prəməʊt dhí:sprəpəʊzəl).

to-, to-morrow together (tómə'ro tuge'dhə). I have been accustomed to consider these my pronunciations, but suspect that I often fall into (tu-, tv-).

for-, *fore* -: forbid forgive forego foretell (fəbɪ'd fəgɪv fəʊ'gəʊw fəʊ'tel). But the two last have frequently simple (fə-).

IV. Unemphatic Words.

These words may become emphatic or receive more or less degrees of force, causing their sound to vary. They have therefore clear forms and obscure forms, and these forms are assumed pretty much at the pleasure of the speaker. The obscurity often amounts to absolute suppression of vocality. They are here given, in the order of frequency of occurrence, according to Mr. D. Nasmyth (*Practical Linguist*, English, 1871), who determined this order by actual numeration in books of exceedingly different character. The clear sound is given first, separated by a (—) from the rest.

and (ænd—end, ən, n, nh), the (d) is most frequently omitted before a consonant, as *bread and milk* (bre:denmɪlk). The sound is often so extremely brief that it is recognized by instinct rather than by hearing.

the (dhii—dhi dhɪ dhə dh dhə dhə

dhə). Some speakers always say (dhə) or (dhɪ), for it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Others use (dhə), and even try to keep (dhi, dhii), before vowels only. In poetry this (dhi) becomes (dhɪ) or even (dh). Before consonants some endeavour to use (dhe), but this generally results in (dhə) or (dhə), and singers are usually taught to sing (dhə), precisely as if the word were written *ther*.

I (s'í). In received speech this word does not change in losing force. Whichever of its various sounds a speaker chooses (1100, a') for his normal pronunciation is preserved throughout.

you (juu—ju, ju, ju). The (ju) is not recognized. After (t, d) the (j) often passes into (sh, zh), but this is also not recognized. Both are frequently heard nevertheless.

he (hi—hi hi i i). The (h), which includes (nh, ph), according to the speaker's habits, is constantly lost when *he* is enclitic.

she (shii—shi shi sh'i). The last is frequent in rapid conversation.

it (í). This does not seem to vary, except of course as (-t) when convenient, but even this is rather 'poetical.'

we (wii—wi wɪ). The (w) is never lost.

they (dhee'j—dhe dhe), but not degenerating to (dhə).

have (hev—nev ev v). The (h, nh, ph) is constantly omitted when the word is enclitic, and simple (v) occurs after a vowel.

will (wɪ—wel wɪ l). The (l) is frequent after a vowel.

shall (shəl—shl shlh). The last form is frequent.

one (wən—wen). The degradation into (ən) is not received.

to (tuu—tu tu te). Often extremely short. The pronunciation (too) may be heard from old people and Americans occasionally. The difference between *to too two* is well shewn in such a sentence as: *I gave two things to two men, and he gave two, too, to two, too* (s'í: geev tuu'thɪŋz tetuʊr men, ɛmii:geev tuu'tuʊ: tetuʊ:tun:).

be (bi—bi bi bə). The last form is careless.

there (dhee'—dhe), before vowels (dhee'r dher dher).

a (e'j—e əh v). 'Careful speakers' use (e) or (ah), but these sounds are quite theoretical; and (u) or (ə) is the only usual sound. Before a vowel (æn

en). Before (h), beginning an unaccented syllable, it is now the fashion to write *a*, and I suppose to say (*ee*) or (*ee'*), but I always use *an*, and say (æ:n) with a secondary *accent*, not omitting the following (n), but rather gaining a fulcrum for its introduction, as *an historical account*, *an harangue* (æ:n-his-tō-ri-kəl ek'əunt, æ:n-hæ-ræŋ).

my (mɔ'i—mi), in *myself*, *my lord*, always (mi), but otherwise (mɔ'i) is constantly preserved pure, (mi) is Irish.

his (hɪz, hɪz—iz), the (h) commonly lost when enclitic.

our (ə'u', ə'u'r), preserved pure.

your (juu', juu'r—ju, jər). Although (ju) is not unfrequent, it is not recognized.

her (hæ hæ—e r). The (h) is dropped constantly in *he his him her*.

their, treated as *there*.

of (əv—əv v), the (v) is very common before consonants. Several old speakers still say (əf).

would (wud—w'd d), the last after vowels.

should (shud—sh'd sh'd), the last not very unfrequent.

or (aa aar ə—A ar e r), the (r) only before a vowel; the (A) most common, but (e) not unfrequent before a consonant. Similarly for *nor*.

for (faa faar fə—fa far fu fer) treated like *or*, but (fu fer) are very common.

that (dhæt—dhet dh't). The demonstrative pronoun is always distinct, the subordinating conjunction and relative are almost always obscure, as *I know that that that that man says is not that that that one told me* (əɪnoʊd'h't dhæt dh'tdhæt mæn sez iz-nɔt-dhæt dh't-dhæt-wɔn too'wldmɪ).

on (ɔn), preserved clear.

do (duu—du du de), the last not so rare.

which (wh'tsh wɪtsh—wh'tsh wɪtsh).

Some speakers always preserve (wh'tsh), others always preserve (wɪtsh).

who (nuu—nu nu u), but (u) is rare.

by (bɔ'i), preserved pure, (bi) is hardly in use.

them (dhem—dhym dhem), the last not thought 'elegant.' The (em ɐm) forms are due to the old *hem*, and are common enough even from educated speakers, but usually disowned.

me (mii—mi mi mɛ), the last is, perhaps, Irish, common in (*tuu mɛ frəm mɛ wɪd'mɛ*) to *me*, *from me*, *with me*, etc.

were (wee', wee'r, wə, wɛr—we wɛr).

with (wɪd wɪth—wɪ), generally preserved pure, (wɪth) is heard from older speakers.

into (ɪntu intu—ɪntu intɛ), unemphatically neither syllable receives force.

can (kæn—k'n kn), the last forms common.

cannot (kæ'nɔt, kaʊt), kept pure.

from (frəm—frɛm), often kept pure.

as (æz əz—ɛz z), (ɛz) common, (z) rare.

us (əs—ɛs), both common.

sir (sə, səər—sɛ), and after *yes* simply (ɛ), as *yes sir* (jɛ'sɛ).

madam (mæ'dɛm—mæm mɛm mɪm mɛm mɛm m'm m). After *yes* and *no* the syllable used by servant girls is (or was, for the use is declining) hard to seize. *No ma'am* is not at all (noo'æm), but nearer (nom—m), the first (m) being short, and the second introduced by a kind of internal decrease of force, which is scarcely well represented by a slur, but I have no sign for it, and so to indicate the dissyllabic character I write helplessly (nom'm, jɛ'sm'm). I have not succeeded in uttering the sound except enclitically.

Numerous other peculiarities of modern pronunciation would require careful consideration in a full treatise, which must be passed over at present. The following comparison of Mr. Melville Bell's 'careful' system of unaccented vowels and my own 'colloquial' pronunciation will serve to show perhaps the extreme limits of 'educated' pronunciation. Mr. Bell has divided his words in the usual way, forming an isolated or *padu* text. I have grouped mine as much as possible into those divisions which the native speaker naturally adopts, and which invariably so much puzzle the foreigner who has learned only from books. This grouping gives therefore a combined or *sanhita* text. Mr. Bell's specimen is taken from

pp. 13 and 14 of his 'English Visible Speech' (no date, but subsequent to his larger work, which was published in 1867), as containing his latest views. In transliterating his symbols I retain (ɹ) for his 'point-glide,' or glide from the vowel to his untrilled (r_o), see (1098, *bc*). In diphthongs Mr. Bell's 'glides' are represented by (i, u) connected with a vowel bearing an acute accent, as (ái, iú). Mr. Bell's aspirate is represented by (ɸh), see (1133, *b'*). It should be remembered that (Ů, Ʋ) are the capitals of (v, o), and (:A, :E) of (A, E); that (˙) is the primary and (:˙) the secondary accent, both written immediately after the vowel in the accented syllable; and that in connected writing, marks of accent are not distinguished from marks of emphasis. In unconnected writing, like Mr. Bell's, (˙) prefixed marks emphasis. Mr. Bell does not write the accent when it falls on the first syllable of a word, and he writes it in other cases before the initial consonant of the accented syllable, according to his own syllabic theory; but in this transliteration the usual palaeotype customs are of course followed. Mr. Bell has not always been very careful, as it appears to me, in marking quantities, but his quantities are here carefully reproduced. I have not thought it necessary to give the usual spelling, as most of the sentences are very familiar.

MELVILLE BELL.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Miseldi˙nɪəs Se˙nhtenhsyz,
Prə˙vɛɪbz, etse˙tɛrɪh.

Mi˙sɛləe˙nɪəs Se˙ntensez,
Prə˙vɛɪbz, etse˙tɛrɛ.

Ah laadz de˙rɔ˙i-fa˙m.
Ah faɪ˙rɔ˙i-tɛmhpɛd fɛ˙lɔ.
Whət ah fiu˙rɔ˙iəs tɛmhpɛst.
Ah wáɪ˙rɔ˙i-ɪhɛ˙ɪd tɛrɔ˙iɪ.
Ah rɔ˙i˙rɔ˙iɪq stə˙bɪhɪn dɔ˙qhkɪ.
Ah glo˙rɔ˙iəs ɪhæ˙vɛst-táim.
Næ˙mbɛɪz əhnd ə˙bdzhekts.
Ah næ˙mbɛɪ əhv pɪ˙ktshuhɪz.

Ůlaad˙zh dee˙rɪfaa˙m.
Ůfɔ˙i˙rɪte˙mpɛd fɛ˙lɔ.
Whə˙tɛ fiúu˙rɪəs tɛmpest˙.
Ůwɔ˙i˙rɪneɛ˙ɪd tɛrɪjɛ.
Ůrɪi˙rɪq stə˙bɛn dɔ˙qkɪ.
Ůgloo˙rɪəs hæ˙vɛsttə˙im.
Nə˙mbɛz ɛn ə˙bdzheks.
Ůnə˙mbɛrɛv pɪ˙ktshɛz
(pɪ˙ktiú˙z, pɪ˙ktjhu˙z).
Kə˙ɪnz weɛ˙jts ɛnme˙zhezs.
Dhɪ˙sɪz ɛmɪi˙zi bʌk tɛrɪi˙d.
Plii˙z dɔ˙nht biit dhɪ˙dɔ˙g.
Ů prɪ˙tɪlɪ˙t˙l goo˙w˙ldfɪ˙nt sh.
Dhɪniúu˙:hə˙w˙zez ɛvpaa˙lɪmɪnt.

Kə˙ɪnz wéits əhnd mɛ˙zhuhɪz.
Dhɪs ɪz əhn iɪ˙zi bʌk tɛ rɔ˙iɪd.
Pliiz dɔ˙nht biit dhɪ˙ dɔ˙g.
Ah prɔ˙ɪ˙tɪ lɪ˙tɪl goo˙w˙ld-fɪnhtsh.
Dhɪ ɲuu ɪháu˙zyz əhv pæ˙ɪly-
mɛnht.

Ůpæ˙kɛv pleɛ˙ɪqka˙dzs.
Ůkæ˙pɪtɛl kə˙i˙ndɛv wɔ˙tshdɔ˙g.
Ůvɛ˙rɪpɪk˙tshɛrɛ˙sk oo˙w˙ld hə˙us.

Ah pæk əhv pleɛ˙ɪq kaadz.
Ah kæ˙pɪtɪhɪl káind əhv wá˙tsh-
dɔ˙g.
Ah vɛ˙rɔ˙i pɪktiúhrɔ˙ɛ˙sk ɔ˙uld
ɪháus.
What ah mæhɪnɪ˙fɪsɛnht piis əhv
wæk.
Ůuld prɔ˙vɛɪbz əhnd wáiz
mæ˙ksɪmz.
:A˙lweez thɪqhk bɪfo˙ɹ ju spɪik.
Liist sɛd su˙nɛst mɛ˙ndɛd.

Whə˙tɛ mæɪnɪ˙fɪsɛnt pi˙sɛv
wæk.
Ůo˙w˙ld prə˙vɛbz, ɛnwɔ˙i˙z
mæ˙ksɪmz.
:A˙lweez thɪqk˙, bɪfoo˙ɹ ju spɪik˙.
Li˙st˙ sɛd, su˙nɪst˙ mɛ˙ndɪd.

MELVILLE BELL.

Fli Gød, ǝnɐɐ dhy Kiq, ahnd
 duu dhæt dhaht iz rǝait.
 Mæn prǝpǝuzyz, bæt Gød dɪs-
 pǝuzyz.
 Faast báind, faast fáind.
 Wéist nəht, wauht nəht.
 Lív ahnd ɫet lív.
 Ah bæd wærkmahn kwǝrɛlz
 wɪdh hɪz tuulz.
 Frɛndz ɪn niid aɪ frɛndz ɪndiɪd.
 Aɪdɪll juuth méiks niɪdi ɛɪdz.
 Ah bláidh nhæht méiks ah blu-
 miq féis.
 Bɛtɛɪ ah smaal fɪsh dhahn ahn
 ɛmhtɪ dɪsh.
 Bǝɪdz ǝhv ah fɛdhɐɪ flɔk tu-
 gɛdhɐɪ.
 Bɛtɛɪ bi ahlǝuɪn dhahn ɪn bæd
 kǝmhpahni.
 What kaauht bi kiúɪd məst bi
 endiúɪd.
 Bi slǝu tu prǝmɪs, bæt kwɪk tu
 pɛfɔɹm.
 Kǝmɐn sɛnhs grǝuz ɪn aal
 kǝnhtrǝiz.
 Tshɪɪfuhlɐs ahnd gudnéi-tiúɪ
 aɪ dhy ǝnahmɐnhts ǝhv
 vǝɪtiú.
 Kǝnsiɪliq faalhts iz bæt ædiq
 tu dhɐm.
 Kǝhmaand juɪsɛɪf ɪf ju wud
 kǝhmaand ǝdhɐɪz.
 Pǝɪsɪvi'rǝahns kǝhɔkheɪz aal
 diɪfɪkǝlhtiz.
 Dáiyt kiúɪz mǝɪ dhahn dǝktǝh-
 rɪq.
 Dizǝɪv sɛksɛs ɪf ju wud
 kǝhmaand ɪt.
 Dɛt iz dhy wǝɪst káind ǝhv
 pǝvɛti.
 Duu what ju aat, kǝm what
 méi.
 Wǝɪdz aɪ liivz, diidz aɪ frɛut.
 Duu dzhǝstɪs, lǝv mǝɪsi,
 prǝɛktɪs ɪnhɪmiɪlɪti.
 Dǝgz dhaht baik móust báit liist.
 Iiɪvɪl kǝhniánikɪshɛnz kǝh-
 rǝɪpt gʊd mǝɐnɛz.
 ɛmhtɪ vɛsɛlz méik dhy gréitɛst
 sǝund.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Fii' Gød, ǝnɐdheki'q, enduu
 dhætdhetiz rǝit.
 Mæn prɛpǝuzyz, b'tGød dɪs-
 pǝuzyz.
 Faast bǝ'ind', faast fǝ'ind'.
 Wɛɛstnɔt, wǝntnɔt.
 Lív, ɛnlɛ't' lív.
 ʔbædwǝ:kmen kwǝrɛlz wɪdh-
 ɪztuuɪz.
 Frɛ:nzɪnniɪd a'frɛ:nzɪndiɪd.
 ʔɛ:d'luuth mɛksniɪdi, ɛɛd'zhsh.
 ʔblǝ'ɪdhnaat mɛksebluu'miq-
 fɛɛs.
 Bɛtɛrɛ smaaɪfɪsh dhɛnɛnɛmti-
 dɪsh.
 Bǝɪdzvɛfɛ:dhe flɔktege:dhe.
 Bɛtɛɪlǝɔ:n dhɛnɪnbæd kǝm-
 pɛni.
 Whɔt kaa'ntbi kiúu'd məsbii'
 endiúu'd.
 Bɪslǝu'w tɛprǝmɪs, b'tkwɪk tɛ-
 pɛfaam.
 Kǝ:mɛnsɛns grǝ'wɛzɪn aal'kǝn-
 trɪzɪs.
 Tshɪi'fɛlnɛs ɛngu'dnɛɛtshɛ
 ɛdhiɪa'ɛmɪnts ɛv vǝɪtshu
 (vǝɪtiú).
 Kǝnsiɪliq faalts ɪzb't ædiqtɛ-
 dhɪm.
 Kɛmaand ju'sɛɪf, ɪfluwud
 (ɪ'fɪud) kɛmaand ǝdheɪz.
 Pǝɪsɪvi'rɛns kǝqkɛz aal diɪfi-
 kultɪzɪs.
 Dǝ'ɪɛt kiúu'z mǝɪ dhɛn dǝk-
 tɛrɪq.
 Dizǝɪv sɛksɛs ɪfluwadkɛmaand-
 ɪt.
 Dɛtizdhi wǝɪst' kǝ'ɪndɛv
 pǝvɛti.
 Duu whɔtju aat, (duu wɔtshu
 aat) kǝm whɔtmɛɛ'j'.
 Wǝɪdzɛ liivz, diɪdzɛ fruut.
 Duu dzhǝstɪs, lǝv mǝɪsi, prǝk-
 tɪs ɪhɪmiɪlɪti (ɪumiɪlɪti).
 Dǝgz dhɛtbærk móost, bǝ'it liist.
 Iiɪvɪl kɛmiúu:nikɛshɛnz kǝrǝpt
 gʊd mǝɐnɛz.
 ɛmtɪ vɛsɛlz mɛɛ'kdhe grɛɛtɪst
 sǝund.

MELVILLE BELL.

Egzaa'mhpl̩ tii'tshyz móa dhahn
pr̩i:sept̩.

Ende'vui foh̩ dh̩y best, ahnd
pr̩ovái'd algham̩st dh̩y waast.

:E'v'ri:bəhd̩z bi'zn̩s iz nóu-
bəhd̩z bi'zn̩s.

Dh̩y br̩áirt̩st láit̩ kaasts dh̩y
daark̩st shæ'do.

Dh̩y fi̩r oh̩v Gød iz dh̩y big'i'n-
iq̩ oh̩v wí'zdem.

:Aal ær̩thli tr̩æ'zhah̩z aɪ véin
ahnd fl̩i:tiq̩.

Gud waadz k̩st n̩r̩thiq̩ b̩t aɪ
wæ:th m̩tsh.

Hh̩i dh̩aht gí'veth tu dh̩y pu̩
l̩endeth tu dh̩y L̩aɪd.

Hh̩i d̩abll̩z nh̩z gift̩ nh̩u giv̩z
in̩ táim.

Hh̩i nh̩u sóuz br̩æ'mbl̩z m̩st
n̩t góu 'ber'fat̩.

Hhóup l̩əq̩ dif̩ərd̩ m̩i'keth dh̩y
nh̩aɪt s̩k̩.

Hh̩i nh̩u wan̩ts k̩ənt̩e'nht̩
k̩ə'n̩ht̩ fáind̩ ahn̩ i:zi t̩sheɪ.

Hh̩i dh̩aht nóuz nh̩m̩se'lf̩ 'best̩,
i:st̩i'm̩z nh̩m̩se'lf̩ 'li:st̩.

:Hhóup iz gr̩i:fs̩ best̩ m̩i'úu'zik̩.
If̩ wí du n̩ht̩ s̩b̩di'úu' áuɪ

p̩æ'shenz dh̩eí wí s̩b̩di'úu' 'æs̩.
In̩ ju:th̩ ahnd̩ str̩eq̩th̩ th̩i'q̩h̩k̩

oh̩v éid̩zh̩ ahnd̩ wíi kn̩s̩.
It̩ iz n̩e'v̩i tuu l̩éit̩ tu m̩end̩.

If̩ ju wísh̩ ah̩ th̩i'q̩ d̩an̩, 'góu;
if̩ n̩t̩, s̩end̩.

Dzh̩ə'ki'úlu sl̩æ'nd̩erz̩ ə'f̩n̩
pr̩uuv̩ si'ri:əs̩ i'nd̩zh̩ə'ri:z̩.

Ki'p̩ n̩ht̩ n̩ə k̩ə'v̩t̩ w̩h̩t̩ iz̩ n̩ht̩
ju'ró óun̩.

L̩á:riq̩ iz̩ dh̩y váis̩ oh̩v ah̩ sl̩éiv̩.
L̩óon̩ tu l̩iv̩ æz̩ ju w̩ud̩ wísh̩ tu
d̩ái.

M̩e'd̩ll̩ n̩ht̩ wídh̩ dh̩æ't̩ w̩h̩t̩sh̩
k̩əh̩ns̩ə'ɪnz̩ ju n̩t̩.

M̩e'k̩ n̩ht̩ ah̩ dzhest̩ aht̩ ahn̩-
ədh̩erz̩ i'nf̩ə'm̩t̩iz̩.

M̩at̩sh̩ iz̩ ɛks̩p̩ekt̩ed̩ w̩h̩eɪ m̩at̩sh̩
iz̩ gí'v̩n̩.

M̩e'n̩i̩ ah̩ tr̩uuv̩ w̩ad̩ iz̩ sp̩óu'k̩yn̩
in̩ dzhest̩.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Egzaa'mp'l̩ tii'tshez m̩oo'·dhen
prii'sept̩.

Ende'v̩ fedh̩be'st̩, en̩ pr̩ev̩ə'id̩
eg̩en'st̩ 'd̩h̩ew̩əə'st̩.

E'v̩ri'bəd̩z̩ bi'zn̩ys̩ iz̩ n̩oo bəd̩z̩
bi'zn̩ys̩.

D̩h̩ebr̩ə'it̩yst̩ l̩ə'it̩ k̩aə'st̩sd̩h̩e
daark̩yst̩ 'shæ'do.

D̩h̩i'fi'·r̩uv̩Gød̩ i:zd̩h̩ib̩ig'i'n̩iq̩ev̩
wí'zdem̩.

:Aal ær̩thli tr̩e'z̩hezs̩ v̩v̩e'en̩ en-
fl̩i:tiq̩.

Gud̩ w̩ədz̩ k̩AAsT̩ n̩r̩thiq̩ b̩t̩e-
w̩əə'th̩ m̩ət̩sh̩.

H̩i'rd̩het̩ gí'v̩th̩ t̩ed̩h̩epu'·
l̩e'nd̩th̩ t̩ed̩h̩aL̩AAd̩.

·H̩i d̩ə'b̩l̩z̩ h̩iz̩gí'ft̩ n̩ugí'v̩z̩
i'nt̩ə'im̩.

H̩i'·hu̩ sooz̩ br̩æ'mbl̩z̩ m̩ə'sent̩
g̩oo'w̩ b̩e'e'fat̩.

H̩oo'p-l̩ə:qd̩if̩ə d̩ m̩e'e'k̩i'hd̩h̩e
n̩aɪt̩ s̩k̩.

H̩i'·hu̩ w̩ənts̩ k̩ent̩e'nt̩, k̩æ'net̩-
f̩ə'ind̩ en̩i:zi t̩shee'.

H̩i'rd̩het̩ n̩oo'w̩z̩ h̩im̩se'lf̩ 'best̩,
est̩i'm̩z̩ h̩im̩se'lf̩ 'li:st̩.

H̩oo'p̩iz̩ gr̩i:fs̩ best̩ m̩i'úu'zik̩.
If̩w̩id̩u'not̩ s̩əb̩di'úu' ə'u'p̩æ-

sh̩enz̩s̩ 'd̩h̩ee'j̩ w̩il̩s̩əb̩di'úu' 'əs̩.
In̩ju:th̩ en̩str̩eq̩th̩ th̩i'q̩kev̩

ee'jd̩zh̩ en̩w̩i'kn̩ys̩.
It̩iz̩n̩e'v̩ 'tuu l̩e'e'jt̩ t̩em̩e'nd̩.

If̩juw̩i'sh̩ eth̩i'q̩ d̩ən̩, 'g̩oo'w̩;
if̩n̩ə't̩, s̩end̩.

D̩zh̩ə'ki'úlu sl̩aə'nd̩ez̩s̩ ə'f̩n̩
pr̩uuv̩ si'ri:əs̩ i'nd̩zh̩er̩iz̩.

K̩i'p̩n̩ə't̩ n̩ə'k̩ə'v̩t̩ w̩h̩ət̩iz̩n̩ə't̩
ju'róo'w̩n̩.

L̩ə'i'·i'q̩ iz̩d̩h̩ev̩ə'is̩ v̩v̩esl̩e'e'v̩f̩.
L̩óon̩ t̩el̩i'v̩ e'z̩juw̩ud̩w̩i'sh̩ t̩ed̩ə'i̩.

M̩e'd̩'n̩ə't̩ wídh̩dh̩æ't̩ w̩h̩t̩sh̩
k̩en̩s̩ə'ɪnz̩ ju n̩ə't̩.

M̩e'e'kn̩ə't̩ dzhest̩ et̩en̩ə'd̩hez̩
i'nf̩ə'm̩t̩iz̩s̩.

M̩ə't̩sh̩iz̩ ɛks̩p̩ekt̩yd̩ w̩h̩e'-
m̩ə't̩sh̩iz̩ gí'v̩n̩.

M̩e'n̩ə' tr̩uuv̩ w̩ədz̩iz̩ sp̩oo'k̩'n̩in̩
dzhest̩.

MELVILLE BELL.

Misfəhr'tiúnz aɪ dhɪ dɪ'siplɪn
əhv ɪhiúmæ'nɪti.

Nəthiq ɔv'vækənz pæ'shen
mə dhahm sái'lenhs.

Nise'siti iz dhɪ mə'dher əhv
ɪvɛnhshen.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

MisfAA'tshenz (misfAA't'iúnz)
a':dhɪdɪ'siplɪn ʌvʃhumæ'nɪti
(ʌvʃumæ'nɪti).

Nəthiq ɔv'vəkənz pæ'shen
moo'dhɪn sái'lyns.

Nise'siti izdhəmə'dher ɛvɪvɛn-
shen.

COMPARISON OF MELVILLE BELL'S AND ALEX. J. ELLIS'S PRONUNCIATIONS.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, which has been already given in Anglo-Saxon p. 534, Icelandic p. 550, Gothic p. 561, and Wycliffite English p. 740, is now annexed for comparison, as transcribed from Mr. M. Bell's English Visible Speech, p. 10, and as rendered by myself. Mr. Bell's is intended to represent a model pronunciation, and although the words are disjunct, they are meant to be read together, and the unemphatic monosyllables are treated by him accordingly, as (ah ɪhahd ahnd), which, under the emphasis, he would write (éi nhæd ænd). My pronunciation is such as I should employ naturally if I had to read the passage to a large audience. The words connected in speech are connected by hyphens, instead of being run together as before, and the force is pointed out in each group. Mr. Bell had used hyphens to separate the syllables, but these are omitted in order not to employ hyphens in different senses in the two versions. Accent and emphasis are written as before, see p. 1168. Mr. Bell's glides are indicated by (ái áu á) as before, and his untrilled (r_o) is thus marked.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON. LUKE XV. 11—32.

MELVILLE BELL.

11. Ah sœrtyn mæn ɪhahd
tuu sœnz :

12. ahnd dhɪ jæq'gær əhv
dhɛm sɛd tu ɪhiz faa'dhæ:
Faa'dhæ, giv mi dhɪ pœr'shen
əhv gudʒ dhah't fAA'leth tu mi.
Ænd ɪhi divái'ded æntu dhɛm
ɪhiz lí'vɪq.

13. Ænd nœt mœ'nɪ déiz aah-
fæ, dhɪ jæq'gær sæn gæ'dhæd
AAL tuge'dhæ, ahnd tæk ɪhiz
dzhæ'ni i'nhɪu ah fæ kæn'htrɔj,
ahnd dhæ wéis'ted ɪhiz sœb-
stahnhs wídh ræí'etɛs lí'vɪq.

14. Ænd, wæn ɪhi ɪhahd
spenht AAL, dhæ ahróuz ah
mái'ti fæ'mɪn ɪn dhæt lænd;
ahnd ɪhi bigæ'n tu bi ɪn wænht.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

11. ʊ-sœrtyn mæn ɪhæd-tuu
sœnz :

12. ʊn-dhæ-jæq'gær-ɛv dhɪm
sɛd tu-iz-faa'dhæ, Faa'dhæ, giv-
mi-dhæ poo'shen-ɛv-gudʒ dhæt-
fAA'leth tu-mii'. Ænd ɪi-
divái'ded æntu-dhɛm ɪiz-lí'vɪq.

13. ʊnd-nœt mœ'nɪ dæz aa'ftu,
dhæ-jæq'gær sæn gæ'dhæd AAL
tuge'dhæ, ɛn-tu-k-iz dzhœ'ni
æntu-v-faa' kœ'ntrɪ, ɛn-dhæe'
wæ'stɛd-iz sœb'stɛns wídh-
rœ'íetɛs lí'vɪq.

14. ʊn-wæn ɪi-æd-spɛnt
AAL, dhæ-ɛrœuz ɛ-mœi'ti fæ'mɪn
ɪn-dhæt lænd, ɛn-ni-bigæ'n
tu-bi-ɪn-wænt.

MELVILLE BELL.

15. Ahnd n^{hi} wenht ahnd dzho'ind n^{hi}msc'lf tu ah s'itizen ohv dhæt kanh'tr^ui, ahnd n^{hi} senht n^{hi}m i'nhtu n^{hi}z fiildz tu fiid swáin.

16. Ahnd 'nhii wud f'ín nhahv fiid n^{hi}z be'li wídh dhy nhasks dhah't dhy swáin did iit: ahnd nóu mæn géiv anhtu n^{hi}m.

17. Ænd, when n^{hi} k'ím tu n^{hi}msc'lf, n^{hi} sed, Hháu mē'nⁱ nháid sœrvahnhts ohv mⁱ faa'dheaz nhæv br'ed inaf ahnd tu spei, ahnd ái pe'rish wídh nht'qge.

18. Ái wíl ahr'áiz ahnd góu tu mⁱ faa'dheaz, ænd wíl s'í anhtu n^{hi}m, Faa'dher, ái nhahv s'ind ahge'nht nhe'vnn, ænd bifor dhii,

19. Ahnd æm nóu mœ wærdhi tu bi kaald dhái sæn: mœk mⁱ ahz wæn ohv dhái nháid sœrvahnhts.

20. Ænd n^{hi} ahr'óuz, ahnd k'ím tu n^{hi}z faa'dheaz. Bat, when n^{hi} waz jæt ah gr'óit wéi 'áf, n^{hi}z faa'dher sáa n^{hi}m, ahnd nhæd kœmpæ'shen, ahnd r'æen, ahnd f'el ohn n^{hi}z nek, ahnd k'ist n^{hi}m.

21. Ahnd dhy sæn sed anhtu n^{hi}m, Faa'dher, ái nhahv s'ind, ahge'nht nhe'vnn, ænd in dhái sáit, ahnd æm nóu mœ wærdhi tu bi kaald dhái sæn.

22. Bat dhy faa'dheaz sed tu n^{hi}z sœrvahnhts, Briq foath dhy best róub, ahnd put it on n^{hi}m; ænd put ahr'iq ohn n^{hi}z nhænd, ahnd shuuz ohn n^{hi}z fiit.

23. Ahnd briq n^{hi}dheaz dhæ fæ'ted kaaf, ahnd kíl it, ahnd let æs iit ahnd bi me'ri.

24. Fæ dh'is mái sæn wæz ded, ahnd iz ahláiv ahge'n; n^{hi} wæz lœst, ahnd iz fáund. Ahnd dhe bigæ n tu bi me'ri.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

15. Un-i-wen't en-dzhó'ind n^{hi}msc'lf tu-e-s'itizen ev-dhæt kóntri, en-i-sen't-im i'ntu-iz-fiildz tu-fii'd swó'in.

16. Un-i-wud-fee'n ev-fi'ld iz-be'li wídh-dhe-nò'sks dhæt-dhe-swæ'in did-iit: en-nóo-mæn geev-æntu-nim.

17. Un-when-i-keemtu-imsel'f, nⁱ'sed, Hæume'nⁱhó'í'd sœ'vents ev-mi-faa'dheaz ev-bre'd-inaf en-tu-spee', en-ó'i pe'rish wídh-nò'qge.

18. Á'i-wil ev'óiz en-goo tu-mi-faa'dher, en-wíl-see'j' æntu-ni'm, Faa'dher, ó'i-ev-si'nd ege'nst he'v'n en-bi'foo'-dhii,

19. en-em-nóo' mœ' wœ'dhi tu bi kaald dhó'i-sæn: mee'k-mi ez-wæ'n-ev-dhó'i hó'í'd sœ'vents.

20. Un-i-evoo'z en-keem tu-iz-faa'dhe. Bat-when-i-wez-je't e-gree'jt wee 'áf, n^{hi}z-faa'dhe sáa-nim, en-næ'd kempæshe n, en-ræ'n, en-fel æn-iz-ne'k, en-kí'st nim.

21. Un-dhe-sæn sed æntu-ni'm, Faa'dher, ó'i-ev-si'nd ege'nst he'v'n, en-in-dhó'i s'óit, en-em-nóo' mœ' wœ'dhi tu-bi-kaald dhó'i-sæn.

22. Bat-dhe-faa'dhe sed tu-iz-sœ'vents, Briq foo'th dhe-be'st roob, en-put-it-on-nim, en-put e-rí'q æn-iz-næ'nd, en-shuuz æn-iz-fiit.

23. Un-bri'q nⁱdhe dhe-fæ'ted kaaf, en-kí'l-it, en-le't-es iit en-bi-me'ri.

24. Fæ-dh'is mœ'í-sæn wæz-ded, en-iz-æ'í'v ege'n, n^{hi}-wæz-lœ'st, en-iz-fáund. Un-dhe-bigæ n tu-bi-me'ri.

MELVILLE BELL.

25. Náu nhíz e'ldə sən wəz
in dhy fiild, ahnd, æz hhi kéim
ahnd druu náí tu dhy hháus,
hhi nhəwld miúu'zík ahnd
də'nhsíq.

26. Ænd hhi kAald wən əhv
dhy səu'vahnhts, ahnd aaskt
whət dhiiz thiqz menht.

27. Ahnd hhi sed ə'nhtu
nhím, Dhái brə'dher iz kəm;
ahnd dhái faa'dher nhahz kild
dhy fæ'ted kaaf, bikAA'z hhi
hahth r_isiivd nhím séif ahnd
sáund.

28. Ahnd hhi wəz æ'qgr_i,
ahnd wud nəht góu in: dhəu-
fəh_ kéim nhíz faa'dher_ áut,
ahnd entriitəd nhím.

29. Ahnd hhi, aa'nhsər_iq,
sed tu nhíz faa'dhə, Lóu, dhiiz
mə'ní jii'z du ái səu'v dhi,
nii'dhə trahnhsgr_əst ái aht e'ni
táim dhái kəhmaandmenht:
ahnd jət dhóu ne've_ géi'vest
mii ah 'kíd, dhaht ái máit méik
mər_i widh mī fr_əndz:

30. bət əh_ suun əh_ dhís
dhái sən wəz kəm, whítsh
nhahth diváu'd dhái lí'v_iq
widh hær'lets, dháu nhahst kild
fəh_ nhím dhy fæ'ted 'kaaf.

31. Ahnd hhi sed ə'nhtu nhím
Sən, dháu art e've_ widh mī,
ahnd 'Aal dhaht ái nhəv iz
dháin.

32. It wəz miit dhaht wí shəd
méik mər_i, ahnd be gləd:
fəh_ dhís dhái brə'dhə wəz dəd,
ahnd iz əhlái'v əh_ə'n, ənd wəz
ləst ahnd iz fáund.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

25. Nə'u-iz e'ldə sən wez-in
dhə-fii'ld, ənd əz-i-keem en
druu nə'i tu-dhə-hə'u's, hi-həəd
miúu'zík en-daa'nsiq.

26. Ũn-i-kAA'ld wə'n-əv-dhə
səə'vənts, ən-aa'skt what dhiiz
thiqz ment.

27. Ũn-i-se'd-ə'n-tu-hím,
Dhə'i brə'dher iz-kə'm, ən-dhə'i-
faa'dher əz-kild dhə-fæ'ted kaaf,
bikAA'z-i hæth risiivd hím seef
en-sə'u'nd.

28. Ũn-i-wəz æ'qgr_i, ən-wud
-nət goo 'in: dhəe'fa keem híz-
faa'dher ə'ut, ən-entriitəd-hím.

29. Ũn-hii, aa'nseriq, sed tu-
iz-faa'dhə, Loo'w, dhiiz-mə'ní
jii'z du-ə'i-səə'v-dhi, nə'i'dhə
trənsgr_əst əi ət-e'ni tə'im dhə'i-
kəmaa'ndmynt; ən-jət dhə'u
ne've_ geevyst mii ə-kíd, dhət
ə'i-mə'it-meek-mə'ri widh-mi-
fr_əndz:

30. bət əz-suun-əz dhís dhə'i-
sə'n wez-kə'm, whítsh-əth-
divə'u'd dhə'i-lí'v_iq widh-
'haa'lets, dhə'u-əst kild fa hím
dhə-fæ'ted 'kaaf.

31. Ũn-i-se'd-ə'n-tu-hím, Sən,
dhə'u't e've-widh-mi, ən-'Aal
dhət-ə'i-hə'v-iz-dhə'i'n.

32. It-wəz-miit dhət-wi-shəd-
meek-mə'ri ən-bí-gləd, fa-dhís
dhə'i brə'dhə wez-dəd, ən-iz
əhlái'v əh_ə'n, ən-wəz-ləst ən-iz-
fə'u'nd.

ENGLISH SPELLING, PAST AND POSSIBLE.

It is impossible to pass over these specimens of pronounciation without comparing them with orthography, in the spirit of the remarks in Chap. VI., pp. 606-632. Hence I annex the same passage in four different practical orthographies of the xviith and xixth centuries.

First, after "Barker's Bible," 1611, the date of the Authorized Version, shewing the orthography in which it was presented to the English public.

The full title of this edition is:
 יהוה | The | HOLY | BIBLE, | Con-
 taining the Old Testa- | ment, and the
 New: | ¶ *Newly translated out of* |
 the Originall Tongues: and with | the
 former Translations diligently | com-
 pared and reuised, by his | Maiesties
 Speeiall Com- | mandement. | ¶ *Ap-
 pointed to be read in Churches.* |
 ¶ IMPRINTED | at London by
 Robert | Barker, Printer to the | Kings

most Excellent | Maiestie. | ANNO DOM.
 1611. | *Cum Priuilegio.*

Large folio, for placing on reading desks in churehes. Text in black letter; Chapter headings in Roman type. Supplied words (now usually put in Italics) not distinguished. Press-mark at British Museum (on 11th October, 1873, the date is mentioned, as alterations occasionally occur in these press-marks) $\frac{1276, 1, 4}{1-2}$.

Secondly, in "Glossie," the improved form of Glossotype (given on pp. 15, 614), which I presented to the Philological Society on 20 May, 1870, or about a year after Chap. VI. was in type. This paper on "Glossie" is printed in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 89-118, entirely in the Glossie orthography. It is further explained and extended on pp. xiii-xx of the Notice prefixed to the Third Part of the present work, published 13 February, 1871. The principal object which I had in view, was the writing the pronunciation of all English dialects approximatively by one system of spelling founded upon ordinary usages, and for that purpose it will possibly be extensively employed by the English Dialect Society, which the Rev. W. W. Skeat started in May, 1873. What is required for this purpose is more fully considered in § 2, No. 5, and is exemplified in § 2, No. 10. Glossie was further explained before the College of Preceptors (see *Educational Times* for May, 1870), and the Society of Arts (see their Journal for 22 April, 1870), as a system by which instruction might be advantageously given in teaching children to read, and as a means of avoiding the "spelling difficulty," because writing according to this system, whatever the pronunciation indicated, would be perfectly legible, without previous instruction, to all who could read in our ordinary orthography. This, together with completeness and typographical facility, was the aim of the alterations introduced subsequently to the printing of Chap. VI.

As at present presented, there are only three glossie groups of letters, *uo*, *dh*, *zh*, with which a reader is not familiar, and of these *dh*, *zh*, have long been used by writers on pronunciation. The first, *uo*, has been employed for

short *oo* in *wood*, *ou* in *would*, *o* in *woman*, and *u* in *put*, as suggesting all the four forms, *oo*, *ou*, *o*, *u*, by a combination, *uo*, which had no other associations in English. The glossie combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:

beet bait baa ead coal cool
 knit net gnat not nut fuot (for foot)
 height foil foul feud — yea way whey — hay
 pea bee, toe doe, chest jest, keep gape, —
 fie vie, thiin dhen (for then), seal zeal, rush rouzhe (for rouge), —
 ring lay, may nay sing —
 peer pair soar poor, peerring pairring soarring moorring —
 deter deterring, star starry, abhor abhorring.

The spelling is not perfect, and, for convenience, combinations rather than separate letters have definite sounds. Thus *u* in *nut* has one sound, but the combinations *uo*, *ou*, *eu*, have no trace of this sound. Similarly for *h*, *th*, *dh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, the last combination being indispensable in English. Also *r* has two senses, according as it comes before a vowel or not, and when it follows *ee*, *ai*, *oa*, *oo*, it forms the diphthongs in *peer* *pair* *soar* *poor*, and hence must be doubled in *peer*ing *pair*ing *soar*ing *poor*ing, the first *r* forming part of the combination, and the second the trill, = (*pi*'*i*'*ri*q *pee*'*ri*q *soo*'*ri*q *puu*'*ri*q). The (i) sounds, as (æ, e) with permissible (r) following, are uniformly written *er*, when not before a vowel, the *r* being then untrilled; but as *er* before a vowel would trill the *r*, it is necessary to write *err* in this case, thus *ering* = (e'*ri*q), but *derrring* = (d*i*tæ'*ri*q). In the case of *or*, *or*, I used *aur*, *aur*, in the papers cited, but I believe it more consonant with usual habits to employ the same principle of combinational use, and to write *star* *starri* *abhor* *abhorring* = (*staa* *staa'ri* *æbhaa*' *æbhaa'ri*q). This, however, has again the very serious disadvantage of employing two signs *ar* *aa'*, or *or* *au'*, for the same sound (aa) or (AA). The whole use of *r*, in any practical system of spelling, must be a system of compromises. When the trilled *r* has to be especially noted in unusual places, as in Scotch or provincial pronunciation, *r*' must be employed, and this sign may be of course always used. The untrilled *r* should never be used where it may not be followed by a trilled *r*. If we write *soar*, it is implied that either (soo') or (seo'r) may be said. Hence it may not be used for the provincial sound of (soo') or (sôv) = *so*. The obscure unaccented or unemphatic syllables present another difficulty. As all the (e, æ) sounds, where (er, ær) may be sounded, are sunk into *er*, I think it best to sink all the (el, em, en) sounds into *el*, *em*, *en*. But those (e) sounds where (r) may not be sounded, I write *a* at present, though *u* would be perhaps better, if it did not unfortunately suggest (iu). Hence the provincial (-soo', sôv) may be written *soa*-*a*, *soa*-*u*, or, without a hyphen, *soaa*, *soau*, on the principle that when several letters come together which might be read as different groups, the two first

must be read together, and not the two last; thus *soaa* = *soa*-*a*, and not *so*-*aa*. Or, as is best, *soah'*, the *h'* indicating this sound when forming a diphthong with the preceding letter. This *h'* replacing (') forms a very important sign in dialectal glossic, and it ought really to replace untrilled *r* in ordinary glossic spelling. But at present habits are too fixed for such an innovation.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to mark accent and emphasis in every word. Hence I use (˘) for accent, whenever the force does not fall on the first syllable, so that the absence of such mark indicates the stress on the first syllable. This mark is put after a vowel when long, after a diphthong (and hence after the untrilled *r* in *eer*, etc.), and after the first consonant following a short vowel. It thus becomes a mark of length, and may be inserted in all accented syllables when it is important to mark the length,—as, in dialects, to distinguish the short sound of *aa* in *kaat*' *haat*' = (kat haad) and not (kaat haad), which would be written *kaa't* *haa'd*, and are really the sounds heard when *kart* *hard* are written with the untrilled *r*; of course not the sounds of *kar't*, *har'd*, which = (kært, hærd). In received English the marking of quantity is not of much consequence, accented *ee*, *ai*, *aa*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, being received as long, and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *uo*, as short; and hence the omission of the accent mark is possible. Similarly, when *el*, *em*, *en*, are not obscured, write *el'*, *em'*, *en'*.

Emphatic monosyllables have (˙) preceding, as *˙dhat* *˙dhat* *˙dhat* *man* *˙sed*, *˙too* *˙too* *wun*, *˙ei* *˙ei* *eu*. The obscure unemphatic form has not been given, except in *a*, *dhi* for the articles. How far the use of such changing forms is practicable in writing cannot be determined at present. Phonetic spellers generally preserve the clear forms, just as children are taught to read *ai* *man* and *ai* *dog*, *dhee* *wuom*-*au* *sau* *dhee*, = (ee mæn and ee dæg, dhii wu'mæ:n saa dhii), instead of (emæn enedæg, dhewam'en saa dhî). All these points are niceties which the rough usage of every-day life would neglect, but which the proposer of a system of spelling, founded in any degree on pronunciation, has to bear in mind. As pointed out before (630, *be*), even extremely different usages would not impair legibility.

Thirdly, Mr. Danby P. Fry has, at my request, furnished me with a transcription of the same passage into that improved system of English spelling which forms the subject of his paper in the *Philological Transactions* for 1870, pp. 17–88, to which I must refer for a detailed account of the principles upon which it is constructed. The following abstract has been furnished by Mr. Fry in his own orthography.

Explanatory Notes.

Words derived directly from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, rightly follow the etymological spelling. In such words, the question is not as to the orthography, but as to the pronunciation.

Words borrowed from living tongues come into English in their native dress, and continue to wear it until they are naturalized.

In many English words, in which the spelling differs from the pronunciation, the preliminary question arises, which should be altered,—the spelling or the pronunciation? In the following specimen this question is raised rather than determined. The *italics* suggest it in certain words. Ought not the correct, which is still the provincial pronunciation to be restored to such words as *one*, *two*, *answer*, *son*? As to the last, compare the English with the German :

the son	der sohn
the sun	die sonne.

With respect to *aa*, many persons say *ans'er*, *dancing*, *last*, instead of *aans'er*, *duaneing*, *laast*; while the provincial pronunciation of *faadher* is *faidher*.

The digraph *dh* is used for the flat sound of *th*, as in *then*; for as *th* is to *t*, so is *dh* to *d*; e.g. *tin*, *thin*; *den*, *dhen*. A new letter is needed for the sound of *ng* in *long*; and the want of it necessitates the clumsy-looking combination *ngg* for the sound heard in *longger*. The small capital *u* denotes the short sound of *oo*, as in *good* (*gud*); the long sound, as in *food*, being expressed by *oo*.

The general rule in English spelling, that a monosyllable shall not end with a double (or double) consonant, is made

universal. Hence, *fel*, *nek*, instead of *fell*, *neek*. The letter *v* is dealt with like any other consonant; so that it is doubled where any other consonant would be doubled, and is allowed to end a word, without being followed by a servile or silent *e*; as *hav*, *harving*; *liv*, *living*. The rules which are followed in vowel-spelling will be obvious on inspection: thus, for example, it will be seen that a long vowel is denoted by a digraph, and a short vowel by a single letter, in a monosyllable; and that in an accented syllable, where the vowel is short, the following consonant is doubled, but not where it is long. An aspirate digraph serves the same purpose as a doubled consonant in this respect. Where, however, in the present spelling, the servile *e* is used to denote a long vowel, that practice is not altered; as, *arize*, *aroze*.

The flat consonants are generally indicated, not only in *dh* for *th* (*gadher* for *gather*), but in *v* for *f* (*ov* for *of*), and in *z* for *s* (*az* for *as*; *iz* for *is*); but no variation is made in inflexions, so that *s* remains unaltered in words like *has*, *his*, *years*.

The digraph *gh* is retained, when it is not preceded by *u*, as in *might*; but when it is preceded by *u* with the sound of *f*, *gh* is omitted, and the present pronunciation is expressed, as in *enuf*. Generally, etymological silent consonants are retained when their silence can be determined by "rules of position."

No attempt is made to denote accent, except in the instance of doubling the consonant after an accented short vowel.

Fourthly, Mr. E. Jones, whose efforts to improve our orthography are mentioned above (p. 590, note 1, and p. 591, note 2), and also in my paper on *Glossic* (*Philol. Trans.* p. 105, note 3, and text, p. 106), has been good enough to transcribe the same passage in the orthography which he at present recommends. I gladly give insertion to the following condensed statement of "principles" furnished by himself.

Analogic Spelling by E. Jones.

Object.—To reduce the difficulties of spelling to a minimum, with the least possible deviation from the current orthography.

Uses.—1. Immediate. To assist children, ignorant adults, and foreigners, in learning to read books in the present spelling; and also for writing purposes by the same, concurrently with the present system.

2. Ultimate. To supersede, gradually, as the public may feel disposed, the present spelling.

Means.—Allow books in the Revised Spelling to be used in the National Schools, which would serve the double purpose of being the best means of teaching reading to children, and also of familiarising the rising generation with the appearance of the new spelling, in the same manner as the Metric System is now exhibited in the National Schools.

General Notes.

1. It is assumed that the object of spelling, or writing, is to express by letters, the sounds of words.

2. In order to disarm prejudice, and to facilitate the transition from the new spelling to the old in reading, it is desirable to make the difference between the one and the other as little as possible.

3. To do this the following general principle will serve as a safe guide.

Use every letter, and combination of letters, in their *most common power* in the present spelling.

The adoption of this rule settles clearly the point as between the retention of 'c' and 'k' for the hard guttural sound. 'C' in its hard sound occurs about twelve times as often as 'k' for the same sound, and six times as often as 'k,' 'q,' and 'x' together. In the following alphabet, therefore, 'k,' 'q,' and 'x' are rejected, and 'c' is called *cay*.

Again, in a still more decided proportion, the question as to the use of the digraph "th," for the hard or the flat sound in *this* and *thin*, is settled by the fact that "th" represents the flat sound about twenty times as often as the sharp sound. "Th" as in *thin* is indicated by Italics.

The long *ah* as in "alms" and *u* in "put" are the only vowels for which no provision is made in the common mode of representing the vowel-sounds at present. These sounds however occur very rarely and in very few words, they are marked respectively thus: alms = âmz, put = pût.

The Alphabet.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a,	â,	ai,	au,	b,	c,	ch,
mat,	alms,	maid,	laud,	bed,	cat,	chip,

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
d,	e,	ee,	f,	g,	h,	i,	ie,
dog,	met,	meet,	fan,	go,	hay,	pin,	pies,

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
j,	l,	m,	n,	ng,	o,	oe,	oi,
jet,	lad,	mat,	nut,	sing,	not,	foes,	oil,

24	25	26	27	28	29	30
oo,	ou,	p,	r,	s,	sh,	t,
food,	out,	pen,	run,	sit,	ship,	ten,

31	32	33	34	35	36
th,	th,	u,	ue,	û,	v,
then,	thin,	tun,	hues,	buîl,	van,

37	38	39	40
w,	y,	z,	zh.
ward,	yard,	zeal,	vision.

Note.—At the end of words *y* unaccented = *i*, and accented *y* = *ie*. Also at the end of words *ow* = *ou* and *aw* = *au*. This simple rule obviates the changing of thousands of the most common words. The little words, 'be,' 'me'; 'go,' 'no,' etc., are used for the theoretical, 'bee,' 'mee'; 'goe,' 'noe.'

Pronunciation.

As the pronunciation varies considerably even among educated people, the rule is followed here of inclining to the pronunciation indicated by the present spelling, and no attempt is made at extreme refinements of pronunciation. The proportion of words changed in spelling, in the example given below, is about 1 in 3, or say 30 per cent. Children might be taught on this plan to read in a few lessons, and the transition to the present spelling would be very easy.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11—32.

BARKER'S BIBLE, 1611.

GLOSSIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

11. A certaine man had two fonnes:

12. And the yonger of them said to his father, Father, giue me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing.

13. And not many dayes after, the yonger sonne gathered all together, and took his iourney into a farre countrey, and there wasted his substance with riotous liuing.

14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and ioyned himselfe to a citizen of that countrey, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

16. And he would faine haue filled his belly with the huskes that the swine did eate: and no man gaue vnto him.

17. And when hee came to himselfe, hee said, How many hired seruants of my fathers haue bread ynough and to spare, and I perish with hunger?

18. I will arise and goe to my father, and will say vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen and before thee.

19. And am no more worthy to bee called thy sonne: make me as one of thy hired seruants.

20. And he arose and came to his father. But when hee was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ranne, and fell on his necke, and kissed him.

21. And the sonne said vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy sonne.

11. A serten man had too sunz:

12. And dhi yungger ov dhemed too hiz faadher, Faadher, giv mee dhi poarshen ov guodz dhat fauleth too mee. And hee di-veided untoo dhemed hiz living.

13. And not meni daiz aafter, dhi yungger sun gadherd aul toogeth'er, and tuok hiz jurni intoo a far kuntri, and dhair waisted hiz substanswidh reiutus living.

14. And when hee had spent aul, dhair aroa'z a meiti famin in 'dhat land, and hee bigan' too bee in wont.

15. And hee went and joind himse'lf too a sitizen ov 'dhat kuntri, and hee sent him intoo hiz feeldz too feed swein.

16. And hee wuod fain hav fild hiz beli widh dhi husks dhat dhi swein did eet: and noa man gaiv untoo him.

17. And when hee kaim too himse'lf, hee sed, Hou meni heird servents ov mei faadherz hav bred enuf and too spair, and ei perish widh hungger!

18. Ei wil arei'z, and goa too mei faadher, and wil sai untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind agen'st hev'n and bifoar dhee,

19. And am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun: maik mee az wun ov dhei heird servents.

20. And hee aroa'z and kaim too hiz faadher. But when hee woz yet a grait wai of, hiz faadher sau him, and had kom-pa'shun, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.

21. And dhi sun sed untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind agen'st hev'n, and in dhei seit, and am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11—32.

DANBY P. FRY.

E. JONES.

11. And he said, A certain man had *two sons*:

11. And he said, A certain man had *too sunz*:

12. And dhe yungger ov dhem said to his faadher, Faadher, giv me dhe portion ov guds dhat fauleth to me. And he divided unto dhem his livving.

12. And the yunger ov them said to hiz father, Father, giv me the porshon ov goodz that fauleth to me. And he divided unto them hiz living.

13. And not menny days after dhe yungger son gadhered aul togedher, and tuk his jurny into a far cuntry, and dhere waisted his substance widh riotous living.

13. And not meny daiz after the yunger sun gatherd aul together, and tooe hiz jurny into a far cuntry, and thair waisted hiz substans with riotous living.

14. And when he had spent aul, dhere aroze a mighty famin in dhat land; and he began to be in want.

14. And when he had spent aul, thair aroez a miety famin in that land; and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and joined himself to a cittizen ov dhat cuntry; and he sent him into his feelds to feed swine.

15. And he went and joind himself to a sitizen ov that cuntry; and he sent him into hiz feeldz to feed swien.

16. And he wuld fain hav filled his belly widh dhe husks dhat dhe swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

16. And he wuld fain hav fild hiz bely with the huses that the swien did eet: and no man gaiv unto him.

17. And when he came to himself, he said, How menny hired servants ov my faadher's hav bred enuf and to spare, and I perrish widh hungger!

17. And when he caim to himself, he said, How meny hierd servants ov my father's hav bred enuf and to spair, and I perish with hunger!

18. I wil arize and go to my faadher, and wil say unto him, Faadher, I hav sinned against heeven, and before dhee,

18. I wil ariez and go to my father, and wil say unto him, Father, I hav sind against heven and befoer thee,

19. And am no more wordhy to be cauled dhy son: make me az *one* ov dhy hired servants.

19. And am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun: maie me az won ov thy hierd servants.

20. And he aroze, and came to his faadher. But when he waz yet a grait way off, his faadher saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fel on his nek, and kissed him.

20. And he aroez, and caim to hiz father. But when he woz yet a grait way of, hiz father saw him, and had compashon, and ran, and fel on hiz nee, and cist him.

21. And dhe son said unto him, Faadher, I hav sinned against heeven and in dhy sight, and am no more wordhy to be cauled dhy son.

21. And the sun said unto him, Father, I hav sind against heven, and in thy siet, and am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun.

BARKER'S BIBLE, 1611.

22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet.

23. And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat and be merry.

24. For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, & is found. And they began to be merry.

25. Now his elder son was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musicke & dancing,

26. And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

27. And he said unto him Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and found.

28. And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him.

29. And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many yeeres doe I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment, and yet thou never gavest me a kidde, that I might make merry with my friends:

30. But as soone as this thy sonne was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

31. And he said unto him, Sonne, thou art ever with mee, and all that I have is thine.

32. It was meete that wee should make merry, and be glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

GLOSSIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

22. But dhi faadher sed too hiz servants, Bring foarth dhi best roab, and puot it on him, and puot a ring on hiz hand, and shoos on hiz feet.

23. And bring hidher dhi fated kaaf, and kil it, and let us eet and bee meri.

24. For dhis mei sun woz ded, and iz alei-v agen; hee woz lost, and iz found. And dhai bigan too bee meri.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in dhi feeld, and az hee kaim and droo nei too dhi hous, hee herd meuzik and daansing.

26. And hee kauld wun ov dhi servants and aaskt whot dheez thingz ment.

27. And hee sed untoo him, Dhei brudher iz kum, and dhei faadher hath kild dhi fated kaaf, bikauz hee hath risee-vd him saif and sound.

28. And hee woz anggri, and wuod not goa in: dhai-foar kaim hiz faadher out, and entreeted him.

29. And hee aanswering sed too hiz faadher, Loa dheez meni yeerz doo ei serv dhee, neidher transgreest ei at eni teim dhei komaa-ndment; and yet dhou never gavest mee a kid, dhat ei meit maik meri widh mei frendz:

30. But az soon az dhis dhei sun woz kum, which hath divour'd dhei living widh haar-luts, dhou hast kild for him dhi fated kaaf.

31. And hee sed untoo him, Sun, dhou art ever widh mee, and aul dhat ei hav iz dhein.

32. It woz meet dhat wee shuod maik meri and bee glad, for dhis dhei brudher woz ded, and iz alei-v agen; and woz lost, and iz found.

DANBY P. FRY.

22. But dhe faadher said to his servants, Bring forth dhe best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoos on his feet:

23. And bring hidher dhe fatted caalf, and kil it: and let us eat and be merry:

24. For dhis my son waz ded, and iz alive again; he waz lost, and iz found. And dhey began to be merry.

25. Now his elder son waz in dhe feeld: and az he eame and drew nigh to dhe hous, he herd music and daansing.

26. And he cauled *one* ov dhe servants, and aasked what dheze things ment.

27. And he said unto him, Dhy brudher iz cum; and dhy faadher hath killed dhe fatted caalf, because he hath receeved him safe and sound.

28. And he waz anggry, and wuld not go in: dherefore came his faadher out, and entreated him.

29. And he aanswering said to his faadher, Lo, dheze menny years doo I serv dhee, neidher transgressed I at enny time dhy eommandment: and yet dhow never gavest me a kid, dhat I might make merry widh my frends:

30. But az soon az dhis dhy son waz cum, which hath devoured dhy livving widh harlots, dhow hast killed for him dhe fatted caalf.

31. And he said unto him, Son, dhow art ever widh me, and aul dhat I hav iz dhine.

32. It waz meet dhat we shuld make merry, and be glad: for dhis dhy brudher waz ded, and iz alive again; and waz lost, and iz found.

E. JONES.

22. But the father said to hiz servants, Bring *forth* the best roeb, and putt it on him; and put a ring on hiz hand, and shoos on hiz feet:

23. And bring hither the fated cãf, and cil it; and let us eet and be mery:

24. For this my sun woz ded, and iz aliev again; he woz lost, and iz found. And thay began to be mery.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in the feeld; and az he caim and drue ny to the hous he herd muezie and dansing.

26. And he could won ov the servants, and askt whot theez *thingz* ment.

27. And he said unto him, Thy bruther iz cum; and thy father hath cild the fated cãf, becauz he hath reseevd him saif and sound.

28. And he woz angry, and wuld not go in; thairfor caim hiz father out and intreeted him.

29. And he ansering said to hiz father, Lo theez meny yeeرز doo I serv thee, neether transgrest I at eny tiem thy eomandment; and yet thou never gavest me a eid, that I miet maie mery with my frendz:

30. But az soon az this thy sun woz cum, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast cild for him the fated cãf.

31. And he said unto him, Sun, thou art ever with me, and aul that I hav iz thien.

32. It waz meet that we shuld maie mery, and be glad: for this thy bruther woz ded, and iz aliev again: and woz lost, and iz found.

The reader will, I trust, excuse me for preserving in this book a record of those early phonetic attempts to which the book itself is due. Mr. Isaac Pitman of Bath, the inventor of Phonography, or a peculiar kind of English shorthand founded upon phonetic spelling, in his *Phonotypic Journal*, for January, 1843, started the notion of Phonotypy or Phonetic Printing for general English use. In the course of that year my attention was drawn to his attempt, and I entered into a correspondence with him, which resulted in the concoction of various schemes of phonetic printing, for which types were cast, so that they could be actually used, and specimens were printed in the *Phonotypic Journal*, beginning with January, 1844, till by December, 1846, we considered that a practical alphabet had been reached.¹ It was in this Journal that I commenced my phonetic studies,² and for one year, 1848, I conducted it myself,

¹ See *suprà* p. 607.

² The following list of the principal phonetic essays which I published in this Journal will shew the slow and painful process by which I acquired the knowledge of speech-sounds necessary for the compilation of the present work. They form but a small part of the whole work, or even of my whole writings on this subject, and the titles are merely preserved as indications of *incūnābula*.

1844.

On the letter R, pp. 5-12.

On Syllabication and the Indistinct Vowel, pp. 33-43.

Ambiguities of Language, pp. 71-73.

Unstable Combinations, pp. 74-76.

What an Alphabet should be (a translated account of Volney's *L'Alphabet Européen appliqué aux Langues Asiatiques*, with explanations), pp. 106-114.

Phonetic Literature (an account of the principal grammars, dictionaries, and miscellaneous treatises containing more or less extensive essays on phonetics and English alphabets; it is very incomplete), pp. 133-144, 322-329.

Phonotypic Suggestions, pp. 201-204.

A Key to Phonotypy or printing by sound, pp. 265-279.

The Alphabet of Nature, part I. Analysis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 1-128, forming a supplement from June to December, 1844.

1845.

The Alphabet of Nature, part II. Synthesis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 129-157; part III. Phonetical Alphabets, pp. 158-194, forming a supplement from March to June, 1845.

On the Vowel Notation, pp. 10-19.

On the Natural Vowel, a paper by Mr. Danby P. Fry, (whose present views on orthography have just been illustrated,) printed phonetically, pp. 59-62, with remarks by A. J. Ellis, pp. 62-66.

1846 (all printed phonotypically).

Remarks on the New English Phonotypic Alphabet, pp. 4-12.

On Phonetic Spelling, pp. 124-128.

Practical Form of Phonotypy, pp. 171-174.

The Contrast, Phonotypy *v.* Heterotypy, pp. 197-206.

Far, For, Fur, pp. 305-308.

1847.

In May, this year, a vote of those interested in phonotypy was taken on the Alphabet, and results are given in an appendix, between pp. 148 and 149.

The Principles of English Phonetic Spelling considered, pp. 181-207, 277-280, including errata.

1848 (Phonetic Journal).

Origin and Use of the Phonetic Alphabet, pp. 4-31.

Tam o' Shanter, printed in phonotypy, from the writing of Mr. Laing, of Kilmarnock, with glossary, pp. 145-152, with remarks on Scotch Pronunciation by Prof. Gregory, Carstairs Douglas, Laing and myself, p. 198. 227-229, 276-282, being the first attempt at a stricter phonetic representation of dialectal pronunciation.

On Rhyme, pp. 340-345.

On 1st September, 1848, I published my "Essentials of Phonetics. In lieu of a Second Edition of the *Alphabet of Nature*." It was printed entirely in the 1846 Alphabet.

under the changed name of the *Phonetic Journal*. In 1849 I abandoned it for the weekly phonetic newspaper called the *Phonetic News*, and at the close of that year my health gave way altogether, so that for some years I was unable to prosecute any studies, and phonetic investigations were peculiarly trying to me. Mr. Pitman, however, revived the *Journal*, and, in various forms, has continued its publication to the present day. He became dissatisfied with the forms of type to which we had agreed in 1846, and, notwithstanding a large amount of literature printed in them, he continued to make alterations, with the view of amending. Even in 1873 theoretical considerations lead me to suppose that his alphabet may be further changed, although Mr. Pitman himself expresses much faith in the stability of his present results.

The following is a comparative view of palacotype, glossic, the 1846 and 1873 alphabets, in the order used for 1846, with the Parable of the Prodigal Son, shewing in parallel columns the 1846 and 1873 forms of phonotypy. Mr. Isaac Pitman has kindly lent me the types for this purpose. One letter only, that for (dh), which appears in the alphabetic key in its 1846 form, has been printed in the 1873 form in the specimen, on account of want of the old form in stock; as will be seen by the key, however, the difference is very minute. The spelling in the 1846 alphabet precisely follows the phonetic orthography of the second edition of the New Testament which I printed and published in 1849, and exhibits the phonetic compromises which I made at that date. The column dated 1873 follows Mr. I. Pitman's present system of spelling, and has been furnished by himself.

KEY TO PITMAN'S AND ELLIS'S PHONOTYPY, 1846 AND 1873.

Key Words	Palaeo- type	Glossic	Pitman and Ellis, 1846	Pitman, 1873	Key Words	Palaeo- type	Glossic	Pitman and Ellis, 1846	Pitman, 1873
beet	ii	ee	E e	l i	pea	p	p	P p	P p
bait	ee	ai	A a	E e	bee	b	b	B b	B b
baa	aa	aa	A a	A a	toe	t	t	T t	T t
caul	AA	au	Θ θ	Θ θ	doe	d	d	D d	D d
coal	oo	oa	Ο ο	Ο ο	chest	tsh	ch	€ g	€ g
cool	uu	oo	W u	W u	jest	dzh	j	J j	J j
knit	i	i	I i	I i	keep	k	k	C c	K k
net	e	e	E e	E e	gape	g	g	G g	G g
gnat	æ	a	A a	A a	fie	f	f	F f	F f
not	o	o	O o	O o	vie	v	v	V v	V v
nut	ø	u	U u	Σ s	thin	th	th	T t	R t
foot	u	uo	U u	U u	then	dh	dh	Δ d	Δ d
height	øi	ei	ƒ i	ƒ i	seal	s	s	S s	S s
foil	oi	oi	ƒ o	ƒ oi	zeal	z	z	Z z	Z z
foul	ou	ou	Σ s	Ou ou	rush	sh	sh	Σ f	Σ f
feud	iu	eu	U u	U u	rouge	zh	zh	Σ z	Σ z
					ear	a	r	} R r	} R r
					ring	r	r'		
					earring	ar	rr'		
yea	J	y	Y y	Y y	lay	l	l	L l	L l
way	w	w	W w	W w	may	m	m	M m	M m
why	wh	wh	Hw hw	Wh wh	nay	n	n	N n	N n
hay	h	h	H h	H h	sing	q	ng	W ŋ	W ŋ

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11-32.

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

11 And he sed, A serten man
had tú sunz :

12 And de yunger ov dem sed
tu hiz fqder, Fqder, giv me de
persun ov gudz dat folet tu me.
And he divided untu dem hiz livin.

13 And not meni daz qfter, de
yunger sun gaderd ol tugéder, and
tue hiz jurni intú a fqr euntri, and
dar wasted hiz substans wid rjutus
livin.

14 And hwen he had spent ol,
dar aróz a mjtí famin in dát land ;
and he begán tu be in wont.

15 And he went and jønd him-
sélft tu a sitiz'n ov dát euntri ; and
he sent him intú hiz feldz tu fed
swjn.

16 And he wúd fan hav fild hiz
beli wid de huscs dat de swjn did
et : and nò man gav untu him.

17 And hwen he cam tu himsélft,
he sed : Hs meni hjrd servants ov
mj fqderz hav bred enúf and tu
spar, and j períj wid huyger !

18 If wil arjz and gø tu mj fq-
der, and wil sa untu him, Fqder,
j hav sind agénst hev'n and befór
dé,

19 And am nò mör wúrdi tu be
cold dj sun : mac me az wun ov dj
hjrd servants.

20 And he aróz, and cam tu hiz
fqder. But hwen he woz yet a
grat wa of, hiz fqder se him, and
had compafun, and ran, and fel on
hiz nee, and eist him.

21 And de sun sed untu him,
Fqder, j hav sind agénst hev'n, and
in dj sjt, and am nò mör wúrdi tu
be cold dj sun.

22 But de fqder sed tu hiz ser-
vants, Brij fórt de best rob, and
put it on him ; and put a rij on
hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fet :

23 And brij hider de fated eqf,
and eil it ; and let us et, and be
meri :

24 For dis mj sun woz ded, and
iz aljv agén ; he woz lost, and iz
fsnd. And da begán tu be meri.

25 Ns hiz elder sun woz in de
feld : and az he cam and drú nj

11 And hi sed, A serten man
had tú ssnz :

12 And de ysnger ov dem sed
tu hiz fsder, Fsder, giv mi de
persun ov gudz dat folet tu mi.
And hi divided sntu dem hiz livin.

13 And not meni dez after, de
ysnger ssn gaderd ol tugeder, and
tuk hiz jsrni intú a far ksntri, and
der wsted hiz sbsstans wid rjotss
livin.

14 And when hi had spent ol,
der aröz a mjtí famin in dát land ;
and hi began tu bi in wont.

15 And hi went and joiind him-
self tu a sitizen ov dát ksntri ; and
hi sent him intú hiz fildz tu fid
swjn.

16 And hi wud fen hav fild hiz
beli wid de hssks dat de swjn did
it : and nò man gev sntu him.

17 And when hi kem tu himself,
hi sed, Hou meni hjrd servants ov
mj fsder'z hav bred ensf and tu
sper, and j períj wid hsyger !

18 If wil arjz and gø tu mj fs-
der, and wil se sntu him, Fsder,
j hav sind agenst heven and befór
dj,

19 And am nò mör wúrdi tu bi
kold dj ssn : mek mi az wsn ov dj
hjrd servants.

20 And hi aröz, and kem tu hiz
fsder. Bst when hi woz yet a
gret we of, hiz fsder se him, and
had kompasen, and ran, and fel on
hiz nek, and kist him.

21 And de ssn sed sntu him,
Fsder, j hav sind agenst heven, and
in dj sjt, and am nò mör wúrdi tu
bi kold dj ssn.

22 Bst de fsder sed tu hiz ser-
vants, Brij fórt de best rob, and
put it on him ; and put a rij on
hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fit :

23 And brij hider de fated kaf,
and kil it ; and let ss it, and bi
meri :

24 For dis mj ssn woz ded, and
iz aljv agen ; hi woz lost, and iz
found. And de began tu bi meri.

25 Nou hiz elder ssn woz in de
fild : and az hi kem and drú nj

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

tui ðe hɔs, he herd muzic and dɔnsiɪ.

26 And he cold wun ov ðe servants, and qset hwot ðez tɪnz ment.

27 And he sed untu him, ðɪ bruder iz eum; and ðɪ fɔder hat eild ðe fated eɔf, bæcɔz he hat resɛvd him saf and sɛnd.

28 And he woz aɪgri, and wɪd not gɔ in: ðərfor cam hiz fɔder st, and intreted him.

29 And he qnseriɪ sed tu hiz fɔder, Lɔ, ðez meni yɛrz duɪ ɪ serv dɛ, nɛdɛr transgrɛst ɪ at eni tɪm ðɪ comɔndment: and yet ðs never gavest me a cid, ðat ɪ mɪt mæc meri wɪd mɪ frendz:

30 But az sun az ðis ðɪ sun woz eum, hwɪɔ hat ðɛvɔrd ðɪ liviɪ wɪd hɔrlɔts, ðs hast eild fɔr him ðe fated eɔf.

31 And he sed untu him, Sun, ðs qrt ever wɪd mɛ, and ol ðat ɪ hav iz dɪn.

32 It woz mɛt ðat wɛ sɪd mæc meri, and bɛ glæd: fɔr ðis ðɪ bruder woz ded, and iz alɪv ægɛn; and woz lɔst, and iz fsnd.

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

tu de hous, hi herd muzik and dansiɪ.

26 And hi kold wsn ov de servants, and askt whot ðiz tɪnz ment.

27 And hi sed sntu him, ðɪ brsɔder iz ksm, and ðɪ fɔder hat kild de fated kɔf, bekɔz hi hat resɪvd him sɛf and sound.

28 And hi woz aɪgri, and wud not gɔ in: ðərfor kem hiz fɔder out, and intrited him.

29 And hi anseriɪ sed tu hiz fɔder, Lɔ, ðiz meni yɪrz duɪ ɪ serv dɪ, nɪdɛr transgrɛst ɪ at eni tɪm ðɪ komandment: and yet ðou never gɛvest mɪ a kid, ðat ɪ mɪt mɛk meri wɪd mɪ frendz:

30 But az sun az ðis ðɪ ssn woz ksm, whiɔ hat devoured ðɪ liviɪ wɪd harlots, ðou hast kild fɔr him de fated kɔf.

31 And hi sed sntu him, Ssn, ðou art ever wɪd mɪ, and ol ðat ɪ hav iz dɪn.

32 It woz mɪt ðat wɪ sɪd mɛk meri, and bɪ glæd: fɔr ðis ðɪ brsɔder woz ded, and iz alɪv ægen; and woz lost, and iz found.

Other fancy orthographies, which have not been advocated before the Philological Society, or seriously advanced for use, or phonetic spellings requiring new letters, are not given. A revision of our orthography is probably imminent, but no principles for altering it are yet settled. I have already expressed my convictions (p. 631); but, as shewn by the above specimen of Glossic, I know that the phonetic feeling is at present far too small for us to look forward to anything like a perfect phonetic representation. We are indeed a long way off from being able to give one, as already seen by the contrast of the pronunciations given by Mr. Bell and myself, and as will appear still more clearly presently. But more than this, we are still a long way from having any clear notion of how much should or could be practically attempted, if we had a sufficient phonetic knowledge to start with. And my personal experience goes to shew that very few people of education in this country have as yet the remotest conception of what is meant by a style of spelling which shall consistently indicate pronunciation. I have found many such writers commit the most absurd blunders when they attempt an orthography of their own, and shew a wonderful incapacity in handling such a simple tool as Glossic.

Dr. Donders, writing in a language which has recently reformed its orthography, chiefly in a phonetic direction, whose reformed orthography, as we have seen (1114, c), requires curious rules of

combination thoroughly to understand, justly says: "The knowledge of the mechanism and nature of speech-sounds preserves them for posterity, and is the foundation of a phonetic system of writing, which is less adapted for ordinary use, but is of priceless value for writing down newly heard languages, and indispensable for comparative philology." (De kennis van 't mechanisme en den aard der spraakklanken bewaart ze voor het nageslacht, en is de grondslag eener phonetische schrijfwijz, die voor 't gewone gebruik minder doelmatig, maar bij het opschrijven van nieuw gehoorde talen van onschatbare waarde en voor vergelijkende taalstudie onontbeerlijk is. Concluding words of: *De physiologie der Spraakklanken*, p. 24).

CAREFUL TRANSCRIPTS OF ACTUAL PRONUNCIATION BY HALDEMAN, ELLIS, SWEET, AND SMART.

The above examples are, however, quite insufficient to shew actual differences of usage, as they are confined to two observers, the varieties of spelling used by Mr. Fry and Mr. Jones not being sufficient to mark varieties of pronunciation, and the phonotypy of 1849 and 1873 purposely avoiding the points in question. It seemed, therefore, necessary to obtain careful transcripts of some individualities of pronunciation. General usage is after all only an abstraction from concrete usage, and although in phonetic writing, such as we have dealt with in preceding chapters, only rude approximations were attempted, it is certainly advisable to ascertain to some extent the degrees of difference which such approximations imply. There are, however, very few persons who are at all capable of undertaking such an analysis of their own or other person's habits.

Prof. Haldeman.

Mr. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, to whom I have been so much indebted for Pennsylvania German (*suprà* p. 656) and other notes, wrote an essay on phonetics, which obtained a prize offered by Sir Walter Trevelyan,¹ and is one of the most important works we possess upon the subject which it treats. On p. 127 Prof. Haldeman gives a transcript of a passage first published by myself in a phonetic form,² in an extension of the Pitman and Ellis

¹ Analytic Orthography; an Investigation of the Sounds of the Voice, and their Alphabetic Notation; including the Mechanism of Speech and its bearing upon Etymology, (4to. pp. 148. Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co.; London, Trübner & Co., 1860.)

² Essentials of Phonetics, p. 104. It is a translation of a portion of the preface to the first edition of Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen* (p. viii). The following is the original, with the addition of two sentences, which are not given in the examples:—

"Die schriftliche und druckliche Lautbezeichnung einer Sprache mit, nach Art und Zahl unzulänglichen Charakteren, die man daher combiniren oder modificiren muss, um nur mit einiger Genauigkeit und Bequemlichkeit das Phonetische derselben graphisch darzustellen, ist von jeher für Völker sowohl als Individuen, die Sprachforscher nicht ausgeschlossen, eine der nothwendigsten und schwierigsten Aufgaben gewesen, die deshalb auch in den wenigsten Fällen glücklich gelöst ist. Mögen wir daraus lernen,

alphabet just illustrated. But as he has not followed the pronunciation there given, it must be considered an independent and extremely minute account of his own pronunciation. He has himself kindly revised the proof of its present transcription into palaeotype. He says, in several passages of his chap. xvi., here for convenience thrown together: "Orthoepists blind themselves to the genius and tendencies of the language, and represent a jargon which no one uses but the child learning to read from divided syllables, who turns 'li-on' into *lie on*; or the German, who fancies that the first syllable of 'phantom' occurs in 'elephant,' because they resemble in German and French (p. 122). . . Every English word of three or more syllables requires the vowel (ə, y, i),¹ or a syllable without a vowel, when the structure of the word does not interfere with it, as *graduate*, *self-sameness*, *portmanteau*, and the difficulty is to decide upon the proper vowel, as in *candidate*, *agitate*, *elevate*, *expedite*, *avenue*, *maladiction*,—for vernacular practice cannot be controlled by the consideration that the original was an adverb rather than an adjective, unless it can be shown that the adverbial form has been preserved in speech, and we think it is not. With the spelling we have nothing to do (p. 123). . . We do not recommend our own pronunciation,—forms like *tra-vlr*, *difrnz*, *instnzs*, *genrl*, *tempns*, *dieshmry*,² being too condensed—too Attic, for

dass die Erfindung der Schrift, die grösste und wichtigste, welche je der menschliche Geist gemacht hat, und die, seine Kräfte in der That fast übersteigend, nicht mit Unrecht von ihm häufig den Göttern beigelegt wird, eben so gut als der complicirt-einfache Organismus eines Staates, nicht das Werk Einzelner, sondern von Jahrhunderten, vielleicht Jahrtausenden sei. Von der Abbildung als einem Ganzen, welches der Gegenstand fast noch selber ist, von dem blossen Erinnerungszeichen, durch das Wort, die Sylbe bis zum—Buchstaben, was für eine immer mehr in's Feine gehende Analyse! Der Thauth der neueren Zeit, der Tschirokese *Sih-quah-ja* oder mit englischem Namen *George Guess* wird uns am besten sagen können, was ein Alphabet erfinden und einer Sprache anpassen heisst."

And, as some readers may be slightly puzzled with the following elaborate phonetic representations, it may be convenient to annex the English translation followed in the examples, together with the two additional sentences:

"The written and printed representation of the sounds of language, by means of characters, which are insufficient, both in kind and number, and which must, therefore, be combined, or

modified, if we would give a graphical symbolisation of the phonetic elements with only some degree of exactness and convenience, has been, from all time, for nations as well as individuals, linguistic students not excepted, one of the most necessary, and one of the most difficult of problems, and has consequently scarcely ever been happily solved. Let this teach us that the invention of writing, the greatest and most important invention which the human mind has ever made, and which, as it indeed almost exceeds its strength, has been often and not unjustly attributed to the gods, like the organism of a state, at once simple and complex, is not the work of individuals, but of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years. From the pictorial representation, as an entirety, which is almost the object itself,—from the mere memorial sign, through the word and the syllable, up to the letter,—what a continually finer analysis! The Thoth of modern times, the Cherokee *See-kwah-yah*, or to give him his English name *George Guess*, can best tell us what it is to invent an alphabet and adapt it to a language."

¹ For many of his (ə, y) I find I rather say (e).

² From a MS. insertion by the author.

ordinary use, besides being more influenced by the spelling than the genius of the language allows. In looking through the Phonetic periodicals, whilst preparing this essay, we find that we have been ignorant of the name of many public characters. To us there was a fictitious Clánricard within two weeks, and whilst we know that our two friends 'Mackay' are respectively (Məkee') and (Məko'i'), we do not know the name of the poet Charles Mackay, though we have heard him named (Mæ'ki'). We mispronounced the proper names Tyrwhit, Napier, Hereford, Bowring (a gentleman we have more recently met), Keightley (which we had classed with Wightman), Howick, Moore, Mavor, Latham, Youatt, Lowth, Houghton (Hoton, which we classed with Hough or Huf), 'Aurora Leigh,' leg? lay? lee? lie? Once when in Boston, Massachusetts, with a fellow-traveller, we wished to see a public building of which we had read, named Faneuil Hall, and after discussing what we should ask for, we wisely concluded that the natives would not understand us, or would laugh at our pronunciation—so we neither saw the building nor learnt its name¹ (p. 123, note). . . . Some prefer the pronunciation of men of letters, but in the present state of phonetic and prosodic knowledge, as exhibited in the great majority of the grammars, men of letters constitute the ignorant class, with the perversions of French analogies added to their ignorance; and if the vulgar corrupt (develop?) words, they are at least true to the vernacular laws. But in comparing a lettered with an illiterate pronunciation, the two must be of the same locality and dialect, *church* cannot be judged from *kirk*; and the words must be vernacular, as one, two, three; body, head, arm, eye;—land, field, water, fire, house, rain, star, sun, moon (p. 124). . . . The three different vowels of *ooze*, *up*, *eel*, were once given to us by three lettered Cherokees as occurring in the second syllable (of four) of their word for *eight*. We considered it likely that the *up* was correct, although a 'syllabic' writer might have considered it as certainly wrong; but when we asked an unlettered native, he used no vowel whatever in this place, and we deemed him correct, and the others perverted by their syllabic alphabet, which forces them to write fictitiously, and then to speak as they write, instead of doing the reverse. The word was ('gəlh'h'gwoo'gi') in three syllables, and having Welch *ll*. Similarly, if one orthoepist would model *seven* on the Gothic *sibun*, another on the English² *syfon*, and a third on the old English *seven*, or Belgian (*seeven*) with (e) of *end*, we would still prefer saying *sevn*=(sevn) with the English" (p. 124).

¹ I am told it is called (fə'nɪ ˈhɑːl). With regard to the preceding names, as Mackay is certainly pronounced (Mə'kɪ, Mə'kɪ, Mə'kɪ), as well as in the three ways mentioned, I cannot assign the poet's name, but I have also heard it called (Mæ'ki'). Clánricard, I generally hear called (Klæn:ri'kəd), of course, an Anglicism. (Táir, Nəpəriia) or (Nee píer), not (Nəpíir), as it is very

commonly mispronounced, (Herrifid, Bə'u'riq, Hə'wɪk, Məu', Meevee, Leeth'em), so called by Dr. Latham, but his family call themselves (Lee'dhem), (Yə'u'rt, Lə'ndh, Hə'u'tn, ʒroo're Lii), are, so far as I know, the sounds of these names. Lord Houghton's family name *Mithes* is called (Mɪlz).

² Afs. seofan, seofen, siofun, syfon.

The following are the elementary English sounds acknowledged by Prof. Haldeman as numbered and symbolised by him (see his tables, on his p. 125), with the palaeotypic equivalents here adopted. The length of the vowels is not here indicated, and will be described hereafter. The symbols being troublesome to reproduce they will be referred to by the numbers, with the addition of *v*, *e*, *l*, for the classes of Vowels, Consonants, and Laryngals respectively.

VOWELS.

1. a	arm	(a)	10. ʌ	aisle	(a)
2. e	up	(ə) ?	11. ʌ	awe	(ʌ)
3. ʌ	add	(æ)	11'. (g)	pond, rod	
4. ɛ	there	(ɛ)	12. ɔ	odd	(ə)
5. ɛ	ebb	(e)	13. o	owe	(o)
6. e	they	(e)	13'. o	whole	
7. ə	built	(y) ?	14. u	pool	(u)
8. ɪ	pity	(i)	—	(. crew)	?
9. i	field	(i)	15. u	pull	(u)

CONSONANTS.

1. ɪ	now		10. l	(l)	16. r	(l)r)	17. ɾ	(ɾ)	18. ʃ	(x)	21. ɹ	(j ₁)	25. j	
2. v	way	(w)	11. n	(n)							22. ʃ	(j ₁ h)	26. j	(j)
3. ʒ	why	(wh)	12. d	(d)									27. ʃ	(jh)
4. m		(m)	13. ɑ	(dh)									28. r	(q)
5. m'	hm	(mh)	14. t	(t)									29. g	(g)
6. b		(b)	15. ɾ	(th)									30. c	(k)
7. ɛ	vein	(v)			19. ə	(z)					23. j	(zh)		
8. p		(p)			20. s	(s)					24. r	(sh)		
9. f		(f)												

LARYNGALS.—31. h kay (nh) ?

It is always extremely difficult to identify phonetic symbols belonging to different systems, on account of individualities of pronunciation. Even when *vivâ voce* comparison is possible, the identification is not always complete. Some of the above are queried, and to some no symbols are added. I shall therefore subjoin Prof. Haldeman's descriptions of his symbols:

1v. in *arm*. "The most characteristic of the vowels is that in *arm*, *art*, *father*, commonly called Italian A" (art. 370). This must be (a), and not (ah) or (a).

2v. in *up*. "Many languages want this vowel, which is so common in English as to be regarded as the characteristic of the vowels. It has not been assigned to Greek, Italian, Spanish, nor German, but it occurs in dialectic German. . . . It is close (e) in *up*, *wörth*, and open (v) in *wörm*, *wörd*, *urn*. The effect of *wörth* is that of a short syllable, each element being short, (the *r* close;) whilst *worm* is long on account of the open and longer *r*. The vowel *up* is nasal in the French *un*; but M. Pautoléon (in Comstock's Phon. Mag.) makes this a nasal *eu* in *jeu*,

and Lepsius refers it to German ö. In the writer's French pronunciation, *up* is placed in *mě*, *quě*, *quěrelle*, etc., according to the view of most French grammarians." (Arts. 374–5.) It is impossible to say from this whether the 2v. is (ə, ɛ, v, æ, ɔ, əh), and it may be one at one time and one at another. The open and close 2v. apparently point to (ɛ, ə), and the dialectic German is (ə) or (v). Hence I have queried my palaeotypic transcription (ə), although Prof. Haldeman, in returning the proof of the table, doubted the necessity of the query.

3v. in *add*. "With very little affinity to A, this sound usurps its character in some alphabets. It is more nearly allied to *ebb*, but not enough to have a letter on the same basis, like that of

Lepsius. The people of Bath, England, are said to pronounce the name of the town long, and it is strictly long and short in Welsh, as in *bach* a hook, *bäch* little. It seems to be lengthened in the following words, but as the author speaks this dialect—heard in Philadelphia, and used by Walker, who puts his *a* of *fat* in grass, grasp, branch, grant, pass, fast, the proper sound being probably French *â*, as in *pâss*, etc.—the observation must be accepted with caution: *pân* pānic, *bänd* bānish, *fān* fāncy, *mān* tām, *cān* *n.* cān *v.*, *brān* rān, *A'n* ān *A'na*, *Sām* sāmpile, *dām* hām, *drām* rām, *lāmb* lāmp, *bād* pād, *glād* lād, *bāg* tåg *bēg*, *cāg* wāg *kēg*, *drāg* drāgon, *mādder* adj. *mādder* *n.*, *mā'am* māmmon, *bāu* bādger, *gās* gāz *gāsh* ās, *lāss* lāsh, *brācd* brēd, *dēad* Dēdham, *bēd* spēd. It occurs in provincial German, as in *bä'ric* (with the vowels of *bärrer*) for *berg* *berā*, a hill. A native of Gerstungen = *Gérstū'gen*, in Saxe Weimer, pronounced the first syllable of this name with *x* in *arrou*. Compare *thatch* *deck*, *catch* *ketch*, *have* *hev*, *scalp* *scelp*; German and English *fett* *fat*, *krebs* *crab*, *fest* *fast* adj., Gr. *τρέχω* I run, *track*. It has a long and open German provincial (Suabian) form, being used for long open *ä* (*ê*), as in *bä'r* for *bär* a bear. This bears the same relation to *add* that French *ê* in *même* bears to *e* in *memory*. This vowel is nasalised and short in the French *fin* end, *pain* bread. But some consider this a nasal of *ebb*, either because such a sound is used (the Polish *e*, *ę*), or because the French (being without the pure *add*) refer their nasal *in* to the nearest pure sound known to them." (Arts. 378-382.) This must be (*æ*). The American lengthenings are interesting. There is an American Hymn-book, put together by two compilers, each having the Christian name *Samuel*. It was familiarly known as "the book of *Sams*." The pun on *psalms* is not felt by an Englishman, the lengthening of *Sām* explains it completely.

4v. in *there*. "The vowel of *ebb*, with a more open aperture, is long and accented in the Italian *mādicō* *tempēstā* *cēlo*, and short in the verb *ê* *is*, *āb-biēt-to*. It is the French *ê* in *même*, *tête*, *fenêtre*, *maître*, *haie*, *Aix*, *air*, *vaisseau*. The same sound seems to occur shorter in *trompette*, which is not the vowel of *petty*. . . . It is the

German *ä* long in *mähre* *mare*, *mähren*, *fehlen*, *kehle*, *währe*, but *vehre* has *E* long. The theoretic short sound falls into *5v.*, as in *ställe* *stalls*, commonly pronounced like *stelle* *station*." (Arts. 388-9.) There seems no doubt that this is (*ε*), but it is singular that Prof. Halldeman has (*ε*, *c*), and Mr. Bell (*e*, *ε*) in *there* *ebb*, and I pronounce (*ε*) in both. It is evident therefore that the distinction is not recognized as part of the language.

5v. in *ebb*. "The secondary vowels *it* *ebb*, were not allowed to Latin, because there is no evidence that they were Latin sounds; and although *ebb* occurs in Spanish, as in *el the*, *estē this one*, it is not so frequent as an Englishman might suppose. Even this is not admitted in Cubi's 'Nuevo Sistema' (of English for Spaniards), published by I. Pitman, Bath, 1851, where the vowels *ill*, *ell*, *am*, *up*, *olive*, are not provided with Spanish key-words; but he assigns the whole of them to Catalanian." (Art. 385.) As I had an opportunity of conversing with Señor Cubi y Soler, who spoke English with a good accent, I know that he did not admit any short vowels in *Castilian*, and hence he excluded all these, and took the Spanish *e*, which is I believe always (*ε*), to be (*ε*). The Castillians pronounce their vowels, I believe, of medial length, like the Scotch, and neither so short nor so long as the English. The Latin *E* I also believe to have been (*c*), and not (*ε*). "The vowel *5v.* occurs in Italian *tēmpo* *tērra* *Mércuriō*." (Art. 386.) Valentini makes the *e aperto* = (*ε*) in *tempo* *terra*, and, of course, it is *chiuso* = (*c*) in the unaccented first syllable of *Mercurio*. "In the German *rechnung* a *reckoning*, *pelz* *pelt fur*, *schmeltzen* *to smelt*, *rector* *rector*. (*ibid.*) Frenchmen state that *5v.* occurs in *elle*, *quel*, *règle*." (Art. 387.) In none of these can (*ε*, *e*) be safely separated. I believe Prof. Halldeman means 4v. to be (*EE*), and 5v. to be (*ε*), the former always long, the latter always short. I always used to confuse the open French and Italian (*r*) with my (*ε*), and I may have consequently misled many others. But the only acknowledged distinctions in language seem to be close *e*, open *e*, the first (*c*, *c'*), the second (*c*, *ε*), while (*ε*) really hovers between the two, and hence where only one *e* is acknowledged, (*ε*) is the safer

sound to use, as (*e*, *e*¹) would then be heard as bad (*i*), and (*e*₁, *ε*) as bad (*e*).

6v. in *they*. "The English *ay* in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage, is short in weight, hate, aere, A'mos, A'bram, ape, plague, spade. The German *wēh uo, rēh roe, jē, planēt, mēer, mēhr* (*more*, but *mähr* tidings has 4v.), *ēdel, ēhre, jēdōch*. The Italian '*e chiuso*' has this quality, as in *mālē ottōbrē* (with '*o chiuso*' [Valentini agrees in this]), but it is nearly always short. Most authors assign this sound to French *é*, called '*é fermé*,' but Dr. Latham assigns this *é* a closer aperture, for he says, 'This is a sound allied to, but different from, the *a* in *fate*, and the *ee* in *fect*. It is intermediate to the two.' Dankovsky says the Hungarian '*é est medius sonus inter e et i*,' but his '*e*' is uncertain. Olivier (*Les Sons de la Parole*, 1844) makes *é* identic with *i* in the position of the mouth." (Art. 391.) This must be (*e*). The recognition of the short sound in English is curious, as also the absence of the recognition of (*ee*¹). The middle Germans use (*ee*) long, and (*e*) or (*ε*) short, regularly. The Italian *e chiuso* sounds to me (*ē*), but may be (*e*¹); it is generally the descendant of Latin *i*. The distinction between *fete* and *é* in Dr. Latham is possibly due to his saying (*fēe*¹jt), not (*fēt*), and to the *é* being short. Mr. Kovács pronounced Hungarian *é* as (*ee*), and *e* as (*ε*) in accented syllables. Olivier probably confused *é* with (*i*), the short English sound which has replaced (*e*).

7v. in *buffet*, and in *-ment*, *-ence*. "There is an obscure vowel in English, having more aperture than that of *ill* and less than that of *ail*. It is used to separate consonants by such an amount of vocality as may be secured without setting the organs for a particular vowel. It is most readily determined between surds, and it is often confounded and perhaps interchanged with the vowel of *up*. It occurs in the natural pronunciation of the last syllable of worded, blended, splendid, sordid, livid, ballad, salad, surfet, buffet, opposes, doses, roses, losses, misses, poorer, horror, Christian, onion, and the suffixes *-ment*, *-ant*, *-ance*, *-ent*, *-ense*. Perhaps this vowel should be indicated by the least mark for the phase of least distinctness—a dot beneath the letter of some recognized vowel of about in the same aperture. It is so evanescent

that it is constantly replaced by a consonant vocality without attracting attention, as in saying *hors'z*, *horsz*, *horszs*, or (using a faint smooth *r*) *hors'z*. . . With Rapp we assign this vowel to German, as in *welchis, verlieren, verlassen* (or even *frlasn*)." (Arts. 392 to 392e.) This mark therefore represents sounds here distinguished as (*y*, *v*, 'h), and on the whole (*y*), as used by Mr. Bell, seems to answer most nearly to it, see especially (1159, *b*): I have, however, queried the sign, on which Prof. Haldeman observes, that the query "is hardly necessary. The doubts are due to the fact that while two varieties are admitted we might not always agree in locating them."

8v. in *pity*. "It is the German vowel of *kinn chin, hitzig, billig, wili, bild*; and the initial of the Belgian diphthong *ieue* (and perhaps in some cases the Welsh *uw*). . . . This vowel is commonly confounded with *i*, but it has a more open jaw aperture, while each may be lengthened or shortened." (Arts. 396, 398.) This is no doubt (*i*), which is heard in the north of Germany, but not throughout. Mr. Barnes, author of the Dorset Grammar, distinguishes the two vowels in *pity* thus (*pī'ti*), but others prefer (*pī'ty*), hence the identification refers only to the first vowel.

9v. in *field*. "The universal *i* is long in Italian *iō* (Lat. *ego*, *I*), and short in *fēlicitarē*, with true *e*. In English it is long in machine, marine, fiend, fee, tea, bee, grieve, eel. It is short in *ēqual*, *ēduce*, *deceit*, *heat*, *beet*, *reef*, *grief*, *teeth*. German examples are *vieh*, *wieder against*, *wider again*, *wie viel how much*, *vielleicht perhaps*. It is medial in *knie knee*. French examples are *surprise*, *vive*, *île*, *style*, *il*, *vif*, *phÿsique*, *imÿter*, *liquide*, *visÿte*, *politique*, which must *not* be pronounced like the English *physic*, etc., with the vowel of *pil*. The following are perhaps medial:—*prodige*, *cidre*, *ligue*, *vite*, *empire*." (Art. 399.) This is certainly (*i*). The short value in accented syllables is noteworthy. In "*bēlieve*, *rēgret*, *dēscend*, which cannot differ from *dispose*," (art. 395), Prof. Haldeman hears 8v. not 9v., that is (*i*), and not (*i*).

10v. in *aisle*, *Cairo*. "French *a* in *âme*, *pâte*. The former is commonly received as the vowel of *arm*, the latter of *pat*. Duponceau (*Am. Phil. Trans.*,

1818, vol. i. p. 258), in 1817, made the distinction. He says that French *a* occurs in the English diphthongs *i* and *ou*, and that the sound is between *ah* and *ave*, being *ah* pronounced as full and broadly as possible, without falling into *ave*. The initial of English *i* (or *e* in *height*) differs in being pronounced *up* and *at*. This is probably the proper vowel for grass, pass, alas (Fr. *hélas*). (Arts. 400, 401.) The vowel is meant for (*a*) according to Duponceau's description, and that vowel is pronounced in French *pâte*. But the vowel in Fr. *patte* is either (*a*) or (*ah*), and not (*a*), at present at least. The pronunciations (*gras*, *gras*), etc., seem to be much broader than any used by educated Englishmen, but see (1152, *a'*). Prof. Haldeman uses (*a*), and not (*o*) or (*æ*), as he suggests above, for the first element of long *i*, that is (*ai*), not (*ai*, *æi*), see (108, *e*).

11v. in *ave*. "This sound lies between A and O, and is common in several German dialects. . . . The Germans represent it commonly by *ä*, adopting the Swedish mode, where however the sound seems to be a kind of *o*." (Art. 402.) The sound is, therefore (A). The Swedish is (*Ä*), having the tongue as for (A) and the lips as for (o), see (1116, *a'*). "This *ave* is not to be determined by its length, but by its quality. It is *long* in *rāw*, *flāw*, *lāw*, *cāw*, *all*, *cāll*, *thāwed*, *lāud*, *hāwk*; *medial* in *loss*, *cross*, *tossed*, *frost*, *long*, *song*, *strong*, or, *for*, *lord*, *order*, *border*, *war*, *warrior*, *corn*, *adorn*, *born*, *warn*, *horn*, *morn*, *storm*, *form*, *warm*, *normal*, *cork*, *wan*, *swan*,

<i>gāud</i>	God	<i>nöd</i>
<i>āwe</i>	or	<i>örange</i>
<i>fāwned</i>	fond	<i>astōnish</i>
<i>thāwed</i>	thought	<i>Thoth</i>

1. long *āwe* *pāwned* *wāw*
2. short *āwe* *āuthor* *wāter*
3. medial *ave* *pond* *war*
4. medial *odd* *rod* *God*
5. short *ödd* *pönder* *bödy*

(Arts. 405-407.) It is evident that the vowel is either (*o*, *ö*), or (*o'*). The indications of length do not seem to be strictly observed in England.

13v. in *öve*, *böve*, *böat*. "This well-known sound is *long* in *mōan*, *lōan*, *öwe*, *gō*, *lōw*, *fōe*, *cōal*, *cōne*, *bōre*, *rōar*, *bōwl*, *sōal*; and *short* in *över*, *öbey*, *öpen*, *öpinion*, *önyx*, *önerous*, *öak*, *öchre*, *rögue*, *öats*, *öpinim*; and *medial*

dawn, fond, bond, pond, exhanst, false, often, soften, gorge, George; and *short* in squāsh, wāsh (cf. rush, push), āuthor (cf. oath, pith), wāch, wāter, slāughter, quārt, quāter, wārt, shōrt, mōrtar, hōse (cf. curse), remōrse, fōrmer, öften, nōth, mōth, fāult, fālter, pāltry." (Art. 403.) These quantities cross my own habits materially. Many of *medial* length are reckoned *long* in England, and still more of them *short*. See notation for medial quantity (1116, *ba*).

11v. in *pond*, *rod*. } "This 12v. differs
12v. in *odd*. } from the preceding 11v. in being formed with less aperture." (Art. 405.) It is observable that according to Mr. Bell (*o*) is the 'wide' of (A), that is, the aperture at the back of the greatest compression is greater. But perhaps Prof. Haldeman spoke the vowel with the tongue further forward, as (*o*), or even with the tongue raised, (*o'*). "It is *short* in *nöt*, *nöd*, *höd*, *whät*, *squätter* (cf. the open wāter), *mōrrow*, *bōrrow*, *sōrrow*, *hörror*, *chöice*, *pönder*, *tröng*, *pröng*; *medial* in *on*, *yon*, *John*, *God*, *rod*, *gone*, *ought*, *thought*, *bought*, *caught*, *naught*, *fought*, *sance*, *loiter*, *boy*, and perhaps *long* in *cōy*, *öil*. Some of these medials may belong to *ave*, and some of those to this head. The accuracy of these examples is not expected to be admitted in detail, because practice between the two vowels is not uniform; yet it is probable that no one puts the vowel of *potter*, or the quantity of *fall*, in *water*, which is neither wāter nor wötter. In the following table, the medial examples have been chosen without regard to the vowel they contain:

<i>gnāw'r</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>Nör'ich</i>
<i>rāwed</i>	<i>rod</i>	<i>Rödneý</i>
<i>āwed</i>	<i>ought</i>	<i>ödd</i>
<i>lāws</i>	<i>loss</i>	<i>lözenge</i> .
<i>squāw</i>	<i>yāwn</i>	<i>hāw</i>
<i>squāsh</i>	<i>wānt</i>	<i>höse</i>
<i>swan</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>horn</i>
<i>thought</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>John</i>
<i>squāt</i>	<i>hönest</i>	<i>hörror</i> ."

in going, showy. It does not occur in Italian. O is *long* in the German *tōn*, *dōm*, *hōf*, *höch*, *lōb*, *tōd*, *trög*, *mōhn*, *lōhn*, *mōor*, *mōnd*; *medial* in *oder*, also, *vor*, *von*, *wo*, *ob*, *oheim*; and *short* in *wöhin*, *höfnung*, *öst*, *öfen*, *öber*, *köch*, *löch*, *zö-o-lög*." (Arts. 416, 417.) This must be (*oo*, *o*). There is no mention of (*oo'w*). The short accented (*o*) is not in received English use.

13*v.* in *whole*. French *o*. "This sound seems to the writer to be more open than *owe*, and closer than *o* aperto, and his impression is that the long and short sound have the same quality. . . . The New England or Yankee *o* in *whole*, *côat*, is a short sound with a wider aperture of jaw than *owe*, but not (perhaps) of lip. It has been casually heard, but not studied, and we refer it to the French *o* in *bonne*." (Arts. 412, 415.) Mr. Bell considers the French *o* in *homme* to be (*oh*), and the American *o* in *stone* to be (*oh*), the labialised forms of (*ə*, *ah*) respectively. But Prof. Haldeman suggests another solution, namely (*ɔ*_o) or (*ʌ*_o), which is Mr. Sweet's analysis of Danish *aa*, and is, in fact, a passing anticipation of Mr. Sweet's discovery of the effect of different degrees of rounding upon one lingual position (1116 *a'*). The sound is altogether a provincialism, and I have been accustomed to consider the French sound as (*o*) and the Yankee as (*o*), which I have also heard in Norfolk (*non*) = none.

14*v.* in *pool*. } "These two vowels are

15*v.* in *pull*. } distinct in quality, and have the same variations in quantity. They are to each other as *awe* is to *odd*, and they require distinct characters." (Art. 422.) Hence they are marked as (*u*, *u'*), which are exactly as (*ʌ*, *ə*), the second being the wide of the first. "In passing through the series A, O, U, it will be found that U in *pool* is labial in its character, and that this labiality is preserved in shortening *fōol* to *fōolish*, whilst *full*, *fullish*, have very little aid from the lips." (Art. 423.) That (*u*) can be imitated with widely open lips is readily perceived, but it can be most easily pronounced with the lips in the (*u*)-position (1114, *ā'*). This lipless (*u*), or (*u'*), is very useful to the singer, as it can be touched at a high pitch, whereas true labial (*u*) cannot be sung distinctly at a high pitch. "If we compare *fool* with a word like *fuel*, *rule* (avoiding the Belgian diphthong *ieu*), we detect in it (*fyoo'l*, *rule*), a closer sound, which when long is confused with U, as in *fool*, *rule*, meaning by the latter neither *ryule* nor *riwl*, but *rool*, with a narrow aperture. This closer *u* is often preceded by *y* and *r*, as in *due*, *dew*, *stew*, *rūin*, *rūde*, where it is rather medial than long." (Art. 424.) Prob-

ably we should write this (*u'*), or (*u*), or even (*u'*). It seems to be local and individual, not received. This sound, or what I suppose to be this sound, I seem to have heard from Americans, and in Lancashire, and it approached one of the palato-labial vowels, or (*y*)-series. In fact I felt it as a form of (*u*). "Leaving quantity out of the question, we pronounce *brew*, etc., with 15*v.* [*u* in *pull*], whilst Worcester, probably the most judicious of the English orthoepists, refers them to the key-word move." (Art. 591.) This is, I think, the more usual pronunciation. The *u* orthography, however, suggests palatalisation to the speaker, and hence he makes an approach to (*uj*, *uj* = *i*, *y*).

1*c.* and 25*c.* in *now*, *aisle*, are "coalescents," a term introduced, I believe, by myself, to classify (*j*, *w*), as the form under which the vowels (*i*, *u*) coalesced with another vowel. Prof. Haldeman uses 1*c.* and 25*c.* to form diphthongs, and distinguishes them from (*j*, *w*). In order to shew that they have this meaning, I employ the acute accent on the preceding vowel, thus (*āw*, *āj*), which are really equivalent to my (*āu*, *āi*), but have the disadvantage of not so accurately distinguishing the second element, so that for (*āj*) the reader has a choice among (*āi*, *āi*, *āe*, *āy*, *āj*), etc. Prof. Haldeman says: "The separation of the coalescents from the vowels, being quite modern, their difference is seldom recognized in alphabets. *This is a grave defect.*" (Art. 173.) As to the nature of the difference, he says: "The labial vowel *ooze* readily becomes the consonant *way*, and between them there is a shade of sound allied to both, but a variety of the latter, and a consonant, because it has the power of forming a single syllable with a vowel, which two vowels cannot do. . . . The guttural vowel *pique* may become the guttural liquid *yea*, as in *minion*, and between the two lies the guttural coalescent in *aisle*, *eye*, *boy*. The consonant relation of the coalescents is shown in the combinations *how well*, *my years*, in which it is difficult to tell where the coalescent ends. A comparison of the former (or *how-ell*) with *hāwell*, and the latter (or *my-ears*) with *mā-years*, will show their affinity. A coalescent between vowels is apt to form a fulcrum, by becoming a more complete consonant. Compare (*emp*)*loyer*

with *lawyer*." (Arts. 163-5.) I think I usually say (nō'w~we'll, nō'w~e'll, nō'w~el) for *how well*, *how ell*, *Howell*, and (mō'i~sü'z, mō'i~i'z) for *my years*, *my ears*. Similar difficulties occur in *lying* (lō'i~iā), and French *pâ'ien*, *fa'ience*, *loyal* (pâi~iē fai~iās lōi~iāl), not (luāiāl), with a long (i), without force gliding and diphthongising each way, which the hyphen tends to make plainer. The English *loyal* is either (lō'i~el) or (lō'i~iē'l), not, I think, (lō'i~jēl), and certainly not (lā~jēl). Similarly for *employer*, *lawyer* (emplō'i~v, lā~jē).

2c. and 26c. in *way*, *yea*, are certainly (w, j), but whether or not in addition (u, [i]) cannot be affirmed.

3c. and 27c. are certainly (wh, jh). Unfortunately the sounds are departing. See the citation (1112, b'), where it appears that Professor Haldeman never hears (wh) in English without a following (w); and, as appears by his example, he does not hear (jh) without a following (j). But, translating his symbols, he says, "(wh) occurs in several Vesperian languages, and the whistle which Duponceau attributes to the (lenape), Delaware, language, is this sound (wh'dee) heart, (ndee) my heart, (wh'denhiim) strawberries, with flat ('d). In the Wyandot (wōndot), (salakwh'u) it burrows, it occurs before a whispered vowel. Compare Penobscot (nekwh'ds) six, (wh'ta'ujak) ear, (wh'ta'ugollh) ears." (Art. 457.) "This (wh'd) shows that the (w) put in (whwen) is not by defect of ear, which might cause it to be inferred beside the vocal (d). The frequency of the whispered vowels is curious."—Prof. H.'s MS. note to proof.

5c. in *hm* seems to be (mh), *hm* = (nmh), or perhaps (hmmh). "One form of Eng. (mh) often accompanies a smile with closed lips—an incipient laugh reduced to a nasal puff; to the other (mh-m) a true (m) is added, when it becomes an exclamation—sometimes replaced with (nh-n)."—MS. addition.

16c., 17c., 18c. are varieties of (r), but it is difficult exactly to identify them. "The Greek and Latin R was trilled, as described by the ancients, and this accords with European practice. The letter 'r' therefore means this sound. We have heard trilled *r* in Albanian, Armenian (in part), Arabic, Chaldee, Ellenic, Illyrian, Wallachian, Hungarian, Russian, Catalan, Turkish

(in part), Islandic, Hindustanee, Bengalee, Tamil, and other languages in the pronunciation of natives." (Art. 500.) Probably (r, R, r, R, r, R, rj) are here not distinguished, and the forcible form (r) is not separated from that of moderate strength. "The trilled *r* is assigned to English as an initial, although many people with an English vernacular cannot pronounce it. Dr. James Rush would have the trill reduced in English to a single tap of the tongue against the palate. This we indicate by *r̄*, with a dot above." (Art. 501.) This faint trill would be our (r̄); but the English, I believe, do not strike the palate at all when saying (r). Mr. Bell, as we have seen (1098, b), denies the trill in English altogether, and gives us (r̄). "The Spanish (South American) *r* in *perro dog*, as distinguished from the common trilled *r* of *péro but*, seems to be untrilled, and to have the tongue pressed flatly, somewhat as in English *z*, and doubled, as in *more-rest*. It may have arisen from an attempt to yotate *r*. We mark it *r̄* (or, if trilled, *r*) with a line below, in case it is distinct from the next." (Art. 501a.) Now the Spanish *rr* in *perro* is what the Spanish Academy (Ortografía de la lengua Castellana, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70) calls *R fuerte*. Prince L. L. Bonaparte says that it is found in Basque, and calls it an "alveolar *r*," which seems to be my (r). The common (r) in Basque is generally used as a euphonic insertion to save hiatus, as in English *law(r) of the land*. Mr. Bristed (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1871, p. 122-3) talks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized *r* for the strongly trilled final *r*, e.g. *amaw* (or something very like it) for *amar*," compare Mr. Thomas's Creole French *r* (1153, a'). On the authority of his son, just returned from Spain, Mr. Bristed adds that in Madrid there is "a slurring of medial *r*," and that "the Andalusian dialect tends to drop final letters, even *r*." Prof. Haldeman *may* mean (r̄). "Many of my sounds were heard casually, and must be accepted as open to correction from further observation."—MS. addition. He proceeds: "Armenian and Turkish have a smooth (i.e. an untrilled) tactual *r*, much like the Spanish *rr*, if not the same, and, with that, requiring farther investigation and comparison. English smooth *r* in *curry*,

acre (a-cr), begr, grey, curt, is formed by much less contact than the European and Asiatic *r* requires. It is the true liquid of the *s* contact, and allied to the vowel in *up*, a character *v* to be formed provisionally from italic *x*." (Arts. 502-3.) "A consonant subject to both a preceding and a succeeding influence may vary with the speaker, putting the same or a different *gr* in *ogre* and *grey*. I was wrong in putting *grey* among my examples in § 503. It should be excluded. I adopted the single-tap *r* on the authority of Dr. Rush, and because I have heard it; but I use neither this nor any other trill in my English. This is the speech of my locality, when it is not influenced by contact with German and Irish modes of pronunciation, and it seems that Mr. Bell rejects the trill."—MS. addition. This he then identifies with my (ɹ). But my (ɹ) is only (ə¹) at most, followed permissively by (r). Prof. Haldeman retains this (ɹ) in the second syllable of (rep.rizentæ-shyn) in the specimen, and says it is "due to the unaccented syllable as compared with (printɹd), etc." In other cases he corrected it in the proof to (r), which I have given as (r) for uniformity. Perhaps my difficulties arise from the Professor's *not* trilling his (r) as I really *do*. "A more open smooth *r* is found in *cur*, *fur*, *far*, *more*. Mr. Ellis regards *fur* as *f* with this open *r*, without a vowel between. . . . We regard *fur* as having the open vowel *u* (with which the consonant is allied) *short*, the quantity being confined to the consonant (*fur*=fɹ¹), and the tongue moving from the vowel to the consonant position. The same open consonant occurs in *arm*, *worm*, *turn*, *ore*; and although, for a particular purpose, we have cited *arm* as long, it contains a short vowel (a¹r¹m) and long or medial consonant. If we write 'rñ for *urn* and f¹r or fr for *fur*, we certainly cannot represent *far*, *four*, in the same manner. Moreover we may dissyllabise *pr-ay* on a trilled or a close *r*, and monosyllabise it p¹ray with the most open. At one time the discussion of the English letters led to a curious result. When the difference between the open *r* of *tarry* (from *tar*) and the close one of the verb *tarry* was ascertained, an identity of vowel and of consonant was represented,—a greater error than to spell *more* and *moor*, *faury* and *ferry* alike,

or *pres-d* for *prest*." (Arts. 505-9.) I feel obliged, from the identifications made by Prof. Haldeman, to transcribe 16c. by (l¹r), 17c. by (ɹ¹), and 18c. by (ɹ¹), but I am not at all satisfied with the transcription. I think the sound 17c. is sometimes (ə¹), sometimes (l¹r¹), sometimes (ə¹l¹r¹); and that 18c. may be (ə, æ, əh) or (l¹r¹), or one of the first followed by the second. These are points of extreme difficulty, partly arising from the involuntary interference of orthographical reminiscences with phonetic observations.

Prof. Haldeman made the following observations on the proof, after reading the above remarks: "There is a negro perversion of *more* to (moə). I think you admit too little difference between *awe* and *or*, like Bloomfield—

In earliest hours of dark and hooded morn,
Ere yet one rosy cloud bespeaks the dawn,

Still foremost thou the dashing stream to
cross,

And tempt along the animated horse; . . .

"I do not consider any English *r* open enough to constitute a vowel, but I think I have heard a coalescent (r)" [the acute belongs to the preceding element with which it forms a diphthong], "forming a reversed diphthong, in a dialect of Irish, in *gé, gédh*, or *geadh* a goose. As I recall it, it is a monosyllab between the English syllabs *gay* and *gray*, the *r* open and unactual and so near to (ə) that the result would be *g(ə)ay* were this not a dissyllab like *claw-y* besides *clay*." As will be shewn hereafter, *or* is used in American comic books to represent *aw* (aa) just as much as in English, and likewise *r* omitted, and *er* is also used for the faintest sound of ('h).

21c. and 22c. also present difficulties in transcription. "The liquids of the palatal contact are a kind of *J* (*yca*) made at the palatal point, and as Eng. *w*, *r*, and *r*, *z* are permutable, so *y* falls into *j* (zh), and its surl aspirate into *r* (sh). Hence the word *soldier* (= soldyr or soldyər) is apt to fall into soldyr, and *nature* (= net¹y e. net¹y¹ e or net¹y r) into net¹e or net¹e¹r." (Arts. 518, 519.) From this I consider *y* to represent a form of (ɹ) which is still nearer to (i), with therefore the tongue slightly lower than for (ɹ), so that (j¹) would be its best sign, and "y will then be (j¹h). According to the same habit which obliges Prof. Haldeman to say

(whw-, jhɹ-) we necessarily have (ɹ₁hɹ₁). Hence his examples must be transcribed (sɒldɹ₁lɹ, sɒldɹ₁ɹlɹ, nɛtɹ₁hɹ, nɛtɹ₁hɹɹ, nɛtɹ₁ɹ).

The remaining consonants present no difficulty.

11. in *hay*. "Many deny that *h* is a consonant, because 'it is not made by contact or interruption.' But when the breath is impelled through an aperture which obstructs it, there is interruption, and if we vary the impulse we can make English *oo* and *ow* with the same aperture. . . H, h, is the common English and German *h*, in the syllables *held*, *hat*, *hast*, *hose*. *h* is for the eighth Hebrew letter *heth* . . . and is commonly called an emphatic *h* and is often represented by *hh*. As heard by us, it is an enforced, somewhat *close h*, with a tendency to scrape along the throat, and, consequently, it is not a pulmonic aspirate. . . . The Florentine aspirate *casa*, *miseriordia*, *chi*, we have casually heard, and believe it to be *h*, and also the Spanish *j*, *x*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, as in *jabon soap* = *phá'bón*, and the geographical name *San Juan* (= *sánphʻan*) in English—*sxnʻvɔn*." (Arts.

553, 565, 567.) The identification of *h* with (*h*), see (1130, *b*), and the statement of its relation to *h*, seem to shew that this *h* is my (*h*h). The examples are then meant for (*h*h^ho'n, sanʻhwhan, sanʻhwhɔn), but I think that Spanish *j* differs from (*h*). Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers it to be (*kh*), and identifies the Florentine sound with a 'vocal' aspirate (1136, *c*), my (*h*). Prof. Haldeman observes on the use of (*h*) for *me*, (*h*h) for *Smart*, and (*h*h) for himself and Sweet in the comparative specimen given below:—"You assign three kinds of initial *h* to four speakers, where I think the ear would give the same result, except where *h* is dropt. I pronounce English *here* and German *hier* exactly alike as far as the *r*, and I suppose you do the same, but the smooth English *r* gives a dissyllabic tendency, which is absent from the German form." I believe I call the English word (*hi*ʻ) and the German (*hi*ʻiʻr), but may occasionally say (*hi*ʻiʻr, *hi*ʻiʻr *hi*ʻiʻr), which are all anglicisms. I sometimes fall into (*h*h) in English. For *Smart*'s (*h*h), see No. 56 of his scheme below, (1204, *b*).

Henry Sweet.

Mr. Henry Sweet adopts Mr. Bell's Visible Speech Symbols and my palacotype, and kindly himself wrote out his specimen in palacotype, so that there are no difficulties of interpretation. It is necessary to observe his higher (*e*) or (*e'*), and his (*o*) with a (*u*) rounding or (*o_u*), his consonantal termination of (*i*ʻɹ, *uuw*), his advanced (*o*, *ɔ*) or (*o*, *ɔ*), his forms of (*ee'*j, *oo'w*) as (*éy*, *óo_u*), his acceptance of (*ɹ*) as (*ə*h) in (*A'ə*h, *EE'ə*h, *evə*h), etc., his constant use of (*'*, *'h*), even rounded, as (*'h*w), his analysis of his diphthongs for (*ə'i*, *ə'u*) as (*ve'y*, *e'y*) and (*œw*o), and his lengthened consonants, as (*sæmm*, *lett*). He uses (*ɹ*, *ɛ*) where I use (*ə*, *e*), and altogether his pronunciation differs in many minute shades from mine, although in ordinary conversation the difference would probably be passed by unnoticed, so little accustomed are we to dwell on differences which vex the phonologist's spirit. This little passage presents one of the most remarkable analyses of spoken sounds which has yet been published.

In returning me the proof corrected, he wrote: "I am inclined to accept your analysis of *ch* as (*t.sh*) for my own pronunciation also. I think the second element of the (*au*) diphthong may be the simple voice-glide rounded (*'h*w) instead of the mid-back (*o*), (*sœw'ondz*) would therefore be written (*sœw'hændz*). In the same way I feel inclined to substitute the simple voice-glide unrounded (*'h*) for the (*ə*h) wherever it forms the second element of a diphthong. I leave it to you to make the alterations or not." As Mr.

Sweet, on account of leaving England, was unable to correct a revise of the example, I preferred following the proof as it left his own hands, and content myself with noting these minute points. But it is worth while observing what extremely rough approximations to (i, u), such as ('hj, 'hw), when added to any one of the sounds (æ v, ɛ a o o, æ a a ə, ə ah oh oh, əh ə ah əh) and even (e e œ, ɛ æ æh), serve to recall diphthongs of the (ái, áu) classes to the mind with sufficient clearness to be readily intelligible.

B. H. Smart.

Mr. B. H. Smart's "Walker Remodelled . . . exhibiting the pronunciation of words in unison with more accurate schemes of sounds than any yet furnished, according to principles carefully and laboriously investigated, 1836," contains the most minute account of English sounds that I can find in pronouncing dictionaries, though very far below what is presented in Visible Speech or by Prof. Haldeman. It seemed therefore best to contrast his representation of the same passage, by turning out each word in his dictionary, and transliterating it into palacotype. For this purpose it is necessary to identify his symbols as explained in his schemes and principles. The numbers of his symbols in the schemes, with the examples, are sufficient to identify them, so that their forms need not be given. The same numbers also refer to the paragraphs in his 'principles,' giving the detailed description, from which I am obliged to cite some passages, although the book is so well known and readily accessible. Mr. Smart is only responsible for what I put between inverted commas.

"SCHEME OF THE VOWELS."

"*The Alphabetic Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be short or shortened.*"

1. accented as in *gate, gait, pay*. This sound is recognized as (e'j), but made (eej) by Smart, see (1108, d'), or perhaps (ee'j).

2. unaccented as in *aerial, retail, gateway*. "This tapering off into No. 4 cannot be heard in the unaccented alphabetic *a*, owing to its shorter quantity," it is therefore (e) short or (e^o) of medial length, probably the first in *aerial*, and the second in the other words. But I hear (geetwe'j), which, however, I suppose he takes as (geei'twe^o). But see No. 13.

3. accented as in *me, meet, meat*, is certainly (ii), but whether distinguished always from (i) is uncertain.

4. unaccented as in *defy, pedigree, galley*. "The quantity is not always equally short: in *pedigree*, for instance, it is not so short in the third syllable as

in the second. Generally it is as short as No. 15, with which it is identical, except that No. 15 is essentially short, while the unaccented alphabetical No. 4 is by nature capable of quantity. The word *indivisibility* must in strict *theory* be said to have one and the same vowel-sound in each syllable; but *practical* views rendering the distinction necessary, we consider the vowel in three of the syllables [1st, 3rd, 5th], to be essentially short, and the vowel in the remaining four to be naturally long, although, from situation, quite as short as No. 15." Here then short (i, i) are confused. The 'practical views' are in fact that No. 15, the 'essentially short' (i), is found gliding on to a consonant, and No. 4, the 'essentially long' (i), is found at the end of a syllable. The distinction is false; in this word (i) occurs throughout, and (i) would give a strangely foreign effect, the sound being (i:ndi'vizi'bi'liti), although (e') or (ə) might be used in the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th syllables rather

than (i). But in consequence of Smart's distinction, I shall transcribe his No. 4 by (i) as (*indivizibiliti*).

5. accented as in *wide, defied, defy*. "This sound is diphthongal. In the mouth of a well-bred Londoner it begins with the sound heard in No. 39, but without sounding the *r*, and tapers off into No. 4." This gives (ɔ'i) or (ɔ'ɪ); I take the former. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ɔ'ɪ) is meant. See below No. 19. "Some allege its composition to be No. 23 and No. 4," that is (ái, áɪ), "but this is northern; while others make it to be No. 25 and No. 4," that is (A'i, A'ɪ), "which is still more rustic. The affirmation *ay* is, however, a union of the sounds 25 and 4, at least as that word is commonly pronounced; though in the House of Commons, in the phrase, 'the ayes have it,' it seems to be an ancient custom to pronounce the plural word as uniting the sounds Nos. 25, 4, 60 [= (AA'iz)], or as it might be written *oys*, rhyming with *boys*."

6. unaccented as in *idea, fortifies, fortify*. "This unaccented sound differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only." It is often, however, extremely short. It does not seem to occur to orthoepists generally that diphthongs may be very short indeed, and yet possess all their properties, with the relative lengths of their parts. In *likewise*, the first diphthong, although accented, is generally much shorter than the second; in *idea*, the diphthong is often scarcely touched, but is always quite sensible.

7. accented as in *no, boat, foe, soul, blow*. "In a Londoner's mouth, it is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, almost as oo in *too*." Now this seems to imply that the vanish to (u) is *not* received; that (oo) is intended, and (óou) unintentional. Still as he admits (ééi), I shall take his No. 7 to be (óou).

8. unaccented as in *obey, follow*. "In remitting the accent, and with accent its length, No. 8 preserves its specific quality, with no liability to the diphthongal character to which the accented sound is liable." Hence I transcribe (o).

9. accented as in *cube, due, suit*. "Though for practical purposes reckoned among the vowels, No. 9 is, in truth, the syllable yōō, composed of the consonant element 56 and the vowel element

27." This view gets over all phonetic difficulties, and is very rough. I transcribe (juu).

10. unaccented as in *usurp, ague*. "Although a diphthong can scarcely lose in length, without losing its diphthongal character, yet a syllable composed of a consonant and a vowel may in general be something shortened." I transcribe (ju). The passage shews the vague phonetic knowledge which generally prevails.

"*The Essentially Short Vowels.*"

11. accented as in *mau, chapman*. This "differs in quality as well as in quantity from both No. 1 or No. 2, and No. 23,—it is much nearer the latter than the former,—indeed so near, that in theory they are considered identical; but it is not, practically, so broad as No. 23." That is, his No. 11, which we must identify with (æ), lies between (eéi) or (e) and (a), but is theoretically identified with the latter. The way in which in dialectal writing (æ, a) are confused under one sign *a*, has caused me much trouble, and I have found many correspondents apparently unable to discover the difference in sound.

12. unaccented as in *accept, chapman*. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound of No. 19, its distinct utterance being near to No. 11, its obscure or colloquial utterance carrying it entirely into No. 19. In final syllables the more obscure sound prevails; in initial syllables the more distinct." Hence in the former I transcribe (ææ), in the latter (æʔ). But these indicate helplessness on the part of the phonologist. Prince L. L. Bonaparte makes the former (ə) and the latter (œ), see No. 19.

13. accented as in *lent*. This "in theory is reckoned the same sound as No. 2. That it does not differ from it in quality may be perceived by the effect of a cursory pronunciation of *climate, ultimate*, etc., which reduce to *climet, ultimet*, etc." That is, Smart confuses (e, é), just as he confused (i, î), see No. 4. But while the confusion of (e, é) is tolerably possible, that of (e, E) is barely so. Hence I transcribe No. 13 as (e), and not as (ε).

14. unaccented as in *silent*. This "is liable to be sounded as No. 15." I transcribe (e), though perhaps (e') or even (y), to allow of confusion with (i),

might be more correct. But Smart may not have intended to recognize any intermediary between (e) and (i).

15. accented as in *pit*. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 4, and that it does not much differ in quality may be perceived by the word *counterfeit*, in which No. 4 in the last syllable shortens itself into No. 15." This is (i) certainly.

16. unaccented as in *sawpit*. This "differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only," and will hence be also written (i).

17. accented as in *not*, *common*. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 25, and that it does not differ in quality may be perceived by observing that *salt*, *fault*, etc., though pronounced with No. 25 in slow utterance, are liable to be shortened into No. 17." That is, Smart confuses (A, a) just as he confused (e, e) and (i, i). Yet he speaks of (AA) as a *broad*, not a *lengthened*, utterance of o in *cost*, *broth*, etc., and recommends a "medium between the extremes." Hence I transcribe 17 as (A), 25 as (AA), and this "medium" as (A⁴).

18. unaccented as in *pollute*, *command*, *common*. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound No. 19, more or less, according as the pronunciation is solemn or colloquial. In final syllables the sound No. 19 under the character o is, in general, so decided, that even in the most solemn speaking any other sound would be pedantic." These cases he marks especially, as in *common*, and I transcribe (o) simply. "In initial and other syllables, the sound preserves its character with some distinctness, as in *pollute*, *pomposity*, *demonstration*;" here then I transcribe (o²), "yet even in these we find a great tendency to the sound No. 19, and in the prefix *com-* the tendency is still stronger." Wherever he marks this stronger tendency to indistinctness, I transcribe (o) rather than (o²). Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (v) is meant by the o in *pollute*, and (œ) by the o in *common*, see No. 19.

19. accented as in *nut*, *custard*. "No. 19, No. 39 (without sounding the r), and No. 24, are all, in theory, the same, the last however more or less approaching the sound No. 23, according as the speaker is more or less distinct. They are all modifications of

what may be called the natural vowel, —that is to say, the vowel which is uttered in the easiest opening of the mouth." But whether these 'modifications' are (æ, a, v, œ), etc., there is nothing to shew. Hence I transcribe No. 19 by (æ), which, to me, approaches most to the natural vowel, and No. 24 by (œ^a). Prince L. L. Bonaparte, who has made a careful study of Smart, writes to me: "Although in your transcription of Smart (o) is the only one of the four signs (a, æ, v, œ) which occurs, it seems to me that Smart represents (a) by No. 24 *a* in *manna*, (o) by the first No. 12 or *a* in *accept*, (v) by the first No. 18 or *o* in *pollute*, and (œ) by No. 19 *u* in *nut*, or by the second No. 12 *a* in *chapman*, and second No. 18 *o* in *common*. The three signs, No. 19, the second No. 12, and the first No. 18, see also No. 20, are synonymous. They represent Smart's 'natural vowel,' which is, as he says in No. 19, merely *ur* without sounding the final r. In No. 36 he says that *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, *yr*, are necessarily pronounced *ur*. Hence the words *sir*, *bird*, *first*, see No. 35, contain Smart's natural vowel, your (œ), and not your (o). In fact, Smart says that the first No. 12 is to No. 24 as No. 11 is to No. 23, see Nos. 12 and 24, and that No. 24 is a mean between Nos. 19 and 23, just as the first No. 12 is between Nos. 11 and 19. He also says in No. 18, that the first sound of No. 18 lies between No. 17 and No. 19. Hence the first sound of No. 18 is (v), in the same way as No. 24 is (a), and the first No. 12 is (o), and the second No. 12, second No. 18 and No. 19, are (œ), which is his natural vowel." This is extremely ingenious, and logically worked out, but it depends on the hypothesis that Smart pronounced No. 19 with the same vowel that Bell used in pronouncing *err* (œ), which is different from the vowel Bell used in pronouncing *urn up* (v). And Smart's No. 35 leads me to suppose that he did not understand the nature of Bell's distinction (œ, æ), although he felt that there was some distinction. I doubt much indeed whether Smart had any clear conception of the four different sounds (æ, a, v, œ), which seem to have been first discriminated by Mr. M. Bell, as the result of his theory of lingual distinctions. And hence I feel that to write Smart's key-words, No.

12 *accept* chapman, No. 18 *pollute* common, No. 19 *nut*, No. 24 *papa*, *manna*, *Messiah*, as (əksɛpt tʃæpˌmən; pɒljʊt kəmən, nʊt, pəˈpɑː məˈnə Mɛsɪˈɑː), although possibly correct, is very probably incorrect. I do *not* think he said (nʊt), though this is a cockneyism. I do *not* think he said (pəˈpɑː məˈnə), for unaccented (ə) is very rare and very ugly. I do *not* think he said (əksɛpt), though he may have said (pɒljʊt). In this state of doubt, I have chosen symbols which seem to mark his own uncertainty, on the principle of (1107, d), namely, (əksɛpt tʃæpˌmən; pɒljʊt kəmən, nʊt, pəˈpɑː məˈnə Mɛsɪˈɑː), where the double sign in fact represents that the sound was felt to be intermediate in each case, but to have *more* of that represented by the large letter, though Smart would allow either sound to be used purely; but if so, he thought that of the large letter preferable. Except as regards *nut*, which *may* have been Mr. Bell's (ɔ) rather than my (ə), and may really have been in Mr. Smart's mouth (ə),—though I can hardly think the last probable,—I have no reasonable doubt as to the propriety of my symbols. I thought it right, however, to give the Prince's very ingenious hypothesis. He was at the pains to transcribe the whole example according to his theory; but the reader can so readily supply the necessary changes that I have not given it.

20. unaccented as in *walnut*, *circus*. This “differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent,” and is hence transcribed (ə).

21. accented as in *good*, *hood*, “an incidental vowel.” This, “essentially short, is, in other respects, identical with No. 27, the most contracted sound in the language.” That is, Smart confuses (u, ʊ) as he had previously confused (e, ɛ; i, ɪ; A, ə). It is necessary to transcribe (u), though I much doubt his having ever used it for No. 21 in actual speech.

22. unaccented as in *childhood*, “an incidental vowel.” This “differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent,” and is hence transcribed (u).

“*The Remaining Incidental Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be shortened.*”

23. accented as in *papa*, the interj.

ah. “In almost all languages but the English, this is the alphabetic sound of letter *a*.” It is transcribed (aa).

24. unaccented as in *papa*, *manna*, *Messiah*. This “differs from the preceding [No. 23] not only in quantity but in quality, by verging to the natural vowel [No. 19], and in colloquial utterance quite identifying with it. It fluctuates between No. 23 and this natural vowel No. 19, just as *ä* [a in chapman, the second No. 12] fluctuates between No. 11 and No. 19.” It is transcribed (əʌ), see No. 19. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ə) is meant, see No. 19. Smart uses No. 24 for French *e muet* in such words as *coup de grace*, *aide de camp*, which seems due to orthographical prejudice, as *dä* might have led the ordinary reader to say (dju).

25. accented as in *law*, the noun sub. *awe*, etc. This is (AA) without doubt.

26. unaccented as in *jackdaw*. This “differs from the preceding by remission of accent, and such shortening of its quantity as it will bear,” by which I understand that it is generally medial (Aʌ).

27. accented as in *pool*. “The sound of the letter *u* in Italian and many other languages,” that is (uu).

28. unaccented as in *whirlpool*, *cuckoo*. This “differs from the preceding by the remission of the accent, and such reduction of quantity as it will bear so as not to identify with No. 22, for *whirlpool* must not be pronounced as if it were *whirlpull*. Where, however, it is not followed in the same syllable by a consonant, as in *cuckoo*, *luxury*, it may be as short as utterance can make it.” Here the nemesis of confusing (u, ʊ) appears. It will be necessary to transcribe (uʌ) in the first case, as of medial length, and (u) in the second. He writes (ləkˈʃʃjuˈri), which is extremely artificial.

29. accented as in *toil*, *boy*. This “is a diphthongal sound whose component parts are Nos. 25 and 4.” That is, it is (AAʼi).

30. unaccented as in *turmoil*, *foot-boy*. This “differs from the preceding by the remission of accent, but its diphthongal nature prevents any perceptible difference in quantity,” so that the transcription (AAʼi) will be retained.

31. accented as in *noun*, *now*, *brown*. This is "a diphthongal sound of whose component parts are Nos. 23 and 27; at least, is the former of the two component sounds nearer to No. 23 than No. 25, though Walker makes the combination to be Nos. 25 and 27." That is, Smart analyses it as (áau), and not as (AA'u). He certainly could not have said (áau) with the first element long, but he had no means of writing (áu). Walker says: "The first or proper sound of this diphthong is composed of the *a* in *ball*, and the *oo* in *woo*, rather than the *u* in *bull*," that is (AA'uu). It will be seen that Mr. I. Pitman (p. 1183, key) uses *ou* = (ó'u) as his analysis of the diphthong down to this day. I have never heard it in received pronunciation.

32. unaccented, as in *proun*, *nut-brown*. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and hence (áau) is retained as the transcription.

"*The Vowels which terminate in Guttural Vibration, by nature long, though liable to be shortened.*"

33. accented, equivalent to No. 23 and *r*, as in *ardent*, that is, "No. 23, terminating in guttural vibration, . . . there is no trill, but the tongue being curled back during the progress of the vowel preceding it, the sound becomes guttural, while a slight vibration of the back part of the tongue is perceptible in the sound." I don't pretend to understand any part of this observation. He also says: "the letter *r* is sometimes a consonant, . . . and sometimes a guttural vowel-sound," and "that the trill of the tongue *may* be used wherever the following dictionary indicates the guttural vibration, is not denied; but it cannot be used at such places without carrying to correct ears an impression of peculiar habits in the speaker,—either that he is foreign or provincial, Irish or Scotch, a copier of bad declaimers on the stage, or a speaker who in correcting one extreme has unwarily incurred another. The extreme among the vulgar in London doubtlessly is, to omit the *r* altogether—to convert far into (faa), hard into (hhaad), cord into (kaad), lord into (laad), etc.;—an extreme which must be avoided as carefully as the strong trill of *r* in an improper place." Under these circumstances I transcribe (') for

the "guttural vibration," or "guttural vowel-sound," whatever that may be, and own myself, and almost every one I hear speak, to belong to the extreme of the vulgar in saying (aa) for (aa'), although I often hear and say (aa[r]). Hence No. 33 will be (aa').

34. unaccented as in *arcade*, *dollar*. This "differs from the preceding, both in quantity (though this cannot be much) and in quality, by verging towards unaccented No. 39. Indeed when the letters *ar* occur in a final unaccented syllable, as in *dollar*, it would be a puerile nicety to attempt distinctness." I transcribe (aa'), when he writes "ar equivalent to" No. 23 followed by the guttural vibration, that is, the sound (aa) merely verging to (a'); and (a') otherwise.

35. accented as in *ermine*, *virtue*. This "lies between Nos. 41 and 39, and in mere theory would not be distinguished from the former." I shall transcribe it (e'), though I am sure that it is usually a perfectly simple vowel-sound, and Smart gives no means of exactly determining it. Of course he may have distinguished it as (o'). See No. 19.

36. unaccented as in *commeree*, *letter*, *nadir*. This "is scarcely ever heard without some corruption of its quality in a final syllable, where the letters *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, *yr*, will almost necessarily be pronounced *ur*," No. 39. "This necessity is less in some words than in others, in *commeree*, for instance, than in *letter*." Hence I transcribe (e'), (o') in the two cases.

37. accented as in *order*. This, "which is equivalent to No. 25 and *r*," that is to (AA'), "occurs frequently in the language, often requiring to be distinguished from No. 47. For instance *form* (fAA'm), meaning figure, must be distinguished in pronunciation from *form* (foo'a'm), meaning a bench." I transcribe (AA'), though I generally hear (AA) or (AA[r]).

38. unaccented as in *stupor* or in *sailor*. This "is seldom distinct." I transcribe (AA') and (a') according to his marks, on the principle of No. 34.

39. accented as in *urgent*. This "is the natural vowel terminating in the guttural vibration," and is transcribed (a'), though how this differs from (a) or (h), or any one of the sounds discussed in No. 19, it is difficult to say.

40. unaccented as in *sulphur*. This

"differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is, therefore, still transcribed (ə').

41. accented as in *more*, "equivalent to Nos. 1 and 39," that is (éçirə'), but surely the (i) must be omitted and at least (eə') said, and this is strange. I transcribe (eə').

42. unaccented as in *welfare*, "equivalent to Nos. 2 and 39," that is (eə').

43. accented as in *more*, "equivalent to Nos. 3 and 39," that is (iə').

44. unaccented as in *atmosphere*, "equivalent to Nos. 4 and 39," that is (iə').

45. accented as in *more*, "equivalent to Nos. 5 and 39," that is (ə'irə').

46. unaccented as in *empire*, "equivalent to Nos. 6 and 39," that is (ə'irə').

47. accented as in *more*, "equivalent to Nos. 7 and 39," that is (oçurə'), meaning, perhaps, (oə'), as the (u) could not have been used, see No. 41.

48. unaccented as in *therefore*, "equivalent to Nos. 8 and 39," that is, (eə').

49. accented as in *more*, "equivalent to Nos. 9 and 39," or (juə').

50. unaccented as in *figure*, "equivalent to Nos. 10 and 39," or (juə').

51. accented as in *poor*, "equivalent to Nos. 27 and 39," or (uə').

52. unaccented as in *black-a-moor*, "equivalent to Nos. 28 and 39," or (uə').

53. accented as in *power*, "equivalent to Nos. 31 and 39," or (əaurə').

54. unaccented, as in *cauli-flower*, "equivalent to Nos. 32 and 39," or (əaurə').

In reference to Nos. 41 to 54—of which it is said, "it is only by being followed by guttural vibration that these sounds differ respectively from Nos. 1 to 10, 27, 28, 31, and 32"—it should be remembered that Mr. Smart does not distinguish properly between (i, e, e, o, u, ū), and hence the changes which Mr. Bell, myself, and others notice (1099, a') in the action of the diphthongising ('h) upon preceding (i, e, o, ū), were necessarily passed over by Mr. Smart. He says indeed: "It has been said that there is a palpable difference between the vowel-sound in *payer*, *player*, *slayer*, and that in *care*, *fair*, *hair*, *share*. What difference may be made in New York I know not; but I know that none is made in London, nor can be made without that peculiar effect which shows an effort to distinguish what in general is necessarily undistinguishable," but that he did feel a

difference is, I think, certain from the following remarks: "Identical, however, as they are, except as regards the peculiarity noticed, the practical necessity for considering them distinct elements will be perceived in the comparison of the first syllables of *va-rious*, *se-rious*, *fi-ring*, *to-ry*, *fu-ry*, with the first syllables of *va-cant*, *se-cant*, *fi-nal*, *to-tal*, *fu-gitive*; an identity of these syllables in pronunciation is decidedly provincial; the true utterance of the former is *vare-ious*, *se-re-ious*," etc., with Nos. 41 and 43, etc. "The difference in view will be rendered intelligible to those familiar with French pronunciation, by comparing the sound of *dear* pronounced correctly as an English word, with that of *dire* pronounced correctly as a French word. In both the vowel commences after the *d* precisely in the same way, but in the French word it remains pure, unmixed with the *r*, which begins a new syllable formed with what is called the mute *e*, the word being pronounced (di:rə'), [vowels Nos. 3 and 24,] "or nearly so; while in the English word, the sound of the *r* (not the trilled *r* as in French) blends itself with the *e* during its progress." [I hear French (di:r), English (di'r), or (di'r) before a vowel.] "So also in *dear-ly*, *care-ful*, etc., the addition of a syllable beginning with a consonant distinct from the *r* making no difference to the previous syllable, the *r* in that previous syllable blends itself with the vowel exactly as in *dear*, *care*, etc.; and the only difference between *dear-ly*, *care-ful*, etc., and *va-rious*, *se-rious*, *fi-ry*, *to-ry*, *fu-ry*, etc., is, that in the latter the *r*, besides blending itself with the previous vowel, is also heard in the articulation of the vowel which begins the following syllable." [Hence I feel bound to transcribe (veç'rias, si:r'rias), etc., where I seem to say and hear (veç'riəs, si'r'riəs), etc.] "Of this blending of the *r* with the previous vowel, it is further to be observed that the union is so smooth in polite utterance as to make it imperceptible where one ends and the other begins;" [meaning, I suppose, that the diphthong is perfect, no interruption occurring in the glide, not even a slur, thus (eə') not (eə-ə'), although his careful interposition of the accent mark (eə'), instead of putting it at the close (eə'), gives a different impression, and always leads me to read

with a slur (ce◌ə):] “while in vulgar pronunciation the former vowel breaks abruptly into the guttural sound, or into the vowel No. 24 used for the guttural,” [meaning, I suppose, (ce◌jə, ce◌ə), or (ce◌jə^a, ce◌ə^a).] “Among mere cocknies this substitution of No. 24 for No. 34, or No. 40, is a prevailing characteristic, and should be corrected by all who wish to adapt their habits to those of well-bred life.” [Here he again becomes mysterious, separating his guttural vibration from his guttural vowel, with which he identified it in No. 33. As far as I can observe, and I have been constantly observing the use of *r* by Englishmen for many years, this distinction is founded in error. I can understand, and hear, (ə, ər, ər, v, ər, ər, ‘h, ‘r, ‘r), but the difference (ə^a, ə^a) escapes me.] “It is, moreover, remarkable of these elements that each will pass on the ear either as one or two syllables, and this is signified in the schemes by the equivalent indication āur, īur,” [=No. 1, accent, No. 39; and No. 5, accent, No. 39; or (ce◌ə, ə◌i◌ə)], “where the mark of accent placed over the former part gives it the appearance of the first of two syllables, while the omission of the hyphen shows that the whole is pronounced as one.” He refers here to No. 134, where he says, that: “*pay-er* and *may-or*; *li-ar*, *buy-er*, and *high-er*; *slow-er* and *grow-er*; *su-er* and *new-er*; *tru-er*, *brew-er*, and *do-er*; *bow-er* and *flow-er*; are perfect rhymes to *mare*, *hire*, *lore*, *eure*, *poor*, and *hour*.” To me (pee◌jə, bā◌i◌jə, hā◌i◌jə, sloo◌jə, groo◌jə, siū◌jə, niū◌jə, truū◌jə, bruū◌jə, duū◌jə, bā◌u◌jə, flā◌u◌jə), where ◌ might be used for *j*, are always dissyllabic; but *mayor* = *mare* precisely, = (mee◌), and (loo◌, kihu◌, puu◌) are distinctly monosyllabic, though diphthongal, while *hire*, *hour*, involving triphthongs, are looser respecting the final, so that (hā◌i◌, ə◌u◌) or (hā◌i◌h, ə◌u◌h) may be heard, but not (hā◌i◌jə, ə◌u◌jə) in two syllables, according to present usage. For past usage see examples from Shakspeare, p. 951. I acknowledge having heard Mr. Smart’s semi-dissyllabism in some elderly people, and was much struck by it in the late Sir John Bowring’s evidently much studied pronunciation, but I cannot recognize it in my own generation, and I was born in 1814.

55. “a slight semi-consonant sound

between No. 4 and No. 58, heard in the transition from certain consonant to certain vowel sounds: as in *lute*, j’ew, nature, garment, kind.” This “is a sound so short and slight as to be lost altogether in the mouth of an unpolished speaker, who says (laʊt, dzhuu, née◌i◌tshuə), or more commonly (née◌i◌tshə), garment, kind, etc., for *lute*, j’ew, etc. On the other hand, there are persons who, to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, pronounce No. 58 distinctly on the occasions which call for this slighter sound of No. 58 or No. 4. This *affected* pronunciation,” [which he writes l-yoot, j-yoo, na◌-ch-yoor, g-yarment, k-yind.] “be it observed, is to be avoided with as much care as the slight sound, which in the mouth of an elegant speaker *naturally* slides in between the consonant and the vowel, is to be imitated.” I believe the sounds he means are (h)iu, dzhiu, née◌i◌tshiu, gjaa◌me◌nt, kjā◌nd), but, in consequence of No. 58, I transcribe this “semi-consonant” by (i). As respects its use after (sh), Prof. Haldeman says: “If, by the conversion of *i* into English *y* or *zh*, o-be-di-ent becomes o-be-dyent (the writer’s mode of speaking) or o-bedzhent, no speaker of real English can preserve both *dzh* and *i*; yet Walker has coined a jargon with such forms as o-be-je-ent, and eris-tshe-an-e-te. Similarly if ‘omniscient’ has an *s*, it has four syllables; if *sh*, it has but three. Compare the dissyllables *Russia*, *Asia*, *conscience*, and the trissyllables *militia*, *malicious*” (Anal. Orth. art. 311). Smart, using the transcriptions suggested, writes (o-bir-dient = o-biid-jent, kríst-jæen), colloquially (kríst-shjæen), where the separation of (t-sh) is inorganic, (krís-ti-en-i-ti, am-nish-i-ent, am-nis-si-ens, Ee◌lish-jæen Ee-shi-et-ik, Rash-jæen, kan-shjens, mi-lish-jæ, mæ◌lish-jas). I seem to say (obi◌di-ent, krís,tshen, krástiæ◌niti krís,tshiæ◌niti, ænnish-i-ent, ænnish-i-ens, Eeshe Eeshiæ◌tik, Ræshen, kænshens, mî◌she, mû◌shas). It seems that many of these changes of (s) into (sh) through (i) are in a state of transition, and that the stages are (-si-u, -s-jə, -shi-u, -shi-u, -shu), and that those speakers who have learned to speak in any prior state have a sort of repulsion against a following one, and will never submit to it,—when they think of it,

that is, in 'careful speaking,'—leaving the change to be accomplished by the rising or some following generation. The admission of all pronunciations as now coexisting, instead of the stigmatisation of some as vulgar or as wrong, marks the peculiarity of my standpoint, whence I try to see what *is*, rather than decide what *should be*.

"SCHEME OF THE CONSONANTS."

56. "h, as in *hand*, perhaps, *vehement*, is a propulsion of breath, which becomes vocal in the sound which follows it, this following sound being hence called aspirated." As 'propulsion' may be an 'elegant' translation of 'jerk,' I transcribe (hjh). "And the sound which follows is in our language always a vowel, except *w* and *y*; for *w* is aspirated in *wheat*, *whig*, etc., which are pronounced *hwēat*, *hwīg*, etc., and *y* is aspirated in *hew*, *huge*, etc., which are pronounced *hyōō*, *hyōōge*, etc." Hence I transcribe (hjhwint, njhauudzjh). "It is to be further noted that the aspirate is never heard in English except at the beginning of syllables;" [that (*izs*) is really (*izjh*), and might therefore be well called a final aspirate, naturally never occurred to him.] "and that in the following and all their derivatives *h* is silent: *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler*, *hour*, *humble*, and *humour*." The two last words are now most frequently aspirated, just as Smart aspirates *herb*, *hospital*, which may still be heard unaspirated from well-educated people. I heard a physician, speaking at a hospital public meeting lately, constantly say (*hospitel*).

57. "w, beginning a syllable without or with aspiration, as in *we*, *beware*, *forward*, *wheat* equivalent to *hwēat*, is a consonant having for its basis the most contracted of the vowel-sounds, namely No. 27, which sound, being partially obstructed by an inward action of the lips, and then given off by an outward action, is changed from a vowel to a consonant. A comparison of the French word *oui*, as a Frenchman pronounces it (viz. No. 28, No. 3, accent), with the English word *we* as an Englishman pronounces it, will show the difference between the vowel and the consonant." This is (w).

58. "y, beginning a syllable as in *you*, and this sound is always to be understood as present in Nos. 9, 10, 50, which are equivalent to y, with Nos.

27, 28, and 52, is a consonant, having for its basis the slenderest of the vowel-sounds, namely, No. 3," [what is the precise difference between "the slenderest" and "the most contracted" of the vowel-sounds? Who would imagine them to be respectively (ii, nu) and *not* (nu, ii)?] "which sound being partially obstructed by an inward action of the jaw carrying the back of the tongue against the soft palate, and then given off by an outward action, is changed by these actions from a vowel into a consonant. When very slightly uttered, with little of the organic action, and therefore resuming much of the character of a vowel, it is No. 55." Hence, I transcribe No. 58 by (j), and No. 55 by (jʃ).

59. "s and ss; also c or sc before e or i, as in *sell*, *sit*, *mass*; *cell*, *face*, *cit*, *scene*, *science*," is (s).

60. "z, zz, ze, as in *zeal*, *buzz*, *maze*," is (z).

61. "sh as in *mish'-un*, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of *mission*," is (sh).

62. "zh as in *vizh'-un*, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of *vision*," is (zh).

63. "ch, tch, as in *chair*, *each*, *match*," is (tsh), see No. 64.

64. "j; and also g before e or i, as in *jog*; *gem*, *age*, *gin*," is (dzjh). Nos. 63 and 64 "are not simple consonants, the former being t and sh, and the latter d and zh." Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that Smart's observations in No. 147 tend to shew that, notwithstanding this statement, Smart really analysed (tshj, dzhj). But to me Smart's observations only relate to the use of (tshj, dzhj), as he says in Nos. 61, 62, 63, and 64, that these consonants are "unable to take the consonant y [No. 58] into fluent union, and therefore either absorb the y entirely, or reduce it to the slighter element" No. 55, here transcribed (jʃ). Of the possible reduction of (shj) into (shj), he seems to have had no clear conception. Thus, he takes no notice of (lj nj). His *coup d'œil*, *baguio* are (kuudōd, banjo). But his habit of speech may have been different from his analysis. This is often the case. Thus Mr. Murray and myself analyse my own pronunciation of "long ā" differently (1109, ā).

65. "f, ff, fe, as in *fog*, *cuft*, *life*," is (f).

66. "v, ve, as in *vain, love*," is (v).
 67. "th, as in *thin, pith*," is (th).
 68. "th, the, as in *them, with, breathe*," is (dh).

69. "l, ll, le, as in *let, mill, sale*," is (l). The last syllable of *able, idle*, he says, is "a syllable indeed without a vowel, except to the eye," adding in a note, "*A-ble, e-vil, ma-son, broken*, etc., although heard with only one vowel, are as manifestly two syllables to the ear (all our poetry proves it) as any dissyllable in the language."

70. "m, mm, me, as in *may, hammer, blame*," is (m).

71. "n, nn, ne, as in *no, banner, tune*," is (n).

72. "ng, as in *ring*," is (q).

73. "r, rr, as audibly beginning a syllable or being one of a combination of consonants that begin a syllable, as in *ray, erect, florid (=florid), torrid, pray, spread*. Under other circumstances, the letter is a sign of mere guttural vibration." This "is an utterance of voice acted upon by a trill or trolling of the tongue against the upper gum." Again, in No. 33, he speaks of *r* in *ray*, etc., as "formed by a strong trill of the tongue against the upper gum." [This would be (r), but I shall transcribe (r), as I have transcribed (n), see No. 78. But that the trill is *strong* is 'strongly' opposed to Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r_e).] "The trill in which the utterance of this consonant mainly consists, is often faultily produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate" [meaning the uvula, which is the real vibrator, against the back of the tongue], "so formed, it makes the noise called the burr in the throat, a characteristic of Northumbrian pronunciation, and not uninfrequent in particular places and many families elsewhere." The burr is (r), the dental trill is (r).

74. "p, pp, pe, as in *pop, supper, hope*," is (p).

75. "b, bb, be, as in *bob, rubber, robe*," is (b).

76. "k, ck, ke; also c final, and c

before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in *king, hack, bake*; antic, cat, cot, cut, claim," is (k).

77. "g, before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in *gap, got, gun, guess, plague, grim*," is (g).

78. "t, tt, te, as in *ten, matter, mate*, is an utterance of breath confined behind the tongue by a close junction of the tip of the tongue and the upper gum, the breath therefore being quite inaudible, till the organs separate to explode, either the breath simply as in *at*, or the breath vocalised as in *too*." If the contact with the *gum* is to be taken literally, I must transcribe (t), and must then have (r, d, n). I am inclined to believe, however, that in all cases Smart was contenting himself with old definitions, instead of making independent observations; and hence I shall use (r, t, d, n).

79. "d, dd, de, as in *den, madder, made*," in consequence of what is said in No. 78, I transcribe (d). See No. 78.

As Smart makes no difference in meaning when a consonant is doubled, I shall not double consonants in transcribing, and in consequence I shall not divide syllabically, as this would be impossible on his plan without such reduplications. Smart distinguishes two accents, primary and secondary, which I transcribe as (ˈ) and (ˌ), and place after the vowel or after the consonant as he has done. With regard to monosyllables, he says (art. 176) that they are all "exhibited as having *accented* vowel-sounds." But as he makes unemphatic *a*=No. 24 or (ə^a), *me*=Nos. 70 and 4, or (mi), *your*=(jə'), *am, was had, shall, and*=(ə^æm, wəz, ɪhə^æd, shə^æl, ə^ænd), *for*=(fə'), *of*=(əv), *from*=(frəm); *my, by*=(mi, bi), and *thy* "among people who familiarly use it"=(dhi), and *the*=(dhi) before a vowel and (dha^a) before a consonant, and *you* "in the accusative case and not emphatic"=(ji) or (jə), I shall so transcribe them in the connected passage, but I omit the hyphens.

Some of the words in the example are not in Smart's Dictionary, such as *graphical, phonetic, linguistical*, and inflexions and derivatives, such as *its, printed*, etc. His pronunciation of these has been inferred from *graphic graphically, phonology mimetic, linguist sophisticated*, and the simple words. Altogether I believe that the transcription fairly represents the original.

COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN OF INDIVIDUAL SYNTHETIC

A. J. ELLIS.

See pp. 1091-1173.

Dhe-ri't'n en-pri'ntyd
 re:prizentee'shan v-dhe-sə'wnz
 ev-læ'qwydzh sh, bi-mii'nz ev-
 kæ'ryktez, whi'tsh-er
 i:nseli'shent, both-in-kə'i'nd
 en-nə'mbe-r, en-whi'tsh
 mus-dhee'fa bi:kembə'i'nd a-
 mə'di'sid, if-wi-wud-giv v-
 græ'fikəl sɪmbə'lizee'shen v-
 dhe-fənetik e'lements wiðh-
 oonli səm-digrii: ev-
 egzæ'knys 'n-kənvi'ni:ens,
 hæz-bii'n, frəm-AA'l tə'im, fə-
 nee'shenz ez-wel-əz
 i:ndiv'iduəlz,
 liqgwistikəl stju'dents
 nət ekse'ptyd, wən-
 v-dhe mɔs-ne'sesəri
 en-wən-v-dhe mɔs-
 di'fik'lt ev-prɔ'blemz, en-
 ezs-kənsikwəntli skee'sli
 evvə bin-hæ'pili səlvd. Let-
 dhi's tiit'sh-əs dhet-dhi-
 jɪnvə'nshən ev-rə'i'tiq, dhe-
 gree'tyst en-moo'st
 impa'atnt i'nvə'nshən
 whi'tsh dhe-ʒhuu'men mə'ind
 ez-evvə meed, en-whi'tsh,
 æz-ɪt-i'ndiid AA'lmost
 eksii'dz ɪts-stre'qth,
 hæz-bin-ə'f'n en-
 nət əndzhə'sli etri'bri'utyd
 tə-dhe-gə'dz; lə'i'k-dhi
 AA'geniz'm ev-v-steet, et-wəns
 si'mpl'i-l'n kəmpleks, i'z-nət-
 dhe wə'k-ev i:ndiv'iduəlz,
 bət-ev-sen'ti'urizs, pə'hæps-
 əv θə'uzenz-ev jii'z.

Prof. S. S. HALDEMAN.

See pp. 1186-1196.

Dhə ɹɪt'n ynd pɹɪntyd
 ɹepɹɪzentee'shyn yv dhə sɑwndz
 yv læqgwɪdzh bɑs minz yv
 kæ'ɹyktɪz, whwɪtsh ɑ
 ɪnsəli'shynt, both ɪn kɑnd
 yn nəmbɪ, ynd whwɪtsh məst
 dhe.foʊ bi kəmbəynd AA
 mədyfɑd ɪf wi wud giv ə
 glæ'fikl sɪmblɪzeshyn yv
 dhə fənetik e'lymynts wiðh
 ɔnli səm digɹii: yv
 egzæktnes ynd kənvi'ni:ns,
 nhæz bi:n, frəm ɒl təɪm fɑʌ
 nə'shynz əz wəl yz
 ɪndyv'iduəlz [ɪndyv'idzhylz]
 liqgwistɪkəl stju'dnts
 nət ekse'ptyd wən [wən]
 yv dhə məst nə'sysyɹi
 ynd wən yv dhy məst
 di'fikylt yv pɹɔ'blɪmz, ynd
 nhæz kənsikwɪntli ske:slɪ
 evvə bi:n nhæpyli sɑʌlvd. Let
 dhi's tiitsh əs dhet dhə
 ɪnvə'nshyn yv ɹɑstiɹ, dhə
 glɹetyst n məst
 impa'atnt i'nvə'nshyn
 whwɪtsh dhə ʒhuu'myn mənd
 nhæz evvə meed, ynd whwɪtsh,
 æz ɪt ɪndiid AA'lmost
 eksii'dz ɪts streɹqth [streɹnth?]
 nhæz bi:n ʌfn [ɔfn] ynd
 nət əndzhə'stli ætɹi'bɹɪtyd
 tə dhə gɑ'dz; lɑjk dhə
 ɑɹɹɹnɪzɪm yv ə stɪt, æt wəns
 si'mpl yn kəmpleks, ɪz nət
 dhə wə'k yv ɪndyv'iduəlz
 bət yv sɛn'tɹɪj,əɪz py:nhæps
 yv θəwzndz yv jii:z.

PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

H. SWEET.

See p. 1196.

Dh'-rɪ'tn-'n-prɪntɪ'd-
 re:pr'z'ntéy'sh'n-'v-dh' sɔə'ɔ'ndz
 -'v-læ'qqgwe'dzh 'bu'y-miɪ'nz-'v
 -kæ'rel'ktəhz wɪ:tsh-'r-
 i:ns'fɪ'sh'nt b'loo:th-e'n-keɪ'y'nd-
 'n-næ'mmbəh 'nd-wɪ'tsh-m'st-
 dhe'e'əh:f'hw-be'l-k'mbɛ'y'nd-'hw-
 m'ɔ'de'f'e'y'd i:f-we'l-w'ud-gɪ:v-'h-
 græ'f'e'k'l-si:mb'l'e'y'z'e'y'sh'n-'v-
 dh'-f'ʌn'e'te'k-e'l'm'nts w'dh-
 ʌ'oo'ɒ:nle'-sæ'mm-de'grii:-'v-
 e'gzæ'ktne's-'n-k'n'vɪj'n'ns
 h'h'z-biɪ:n-fr'm-æ'l-tɛy:y:m f'-
 néy'sh'nz 'z-we:ll-'z-
 i:nnde'vɪ'dzh'w'lz,
 li'qqgwɪ'ste'k'l -stɹu'u'w'd'nts-
 n'ɔ:tt-e'k'se'pte'd wæ:nn-
 'v-dh'-m'loo:st-ne's'sre'l
 'nd-wæ:nn-'v-dh'-m'loo:st-
 dɪ'fe'k'l't-'v-pr'ɒbbel'mz, 'nd-
 'z-k'ʌn'se'l'kw'ntle' skee'əh'sle'
 ɛ'vəh-b'ɪn-nhæ'p'le's'ɔ'llvd. Lett
 -dh'i:s-tɪ'tsh-'s dh't-dh'-
 e'nve'nsh'n-'v-re'y'tiq dh'-
 gréy'te'st-'n-m'loo:st-
 e'ɪmp'ə'h'tnt-e'nve'nsh'n
 wɪ:tsh-dh'-h'ɹu'u'w'm'n-mɛy'nd-
 'z-ɛ'vəh-méey'd 'nd-wɪ:tsh
 'z-e't-i'z nndiɪ:d æ'l'm'loo'st-
 e'ksiɪ'dz-e'ts-stre'qth,
 h'h'z-b'ɪm-æ'fn, 'n-
 n'ɔ:tt-ndzhe'st'le', 'trɪ'bɹu'wte'd-
 t'-dh'-g'ɔ'ddz, lé'y:k-dhe'
 æ'h'g'nɪ:zm-'v-'h-stéy't, 't-wæ:ns
 -sɪ'mpl-'n-k'ɒmple:ks, e'z-n'ɔ:tt-
 dh' wəə'h'k-'v-i:nnde'vɪ'dzh'w'lz
 b't-'v-sɛ'ntsh're's, prɛ'ps-
 'v-thə'w'ɔ'ndz-'v-ʃi'əhz.

B. H. SMART.

See pp. 1197-1205.

Dhə' rɪ'tn ə'nd prɪnt'ed
 rep:rɪzenté'eɪ'shən əv dhə' sáaundz
 əv læq'gwe'dzh, bi miinz əv
 kæræktə'z ɪ'hwɪtsh æ'
 i:nsəfɪ'sh'ɹɛnt, b'loo'uth ɪn kə'ɪnd
 ə'nd nəm'bə' ə'nd ɪ'hwɪtsh məst
 dhe'f'ə' bi kəmbə'ɪnd' æ'
 mædɪf'ɪd ɪf wi wud gɪv ə'
 græfɪkə'ɪl sɪm:bəlizé'eɪ'shən əv
 dhə' fənɛ'tɪk elɪments wɪð
 ʌ'ʌn'li səm dɪgrɪi' əv
 egzækt'nes ə'nd kænvi'niens,
 ɪ'hwə'z bɪn frəm æl tə'ɪm fə'
 né'eɪ'shənz ə'z wel ə'z
 i:ndɪvɪ'dʒuə'ɪz,
 li'qqwɪst'ɪkə'ɪl stɹu'ndents
 næt eksept'ed, wən
 əv dhə' m'loo'ust nes'ɛsə'ri
 ə'nd wən əv dhə' m'loo'ust
 dɪfɪkəlt əv prəb'lemz ə'nd
 ɪ'hwə'z kæn'sɪkwent:li skee'ə'sli
 ɛ'v'ə bɪn ɪ'hæp'ɪli sɒlvd. Let
 dhɪs tiɪtsh əs dhə'et dhə'
 ɪnven'shən əv rə'ɪtɪq, dhə'
 gré'eɪ'test ə'nd m'loo'ust
 ɪmp'æ'ə'tə'nt ɪnven'shən
 ɪ'hwɪtsh dhi ɪ'hju'u'mə'ən mə'ɪnd
 ɪ'hwə'z ɛ'v'ə mé'eɪd, ə'nd ɪ'hwɪtsh,
 ə'z ɪt ɪndiɪd æl'm'ə'st
 eksiɪd'z ɪts stre'qth
 ɪ'hwə'z bɪn æ'fn ə'nd
 næt əndzəst'li æ'trɪ'b'uted
 tu dhə' gædz, lə'ɪk dhi
 æ'g'æ'nɪzm əv ə' sté'eɪt ə'et wəns
 sɪm'pl ə'nd kəm'pleks, ɪz nat
 dhə' wə'k əv i:ndɪvɪ'dʒuə'ɪz,
 bət əv sɛn'tʃurɪz, p'ɪ'hæps
 əv θiá'u'zə'ndz əv ʃi'ə'z.

OBSERVATIONS ON UNSTUDIED PRONUNCIATIONS.

All the above specimens of pronunciation labour under the obvious disadvantage of being the result of deliberate thought. Mr. Bell's and Mr. Smart's, like those of all pronouncing dictionary writers and elocutionists, give rather what they think ought to be than what they have observed as most common. They take to heart a maxim which Dr. Gill borrowed from Quintilian and stated thus: "*Quemadmodum in moribus bonorum consensus, sic in sermone consuetudo doctorum primaria lex est. Scriptura igitur,*" by writing, he, as a phonetic writer, implied pronunciation, "*omnis accommodanda erit, non ad illum sonum quem bubulci, quem mulerculae et portiores [*sic*, portitores?]; sed quem docti, aut cultè eruditi viri exprimunt inter loquendum et legendum.*" But my object in this book is to know what men *did* and *do* habitually say, or think they say, and not merely what they think they *ought* to say. I have therefore endeavoured to catch some words which were not given as specimens of pronunciation, but, being uttered on public occasions, were, I thought, fairly appropriable. Of course this attempted exhibition of some pronunciations labours under another immense disadvantage. When Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet, and myself wrote down each his own pronunciation, we were each able to repeat the sound, feel the motion of the organs, revise and re-revise our conceptions as to what it really was, and thus give the result of careful deliberation. But when I attempt to write down a passing word,—and the very merit of my observation consists in the absolute ignorance of the speaker that his sounds and not his sense are being noted,—there is no possibility to recall the word, and unless it happens to recur soon, I am unable to correct my first impressions. I have indeed often found that after hearing the word several times, I have been unable to analyse it satisfactorily. Still, knowing no better method of observing, I give a few results to shew what it leads to. I name the speakers when they are well-known public men, whose speech-sounds may probably be taken as a norm, as much as their thoughts. They will understand, that they are named, not for the purpose of "shewing up" peculiarities, but of enforcing the fact that men of undoubted education and intelligence, differ in pronunciation from one another, from pronouncing dictionaries, and from my own habits, so that the term "educated pronunciation" must be taken to have a very "broad" signification. It must be understood that all these pronunciations were noted on the spot, as soon as possible after each word was uttered, and that I have in no case allowed subsequent impressions to affect my original note, which I have regarded as a conscientious, though of course possibly erroneous, observation. When (e, æ) are written, I can never feel sure that (ɛ, ɶ) were not actually used. When, however, (ɛ, ɶ) are written, they were certainly observed. No attention having been paid at the time of noting to the difference between (ɪ, ɪh), the use of ɪ cannot be guaranteed, and (ɪh) is often more probable. In each case I have thought it best to add my own pronunciation, as well as I can figure it, for the

purpose of comparison. This is always placed last, and is preceded by a dash. Thus, in the first word cited, "*accomplished* ækəmplɪʃt —ækəmplɪʃt," the italics indicate ordinary spelling, the first palaeotype the pronunciation observed, the second palaeotype, following the (—), the pronunciation which I believe I am in the habit of using in connected speech. If nothing follows the dash, my pronunciation agrees with that observed, but both disagree from several (and possibly, but not necessarily, all) pronouncing dictionaries. When no dash is added, my pronunciation differed too slightly to be noted. In no case, however, must these notes of my own pronunciation be taken as a confirmation or correction of the former. They are added merely to mark differences of habit. Such men as I have cited by name have certainly a full right to say that their pronunciation is a *received English* pronunciation—at least as much so, I think more than as much so, as any professed elocutionist. It may be observed that my list is not extensive enough, and that especially I have not given examples from the pronunciation of professed men of letters, from the bar, the stage, or the pulpit. This is true. All these classes labour under the disadvantage of making speech a profession. I have an idea that professed men of letters are the worst sources for noting peculiarities of pronunciation; they think so much about speech, that they nurse all manner of fancies, and their speech is apt to reflect individual theories. However, Prof. Bain may be taken as one of the best examples. The bar has rather hereditary pronunciations, where they are not individual and local. The stage for the higher class of dramas is archaic and artificial; for the middle and lower it is merely imitative, and hence exposes an observer to all the chances of error in taking information second hand. The pulpit is full of local pronunciations, but Professor Jowett, distinguished and admired as a preacher as well as a scholar, may be considered a sufficient representative of this class. Men of science I have especially represented. They are forming a large and influential class at the present day. The general Londoners in public meeting assembled seemed to me a good source for general varieties. Parliament is far too local; and so are country gentlemen, from whom its ranks are mainly recruited. Of course it must be understood that the peculiarities which I have chosen to note do not characterise the *general* run of the pronunciation of the speakers observed. It must not be assumed that every word is peculiar, or that the greater number of words present divergent characters. Thus the words from Prof. Bain and Prof. Jowett are *all* that it occurred to me to note in two courses of lectures—a very small number when thus considered. The general speech of educated London differs only in certain minute points, and in a few classes of words, so far as I have hitherto observed, from that which I have given as my own. Even in the cases cited, where I have put my own for contrast, the differences are seldom such as would strike an observer not specially on the look-out for individualities of pronunciation.

PROF. ALEXANDER BAIN.

Words observed in listening to a course of lectures on "Common Errors on the Mind," delivered by Prof. Bain at the Royal Institution in May, 1868. Prof. Bain had evidently considered well both his pronunciation and delivery, so that all his deviations from custom must be regarded as the result of deliberate choice, although possibly modified by local habits, as in (*booth*) for (*booth*). And as Prof. Bain has bestowed considerable attention on phonetic writing, no allowance need be made for possible Scotticisms. I do not feel at all certain that (ə'i, ə'u) are correctly analysed.

accomplished əkəm'plɪʃt—əkəm'plɪʃt
advantages ədvɑːntɪdʒɪz—ədvɑːn-
tɪdʒɪz

against you əgeˈnstjuː—egəˈnst' ju

aghost əgəˈst—egəˈst

alternation ɔːlternəˈʃən—æːlternəˈ-
ʃən

a solid əh səˈlɪd—v səˈlɪd

a strong v strɔːŋ—

away əweɪ—əweɪ

beau idéal boː ɪdeɪəl—boː əˈɪdiəl

both buːðh—buːðh

branch brɑːntʃh—brɑːntʃh brɑːntʃh

cessation sɪˈseɪʃən—sɪˈseɪʃən

circumstances sɜːkəmstənsɪz—səːkəm-
stənsɪz

circumlocution sɜːkəmloʊkjuːʃən—səː-
kəmloʊkjuːʃən

class klaːs—

classes klæsɪz—klaːsɪz

compounds kəmˈpaʊndz—kəmˈpəʊndz

consummated kənˈsʌmɪtɪd—kənˈsɛm-
etɪd

contrast kənˈtrɑːst—

crafty kɹɑːftɪ—kɹɑːftɪ

dance dɑːns—dɑːns

economised iːkənəˈmɪzɪd—ɪkənəˈmɪzɪd

educability ɛdjuːkəˈbɪlɪti—

effect ɪˈfɛkt—ɛfɛkt

engine ɛˈndʒɪn—əˈndʒɪn

epoch ɪˈpɔːk—ɛˈpɔːk

example ɛɡzəˈmpl—

explanation ɛkspləˈneɪʃən—ɛːksplən-
ee ʃən

extolled ɛkstəʊˈld—ɛkstəʊˈld

eye ɛi—əi

fæculties fæˈkʌlteɪz—fæˈkʌltɪz

fatigue fəˈtiːɡ—fəˈtiːɡ

force fɔːrs—fɔːrs

forth fɔːrth—fɔːrth

fraternity frɪˈtɜːnɪti—frɪˈtɜːnɪti

fraternize frəˈtɜːnɪz—frəˈtɜːnɪz

functionary fʌŋkʃənəri—

genus dʒenəs—dʒɪnəs

good guːd—guːd

handicraft hæˈndɪkræft—hæˈndɪkræft
hæˈndɪkræft

hardly hæˈrdli—hæˈrdli

heroine hɪˈrɔɪn—hɪˈrɔɪn

heterogeneous hɛtəˈrɒdʒiːniəs—hɛːte-
rɒdʒiːniəs

hold hɔːld—hɔːld

human ʃuːmən—

ignorance ɪˈɡnərəns—

implanted ɪmˈplæntɪd—ɪmˈplæntɪd ɪm-
plæntɪd

important ɪmˈpɔːrtənt—ɪmˈpɑːtənt

inexorable ɪnˈɛɡzərəbl—ɪnˈɛksərəbl

initiative ɪnɪˈʃɪətɪv—ɪnɪˈʃɪətɪv

intrinsically ɪnˈtrɪnzɪkəli—ɪnˈtrɪnsi-
kəli

irrespective ɪrəˈspektɪv—ɪˈrespektɪv

isolation əɪˈsɒləʃən—

knowledge nəˈlɒdʒh—

language læˈkwɪdʒh—

last læst—

learners lɜːnɪz—læˈnɪz

lesson lesən—leˈsən

maturity məˈtjʊərɪti—məˈtjʊərɪti

mass mæs—

master mɑːstɪ—mɑːste

miracle mɪˈrækl—mɪˈrækl

modern thought mɔːdrən θɑːt—mɔːdrən
θɑːt

musician mjuːziˈʃən—mjuːziˈʃən

mutual mjuːtʃuəl—mjuːtʃuəl mjuː-
tʃuəl mjuːtʃuəl

narrow nəˈrəʊ—nəˈrəʊ

natural nəˈtʃərəl—nəˈtʃərəl nəˈtʃərəl

obedience əbiˈdiəns—əbiˈdiəns

path pɑːθ—

peculiar piːkjʊˈliː—piːkjʊˈliː

person pɜːsn—pɜːsn

plastic plæˈstɪk—

plasticity plæˈstɪsɪti—plæˈstɪsɪti

practice prækˈtɪz—prækˈtɪs

prejudice preˈdʒʊdɪs—preˈdʒʊdɪs

pressure presˈʃɜː—presˈʃɜː

processes prəˈsesɪz—prəˈsesɪz

purport pɜːpɔːrt—pɜːpɔːrt

relativity reləˈtɪvɪti—reləˈtɪvɪti

says seɪz—seɪz

sensibilities seˈnsəbɪlɪtɪz—seˈnsəbɪlɪtɪz

sentient seˈnʃɪənt—seˈnʃɪənt

soar sɔːr—sɔːr

speciality speshiˈlɪti—

spirits spɪˈrɪts—spɪˈrɪts

spurring spɜːrɪŋ—spɜːrɪŋ

stoical stəɪkəl—stəɪkəl

student stjuːdənt—stjuːdənt

suit suːt—suːt

system sɪˈstəm—sɪˈstəm

task tɑːsk—tɑːsk

testimony teˈstɪmɒni—teˈstɪmɒni

thorough θəˈrəʊ—θəˈrəʊ

thoroughly thər'əli thər'əli — thər'əli
 thər'əli
transition trænziʃhən, trænziʃhən —
 trænziʃhən
tutors tjuu'təz — tiu'təz
understood əndistuu'd — əndyʃtu'd
variety vərəi'ti —
volcanoes vɒlkee'nooz — vɒlkaa'nooz
want want — wɒnt
was wəs — wɒz wəz
whole hool — hoo'wl

PROF. JOWETT,

the Master of Balliol College, Oxford,
 in February, 1871, gave three lectures
 on Socrates at the Royal Institution.
 The following are a few of his pronun-
 ciations there noted.

aspirant æsperənt — æspə'i'rent
attaching himself to him ætæt'shɪn-
 ɪmsɛlf-tu:ɪm
bone boo'wɛn — boon?
but that the famous bʊt-dh'ət-dhɪ-
 fæməs — bʊt-dhɛt-dhɛ fæməs
certain sərtɪn — sərtɪn
character kah'rektə — kærɛktə
Chatham tshætəm —
Cicero si'sero —
describing him diskraɪ'biq-ɪm — dis-
 kə'i'biq-ɪm
difficulty di'fɛkɪlti — di'fɪkɪlti
discontented di'skɛntentɪd —
discovery di'skəvəri —
discrepancy di'skrɪpɛnsi — dɪskrɛ'pɛnsi
due djiu — diu
earliest ærli'jest — ærli'jɛst
cars jii'jez — ii'z
education e'dʒiukɛ:ʃən — e:diukɛ-
 ʃən
evil ii'vɪl — ii'vɪl
example egzæ'mpl —
exhausted egzæ'styd —
foreign fɔ'ren — fɔ'ryn
gather up gæ'dhɛr-əp — gæ'dhɛr-əp
haughtily haa'tɛli — haa'tɛli
he has had hi:ɪ-vz-æd — hi:ɪ-vz-hæd
height hɪhái'th — hɛ'it
highest hɪhái'test — hɛ'i'jɛst
human ʃhuu'men —
humourist ʃhuu'merist —
image i'mɪdʒ — i'mɛdʒ
Isthmian i'smi:ən — i'sthmi:ən
knowledge noo'ledʒ — nɔ'lydʒh
lastly laa'sli — laa'stli
lecture le'ktʃɛ — le'ktiʃ
manhood mæ'nud — mæ'nɦu:d
mask maask —
memorabilia me:mɔ'rebi'li:ə — me:mɛrɛ-
 bi'li:ə
minutiae máiniú'shijii — máiniú'shijii
moulds moolz — moo'wɪdʒ

must have mə'st-ɛv —
natural næ'tʃɛrəl — næ'tʃɛrəl næ'tiú'-
 rəl
nature nec'tʃɛ — nec'tʃɛ nec'tiú'
opinion ɒpɪ'njən — ɒpɪ'njən
oracle ɔ'rɛkl —
ordinarily ʌɑ'dinərli — ʌɑ'dinərli
origin ɔ'ridʒɪn — ɔ'ridʒɪn
ornaments ʌɑ'nɛmɪnts —
parallel pæ'reləl — pæ'reləl
passed paast —
persons pɜ:snz — pɜ:snz
politician pɔ:leti'shən — pɔ:li:tɪ'shən
politics pɔ:letiks —
Potidaea pɔ'tɛdi — pɔ'tidii:ə
process prɔ:sɛs —
society sɔsai'eti — sɔsə'i'iti
Socrates sɔ'krɛti:z —
soon su:n — su:n
time taim — tɔim
unable ə'ne:bl — ɛne:bl
ventured vɛntʃɛd — vɛntiú'd vɛntʃɛd
virtue vɔə'tʃɛ — vɔə'tiú vɔə'tʃɛ
whole hool — hoo'wl
Xenophon ze'nɛfɛn —
years jii'jez — jii'z

SIR G. B. AIRY,

Astronomer Royal and President of the
 Royal Society, made use of the follow-
 ing pronunciations while speaking at
 the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1872.

components kɔmpoo'neɪnts — kɔmpoo'-
 nɪnts
geodesists gi:ɔdi'sists — dzhi'ɔdisists
geodesy gi:ɔdi:si — dzhi'ɔdisi
Greenwich gri:nwɪtʃ — gri'nɪdʒh
meridional miri'di'joo'næl — miri'di'vɛnɛl
New Zealand niú ze'lənd — niú
 zii'lənd
Nova Zembla noo'vee ze'mblee — noo've
 ze'mble
palaeontology pee:li'jɔntɔ'ɔldʒi —
 pæ'liu'jɔ'ɔldʒi
stereoscopic sti'ri'ɔskɔ'pɪk — ste'ri'ɔ-
 skɔ'pɪk [some say (sti'ri'ɔsko'pɪk)]

DR. HOOKER,

when delivering his opening address as
 President of the British Association at
 the Norwich Meeting on the 19 Aug.
 1868. I believe Dr. Hooker is East
 Anglian by birth.

accumulated əkju'myle:ted — ɛkiú'miú-
 lee:tyd. [N.B. The first, accented,
 (y) was rather indistinct and very
 short.]
alone əlɔ:n — ɛloo'wɛn
are ɛe' — ɛɑ
bones bonz — boo'wɛnz

cantonment kantuunment — kænten-mynt
either æðhe [not (ee)]—iiðhe ð'idhe
few fy [perhaps (fey), the word was difficult to catch, and I noticed it only once]—fūu.
finite fi'nit [in the phrase (dhi i'nfinīt vñ dhū fi'nit), this pronunciation was altogether new to me, though I have often heard (i'nfi'niō'it) as opposed to]—(fə'i'nō'it)
Lawrence lɑɑ'ryns [not (lɑ) or (lɒ)]—(Lɔ'ryns)
only ōnli [not at all uncommon]—ōō'wñli
neither neeðhe—niiðhe nō'idhe
plants plahnts—plaants
progress prɔ'gres—prō'gres [there is great diversity in the words *product* *progress*, many give (prɔ) and others (prō) to both; I say (prɔ'dəkt prō'gres), but Col. Strange at the same meeting said (prō'dəkt, prɔ'gres).]
quote kɔt [quite short (o)]—kwɔot
series si'i'rijiiz—si'i'rijiiz
stone ston—stōō'wñ
undertaken ʌndetee'kən [distinct (kən)]—ʌndetee'k'n
wholly hɔ'li—hōō'li

MEN OF SCIENCE.

Only a very few cases are here given, chiefly remarked at meetings of the British Association. Men of Science have usually many very curious local pronunciations, and others arising from using words for themselves from books long before they have heard others use them. There seems to be no tradition or norm for scientific terms, and if the pronunciation is such as to bring the printed form of the word to mind, men of science care very little for the pronunciation of scientific terms. Many of the following are certainly dialectal, but all the speakers were educated, often very highly educated men.

absorbed ʌbsAA'pt—ʌbsAA'bd
albumen ʌlbjumen—ʌlbju'men
anesthetics ʌnesthi'tiks—ʌnesthe'tiks
antidotal ʌntidoō'tel—ʌnti'dotel
appearance api'i'ryns—epi'i'rens
aqueous æ'kwio̯s—æ'kwio̯s
asteroids æsti'i'rojiz [Prof. Stokes]—æ'sterō'idz
before bi'fɔər—bi'fɔo'
class klæs—klaas
commander kɔmæ'ndə—kɔmæ'ndə
comparable kɔmpæ'rebl—kɔmperebl
compare kɔmpæ'r—kɔmpee'

constitution kɔnsti'tju:shən—kɔ:nsti-tiū:shən
contrive kɔntrai'v—kɔntrō'iv
doubt daut—dɔut
dry dra'i—drō'i
electrolysis ile'ktrola'isis—iilektrola'isis
endowment endōō'mynt [Prof. Huxley]—endō'wmynt
equidistant e'kwidi:stənt—ii:kwidi'stənt
estuaries iistju:eriz—e'stiū:eriz
experiments ekspə'riments—ekspə'ri-mynts
explicable ekspli'kebl—e'kspli'kebl
find fie'nd—fə'nd
gaseous gaazio̯s [Prof. Stokes], gee'sio̯s [the late Mr. Babbage]—gee'zio̯s
haste hæst—hæst
introducing intrɔdju:siq—i'ntrɔdiū:siq
larger lærdzher—lɑɑ'dzhe
Lausanne losa'an—losan [equal stress]
loose lāus—loos
lungs lɔgz—lɔz
moon mun [Sir W. Thomson], mu'n [the late Prof. Rankine]—muun
paragraphs paa'ragræfs [the late Prof. Rankine]—pə'regraafs
Paris paa'ris—pæ'ris
past pæst—paast
phi = φ, fie'i—fə'i
pulsates pul'sets—pɔ'lets
pulsative pul'setiv—pɔ'letiv
pulse puls—pɔls
put v. pət—put
round rāhund—rō'und
size saiz—sə'iz
staff stæf—staaf
strata stræ'ta—stree'te
substantial sɔbstaa'nshl—sɔbstæ'nshl
systematising si:stejmatā'ziq—si'ste-metō'iziq
transactions trænsæ'ksenz—traansæ'k-shenz
wind n. wə'ind—wind

GENERAL PUBLIC.

The following were noted at public meetings. The speakers are separated, but the names not being generally well known, are withheld:

A Peer.

rise rāhiz—rə'iz
adoption ɔdɔ'pshən—
observing ɔbzə'viq—
last laast—
large lɑɑ'rdzh(ɛ)—laadzh
framers free'mez [not free]—free'mez
paragraph pæ'regraaf—
brighter brāhi'te—brō'ite

darkness daa'rkni(?)—daa'knys
record re'kAA'd [in law courts (rekAA'd)]
 —re'kad
trained t'reend(?)—treend
conversant kən'vesənt [(kən'və'sənt) is
 common]—
director de're'ktu—dire'ktu [and (də'i-)
 occasionally, when used emphatically]
agree ægrii' [with distinct (æ)]—ægrii'
 only oo'nli [not (oo'w-), and (o'nli) is
 common]—oo'w'nli
bazaar bezaa'—bezaa'
forth foo'th [the ('h) was uncertain]—
two or three years tu-Δ-thri-ji'z

A Noble M.P.

samples sæ'mplz [generally, once at
 least (saa'mplz)]—saa'mplz
decide di'said [long i always (ái) or
 (ái)]—di'said [long i never (ái),
 which I reserve for *aye*, and thus
 distinguish *eye*, *aye* as (ói, áí)]
parcels pə'slz—paa'selz
I dare say ai dəə see [not (see'j)]—ói
 dəə see'j
time tɪ'háim [brought out very em-
 phatically, not the ordinary pronun-
 ciation]—tə'im
idea áidi'er [distinct final trill]—
 óidi'ye

A General Officer.

resolution re:zolu'shun—re:zel'iuu'-
 shen
century sen'tʃuri—se'ntiári
further fæ'dhæ—fəə dhæ
I have had it ó'ivv hæ'dit—
serious si'i'riəs—si'i'riəs
always AA'lweez [short (e)]—AA'lweez
cholera kə'lərə—
pass paas [distinctly long]
my lord mi'lAA'd [(r) distinctly absent]

Clergyman (Irish?).

chairman tshe'men—tshee'men
pray pree [distinctly (ee)]—pre'e'j
say see—see'j
name neem—neem *
gracious gree'shas—gree'shas
staff stæf [very thin(æ), almost (ɛ)]—
 staa'f
class klæs—klas klaas
thanks thæks—
command kom—maa'nd—kumaa'nd
ask aahsk [compare *class* and *command*]
 —aask
kind kjáhind—kə'ind
guidance gjáhi'dens—gə'i'dens
our óur [I think trilled (r)]—ó'u'
course kóos [the (s) inclined to (sh)]—
 koo's
intercourse i'ntekAAs [possibly (-koos)]
 —i'ntekoo's

Physicians, various.

rotation roteeshen [not (tee'j)]—
anxiety æqsə'iti [not (æks-), nor
 (æqz-)]—æqzə'iti
future fiúrtshu—fiúrtiu'
vote voot [not voo'ut]—
hospital ɒspítel [this one speaker in-
 variably omitted the aspirate in this
 word only, even to the extent of
 saying (ɒ nɒspítel) for an *hospital*;
 an archaism]—hɒspítel
kindness khá'ndnɪs [probably due to
 emphasis]—kə'indnɪs
write rhráit [or nearly so]—ró'it
across akrɒs—ekrɒs ukrɒs
behalf be'hæf—bi'hæ'f
appreciate eprii'shi'et—eprii'shi'et
really ri'i'li [rhyming to *clearly*
 (klii'li), some say (rii'eli), and
 (rii'li) is heard, but conveys the
 notion of *reely*, i.e. inclined to reel]—
strengthened stre'qth'nd [not (stre'nth-
 'nd), as Prof. Tyndall and very many
 speakers say]—
known nɒʊn [the (u) distinct]—noo'wɪn

Professional and Commercial Men.

support supporting sepAA't sepoo'tiq
 —sepoo't supoo'tiq
empowered emphháu'd [strong (ɪhɪ)
 due to emphasis, the same speaker
 said (phháu'ɪ)]—empə'u'd
literature li'terɪtʃu—li'teretiú'
clearance k'hli'rɛns—klii'rɛns
engage engee'dʒ [not (gee'j)]—
closely klo'sli [short (o)]—kloo'sli
surprised sephrə'izd—sephrə'izd
policy phɒlə'si—pə'li'si
correlation khoo:rileeshen—kə'ri'lee'-
 shen—
congratulation kongræ'tʃu'ileeshen
 —kengræ'tiúlee'shen
only o'nli [short (o)]—oo'w'nli
burden bæ'dn—
progress prɒ'gres—proo'grɪs
halfpenny hæ'pni [not (ee'j)]—hæ'peni
importance impɒ'təns—impAA'təns
management mæ'nɪdʒmɛnt—mæ'n-
 edʒhmɪnt
absolutely æ'bsoliútlɪ—
four foo'—
fivepence fə'ivpens—fi'pens
year ji'—
pounds pə'unds—
office ɒh'fis (?)—ɒ'fis [(AA'fis) is not
 uncommon]
hundred nhɛ'ndɛd—hɒ'ndriɪd
naturally næ'tʃurəli—næ'tiúrelɪ
homœopath hoo'miɒpæt [(pæt) dis-
 tinct]—

financially fə'ɪnæ'nʃhəlɪ — fɪnæ'nʃhəlɪ
 [the (fə'i-) arose perhaps from emphasis, but I have heard (fə'ɪnæ'nʃs)]
adherents ædʒuɪ'tɪrɪnts —
premature pre'metʃiʊə — prii'metʃiʊə
expenditure ɛkspe'ndɪtʃə — ɛkspe'n-dɪtʃiʊə

additional ædɪ'shənəl —

sought for sɑː'tfɑː —

regarding rɪgɑːdɪŋ [not (gɪɑː) which is common] —

fund fʌnd — fʌnd

humanity hɪjʊmæn'ɪtɪ — ʃhʊmæn'ɪtɪ

cards kɑːdz [tendency to (kɪ)] —

board bɔːd [no tendency to (boʊ)] —

advantage ædvɑːntedʒ — ædvɑːntedʒh
 [(vɛ-) ?]

make meɪk [no tendency to (eɪ)] —

abstain æbsteɪn [no (eɪ)] —

homes hʊmz [no (oo'w)] —

puncture pʌŋktʃɪə [clear (t)] — pʌŋktʃɪə

appreciation ɛprii:sɪ'jeɪʃən — ɛprii:sɪ'jeɪʃən

strongly s'trɔːŋli [some speakers seem to have a great difficulty with (str-) initial, and hence are led to dentalise the combination; it is remarkable that (t,r) frequently occurs in dialects, although (t) and (r) are no longer recognized English sounds] — s'trɔːŋli
returns rɪtə'rnz [merely the effect of emphasis, the speaker has no dialectal peculiarities] — rɪtə'nz

there should be ðəːʃəd biː

remarks rɪmɑːks [I could detect no vowel after (r)] — rɪmɑːks

parcels pɑːrsɛlz [trilled (r)] — pɑːsɪlz

industry ɪ'ndʌstri — ɪ'ndestri

plants plɑːnts — plɑːnts

world wɜːrld [certainly provincial] — wɜːld

immediately ɪmɪ'dʒɪtli [very common]

— ɪmɪ'dɪtli

samples sɑːmplz — sɑːmplz

circumstances sɑːkəm'staːnsɪz — sɑː-kəmstɪnsɪz

importance ɪm'pɑːtəns — ɪm'pɑːtəns

Young Educated London.

The following were furnished me by Mr. Sweet as "the transcript of rather a broad London pronunciation of a girl of about twenty, which has some interesting features." He particularly calls "attention to the substitutes for (ee, oo), which were evidently transitional stages to (ah, ah), with which indeed they may be easily confounded on a superficial examination." Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation is added after (...) when it differs, and mine after (—) as before. Except in my own case the (h) represents (hh) most probably. See Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation, p. 1207.

one wʊən ... wʌn — wʌn

ask ɑːsk ... —

err ɛə ... — ɛə

eye aɪ ... ɛɪ — ɛɪ

me miː ... — miː

hid hɪd, hɪdd ... — hɪd

may meɪ ... meɪ — meɪ

egg ɛg ɛgg ... ɛg — ɛg

air ɛə ... — ɛə

add ɛd ɛdd ... — ɛd

how haʊ ... haʊ — haʊ

two tuː ... — tuː

pull pʊl ... pʊl — pʊl

owe ɔː ... ɔː — ɔː

awe aː ... —

or ɔː ... — ɔː

odd ɒd ... — ɒd

joy dʒɔɪ ... dʒɔɪ

WHENCE DO DIFFERENCES OF PRONUNCIATION ARISE?

These examples are amply sufficient to shew that considerable diversities of pronunciation exist among educated speakers of all classes, even when speaking with the greater care usually taken in public delivery. That great differences of opinion exist among orthoepists is well shewn in Worcester's and especially Soule and Wheeler's pronouncing dictionaries,¹ which, although not descending into the

¹ "A Manual of English Pronunciation and Spelling; containing a full alphabetical vocabulary of the language, with a preliminary exposition of English orthoëpy and orthography; and designed as a work of reference for general use, and as a text-book in schools, by Richard Soule, jr., A.M., and William A. Wheeler, A.M." Boston,

U.S., 1861; London, Sampson Low, pp. xlii. 467. An extremely condensed and useful little book, not lumbered with meanings, and giving the opinions of Walker, Smart, Webster, Worcester, Goodwin, when they differ. Hence this vocabulary may be used as a compendium of these five writers' opinions.

minutiae attempted in the preceding lists, save me from loading my pages with a complete vocabulary of XIXth century varieties of pronunciation.

Now whence do these differences arise?

The most obvious source of difference is that in fact there is no such thing as educated English pronunciation. There are pronunciations of English people more or less educated in a multitude of other things, but not in pronunciation. Children are never trained in the proper exercise of their vocal organs, or have their ears sharpened to appreciate differences. It would not be at all difficult to train the young organs, if only the teachers knew anything about it. We devote years of upper school life to the study of classical languages, and enter deeply into their etymology, but we do not give the least practical instruction in the substantial form of language—speech-sounds, or their relations to one another, on which depend the principal changes which claim our attention.¹ The consequence is that pronunciations grow up now much in the same way as they did six hundred years ago. There is only one important difference—facility of communication. It required the War of the Roses to make an English of England, and the War of the Commonwealth to temper that down into the mother of modern speech. But now people are being thrown together with the greatest ease and rapidity from all parts of the country. Still, it is the opening of life which principally determines pronunciation. Children hear few speakers, chiefly those of their own age and standing. They regard not the voices of adults beyond those of a few familiar friends. Their vocabulary is limited, extremely limited, and when they grow up they learn more words by eye than by ear; hence they acquire habits of families, schools, coteries, professions, businesses, localities. Their organs become fixed; they notice from others only what they themselves say. It is not polite to correct even a friend's pronunciation; a stranger resents the impertinence. But still "young men from the country," or with narrow habits of speech, often get laughed out of their peculiarities. More, still, of a lower class of life ape those of the upper when they get mixed up among them, and strive hard to change a pronunciation which might betray their origin. But all this has a small influence. In the main the most educated pronunciation in English is local, with its corners more

¹ One of my kind assistants, who is collecting materials for a local glossary, said that I had opened his eyes; he had hitherto thought of *words*, and not of their *sounds*. To think of a word independently of its sound is the outcome of our school instruction. In schools a word is a sign on paper, to which different persons may give different sounds, and which some people a long way off and a long time ago, in Greece or Italy, pronounced we don't know, and we don't care, how. But in writing a glossary we are writing words

never written. The collections of letters must suggest the sounds or nothing at all. A glossary of collections of letters to which the right sound cannot be even approximatively given, is really no glossary at all. We might just as well—perhaps better—give a meaning to a current number, for that *could* be pronounced (in his own manner) by every one. Yet this, I am sorry to think, is the state of *most* of our provincial glossaries at the present day—and I am afraid for *most* I ought to have said *all*.

rubbed off than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, but still essentially local, using that word as applicable to all limited environment. The language, however, contains thousands of words which are not used in ordinary conversation, and concerning which extraordinary variety prevails, as we have seen. The pronouncing prophets themselves, the Buchanans, Sheridans, Walkers, and their followers, have no principle to go on. They have had wider observation, but most of them make up their minds *à priori*, upon limited inductions, and men of literature disown their authority. Is it possible to arrive at any principles amid this chaos?

Our language consists essentially of two elements, which, for brevity, we may call German (Anglo-Saxon with Scandinavian), and French, (Norman with French, Latin and Greek). Now the German element really presents little or no difficulty. Our German words are familiar, and their dialectal forms are generally widely different from the received pronunciation of educated people in London, at court, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, at the universities—and, in a minor degree, in parliament, and in the lecture-room, on the hustings, and in public meetings. The difficulty for most people lies with the French element, which is preponderating in the vocabulary, but is comparatively rare in speech, and which our wonderful orthography is totally incapable of investing with a vocal garb. Those who know Latin and Greek are therefore apt to imagine that they should shew the Latin and Greek origins by pronouncing the words much as they would if they were written with Latin and Greek letters. Hence such curiosities as (*dəktɹə'ɪnəl*, *ɪnɪmə'ɪkəl*),—I have not heard (*sə'ɪ-və'ɪl*), although surely *civilis* has as much a right to its (*ə'ɪz*) as *doctrīna* and *inimicus*. It was in the same spirit that Prof. Stokes spoke of (*æstri'ɹɔɪdʒ*) from *ἀστήρ*, (although this becomes *ἀστεροειδής*, which should have led him to (*astɹə'ɹɔɪdʒ*), and I recollect that the late Prof. Traill of Edinburgh always insisted on the termination (—*ɔɪd*) in similar words,) and Sir G. B. Airy used (*ɡii:ədi:si*) from *γῆ*, (although the Greek is *γεωδαισία*), and (*miri-di:ʒə-nəl*) from *meridiōnālis*. But this is, I conceive, a mere mistake. Our language was formed at a time when the pronunciation of Greek and Latin even in England was totally different from that now in use. Almost all our old words which can be traced to Latin and Greek came to us in a French form, and received their pronunciation and accent from our mode of dealing with French words. It would seem therefore most reasonable to suppose any Greek word to be first Latinised, then taken as French, and finally put into English. This will not exactly answer for those more recent words which have been taken from Latin and Greek by persons who did not know French, and which have hence preserved the Latin forms more closely, but even then it gives a principle. Thus, remembering *orator*, *senator*, the Scotch are more consistent than the English in saying *evrator*; and remembering *geometry*, *geography*, it is more consistent to say *geodesy*; and similarly *demonstrate* is more in accordance with our plan of accenting French words than

demonstrate. This principle will make us independent of Latin and Greek *quantity*, which had ceased to be felt in Italy and Greece long before words were introduced into English. We must say (æ'mikəbl), not (ʊmə'ɪ:kəbl), or (ʊmə'ɪ:kɛ:bl), which would be real foreignisms; we must say (vɪ'ktʊri), not (vɪkto'o'ri), Latin *victōria*, although we say (vɪkto'o'ri)əs), for which (vɪkto'ri)əs) would be more analogical, and we do not make the last syllable (-oos), notwithstanding Latin -*ōsus*; just as we make -*al* = (-əl), notwithstanding Latin -*ālis*. For a similar reason a final unaccented -*ice*, -*ite*, -*ine*, -*ise*, should have had (i), not the (ə'i) now so general in recent words.

A difficulty arises with respect to French words recently introduced which retain their French form. As long as the persons using a word are conscious of its nationality, they make more or less successful or feeble attempts to imitate the French pronunciation, so that we get *ennui* (ənwi'), *aide-de-camp* (æ'dikə), *coup d'œil* (kuʊpðə'ɪl), *envelope* (ɒ'nvələʊp), *environs* (ɒ'nvi'ron), *chef d'œuvre* (sheedu'vɜ), *coup d'état* (kuʊdɪ'ta), and similar hybrid monstrosities. When the words remain French, they must take their chance, but, when possible, they should be anglicised on the old French models. A list of the oldest French words used in English is given in the Appendix III. to Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872). But without this knowledge, we see that (ɒ'nvələp, ɒnvə'ɪ'renz) are good English. Perhaps (tʃi:f, mɛnu'vɜ) would hardly preserve (tʃi:f'du:vɜ) from being ridiculous, and hence the English 'masterpiece' is preferable. *Bayonet* is given as (be'e'net, be'e'net) by different orthoepists. I have never heard any one say so. (Bee'net) is usual in civil life, but (bæ'net) is heard among officers and (bæ'genet) among privates. All similar French technical words should have their English technical pronunciation assigned. As for the modern Indian words, they ought to receive the pronunciation current among English residents in India. The old Arabic words have already a character of their own, and cannot be touched. But it is really a pity that we *dare* not simply anglicise them, as the French unreservedly gallicise all imports.

The above remarks are meant simply to draw attention to the subject. I have so often and so explicitly renounced all claim to dictate on English pronunciation that my "ought, should," etc., cannot be taken to mean more than emphasised suggestions, consequent on the adoption of a proposed theory.

AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

Before closing this section, I feel that some notion of American pronunciation should be given. This stands in a totally different relation to received English from the provincial. It is rather traditional English, as was seen by Noah Webster's remarks (pp. 1063-70). Americans generally claim to speak English without provincialisms, and in the sense in which English provincialisms exist, namely as distinct dialectal forms, with historical pedigrees,

at least as respectable as the received form of speech, the claim is correct. But in the sense that local pronunciations do not clearly exist, I have good American authority for saying that the claim is unfounded. Owing perhaps to this absence of dialects, Americans consider that, on the whole, they speak "better" than the English. I do not pretend to decide as to "better" or "worse," but certainly they speak "differently" from the English; that is, despite of the many admissible varieties of received English, the American varieties are inadmissible—from an Englishman. A few, a very few, Americans seem to have acquired English habits, but even then a chance word, such as (tree'jt) for (tree'j) = *trait*, reveals the speaker's home. The intonation is rarely English, even when all nasality is absent; but this is a point I purposely omit to notice, though it is often the most striking peculiarity the speakers exhibit.

AN AMERICAN PREACHER,

a personal friend of my own. He lived in Virginia for the first 21 years of his life, which, he tells me, in "pronunciation differs from the North as Naples from Florence, Baden from Berlin, or (almost) Yorkshire from London." After that he came to the North, and acquired new habits of speech, which again, in the last few years, have been crossed by London associations. Hence some of the points noted may belong to different localities in the United States. I have not noted Londonisms of course. The pronunciations are noted from his public speaking. In private conversation the differences were not so marked. Of course there is more than usual doubt as to the exact sounds in this and the following case, owing to the greater difference between the speaker's pronunciation and my own, which is added after a (—) as usual.

acorn ee'kun—ee'kAAn
already A^Alre:di—Alre'di
apparent epee'ent—epee'rynt
Aryan ae'ri:en—aa'ri:en
atouement etoo'mmynt—etoo'mmynt
Boston BA'stn—B'sten
career keere'—keri'
chastisement tshae'stai:zmjynt—tshae's-tizmynt
classes tlai:sjiz—klaa:syz
comeliness ko'mlins—ko'mlins
commune kamiun—ko'miun
construed konstruud—ko'nstruud
data daa'te—deeta
discretion diskri'sh'n—diskresh'n
divine diva'in—diva'in
doth dooth—dath
dreary drii'ri—drii'ri
elements e'limynts
fossil fo'sil—fo'sil

gelid ge'lid—dzhe'lid
grapple grah'pl—gre'pl
greet greet—gree'jt
guidance ga'bi d'ans—ga'ridens
harassed haeraast—haerast
home hoo'm—hoo'um
importance impAA'tans—impAA'tens
leniently len'i:entli—lii'ni:entli
mendicant men'di'kant—men'dikent
mercantile ma'kentil—ma'kentoi'l
moment moo'mjant—moo'mynt
momentary moo'mentari—moo'menter'i
moost moost—moost
motion moo'shen—moo'shen
month mohlath—mo'uth
museum miu:ziem—miu:ziem
notion noo'shn—noo'shen
own oo'nh—oo'wn
Palestine Pa'lystiin—Pae'lestoi'n
perfect v. pae'fekt—pae'fekt
puerile pye'ril—piu'ril
robes roobz—roobz
room rum—rum
Satan see'tnh—see'ten
secular sii'kula—se'kula
sophistry soo'fistri—so'fistri
stone stoon stoo'um ston—stoo'wn
stratum sobstraatem—sobstree'jtem
sure sy'—shui'
swamps swAamps—swamps
testimony te'stimoni—te'stimeni
throne throon—thoo'wn
used [=accustomed] jyst—jiu'st

AN AMERICAN LADY LECTURER,

highly educated, graduate of an American university, with quiet manner, good delivery, and evidently carefully studied pronunciation.

afford ae'foo'd—efoo'd
always A'lwez—AA'lwez
apportionment apo'o'shunmynt—epoo'-shunmynt

before bifoo'yü—bifoo'
both booth—booth
career kə'riär—kəriä' [the final (-iär) was very marked, not even (-iä'r)]
character kah'riektü—kæ'rekte
Chicago shikAA'goo
chivalrie shivæ'lrík—tshiv'vèlrík [this is one of the new importations; *chivalry* as an old word should be (tshiv'vèlrí), see *suprà* p. 682, v. 45.]
class tlaas—klaas, [but tl-, dl-] are very usual initials in place of (kl-, gl-) in England]
closer kløse—kloo'wse
combative kambæ'tiv—kæ'mbetiv
compared kempree'd—kempee'd [probably the (pi) was accidental]
culture kæl'tshü—kæl'tüü' [but (-tshü) is quite common in England]
demand d'maahrnd—d'maand
difficulties di'fèkaltiz—di'fèkeltiz
dog döög—dög
economical e'konómikl—ii:konómikl
educator e'dzhuketAA'—e'diúketü [the (edzhü) is not uncommon in England]
egotism ii'gotiz'm—e'gotiz'm
embarrassment embahräsmynt—embæ'räsmynt
err æ'—æ
expenditure ekspe'nditshüü'—ekspènditüü' [or (ekspènditshü), the latter is very common in England]
first fæhst fæ'st—fæst
forth too'th—foo'th
funds fändz—fændz
girls gæwłz—gæłz [this is one of the most difficult words to note in English: it is perhaps the only word in which I persistently palatise (*g*), as (gæłz) is very harsh to my ears; of course (gæłz) is very common, and I have heard (gæ'łz) as a studied pronunciation. See (1156, c').]

home hhoo'umm—hoo'wm
importance impAA'tus—impAA'tens
introduce i'ntrodüas—i'ntrodüüs
leisure lih'zhü—le'zhü [(lih'zhü) is not uncommon in England, but it is archaic]
located lo'keted—lokee'tyd
long lAAq—lōq
marsh mah'sh—maash
Michigan Mi'shigen
mischievous mis'tshüü'f—mì's'tshüü'f
mutual miüü'tshüüel—miüü'tiüüel [but (miüü'tshel) is very common in England]
naturally næ'tshüürelí—næ'tiüürelí [but (tsh) is quite common in England]
new ný nō'y (?)—niüü [the diphthong was very difficult to catch]
no nooqu—noo'w
none noon—nōn
only o'nlí—oo'w'nlí [but (o'nlí) is not uncommon in England]
open oo'pūn—oo'pū
parent pee'rynt—pee'rynt
prudent prə'y'dynt—pruurd'ynt [see *new*]
radius re'diūs—ree'diūs
St. Louis Sent Luu'is
say seee'í—see'j [this was an accidental emphasis apparently]
society sesáhr'iti—sasá'ietí
store stoo'—stoo'
sure shiyy' (?)—shuu'
surely shüürel'sí—shuu'li
surveillance sev'i'ljens—suvce'ljens [this is one of our unsettled importations]
test tE'st—test
towns tūā'unz—tō'unz [the (tū) was no doubt accidental]
traits tree'ts—tree'jz
holy uhō'li—hoo'li
wrath raath—rAAth
wrong rōq—rēq
year siü'—

One of the most striking features of these pronunciations in connection with older English pronunciation is the continual cropping up of (oo) where we have now (oo, oo'w) and again the use of (oo', oo'yü), for (oo') which has still more recently tended to (AA', AA) for -ore. The diphthongal forms for *ew*, *u*, are transitional, from (éu, yy), and are difficult to catch, but seem to confirm these two as the generating forms. Some of the pronunciations are, however, probably of American development, for our language has been cultivated with great care in the United States, not only in literature, but in orthoepy, and the pronouncing dictionaries there published are much esteemed in England.

Although perhaps not quite in place, I here insert some American words and observations on diversities of American pronunciations furnished me by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conne-

tient, U.S., and Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, of Yale Coll., Connecticut, U.S., and Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1871. Dr. Trumbull gave the pronunciation in Glossie, which I have transliterated. Mr. Bristed has not written pronunciations systematically; I have inserted palaeotypic interpretations to the best of my judgment.

DR. TRUMBULL'S NOTES ON
AMERICANISMS.

Cade, bred by hand; cosset, (*keed*).

This old English word is still in use by farmers, etc., near Newport, R.I., who talk of 'cade lambs,' 'cade colts.' I have not heard of it elsewhere in the U.S.

Char, v. and n. (*tshooʔ*) always, I believe, in the U.S., except the occasional (*tshəʔ*) and pl. (*tshəʔz*) of laborers and farm servants.

Bogie, Boguy, a bugbear, (*buge*). Common, among boys and the uneducated, in Connecticut. (*Dh' bu'gez'-l ketsh-ji*).

Drool or dreul (*druul, dríul*), for 'drivel,' used everywhere by mothers and nurses. The latter is the less polished form.

Ewe. Commonly (*jiúu*), but twenty ago I very often heard (*ʒoo*) from farmers, butchers, and others in eastern Connecticut and R. Island.

Eft (=Newt), (*e'vit, e'vet*). Common in Conn. 'Newt' is rarely used; 'eft' (monosyll.) never, I think. (*A.S. efete*.)

Fice, Fise, (*fais*). A worthless dog, a cur. Virginia and the southern States. Common, though I have not met with it in print, except in a Choctaw-English Vocabulary from a southern mission-press, 1852. Compare, *foisty*,—"foisting cur" (Nares);—"fice," in Grose,—"*fist, fice, fist*," Wright's Prov. Gloss.

Filip, n. and v. (*flíp*), always. I never heard it as a dissyllable in N. England.

Gambrel, roof, (*ga'mbl ga'mbel*). N. England; common; thirty years ago, nearly universal.

"to *Gange*." In a list of "words common at Polperro in Cornwall," in Notes and Queries, 1 S., x. 301, I find this word with the meaning: "to arm with wire the line attached to the fishing hook." ["To *gange* a hook is to arm it and the snood with a fine brass or copper wire twisted round to prevent their being bitten off by the fish."] Glossary to the *History of Polperro*, by Jonathan Couch,

F.L.S., Truro, 1871.] Almost all N.E. fishermen know how to (*gaenz*) —or, as many pronounce it, to (*gaenzh, gaendzh*) a hook—though the word is not in our dictionaries. Here, the *ganzing* by which the hook is secured to the line, and the line protected, is done by winding them with waxed linen thread or silk twist (Fr. *ganse*), whence I suppose the name, and not from Fr. '*ganche*,' Sp. '*ganacho*,' a hook.

Gumption, (*gə'mshən*); more common, colloquially, in N.E. forty years ago, than it now is. I never heard the *p* sounded. (*Hii-z noo gə'mshən*) or (*Hii ucent got noo gə'mshən*).

Lean-to (addition to a building), (*l'i'nte*). Conn. and Mass., the common pronunciation, among farmers, etc. I never heard (*li'i'ntuu, li'i'nta*).

Mich, v. (*miitsh*), part. (*miitshín*). Connecticut, farmers, laborers, etc., —as in speaking of a dog or cat (*goo'in miitshín rəund*), or of a (*puu miitshín fe'lv*).

Refuse, adj. and n., (*ref'indzh*), and sometimes (*rə'fiedzh*). N.E., lumbermen, joiners, provision dealers, etc. —for the lowest merchantable quality of any description of goods. In a Boston paper of Dec. 3, 1716, I find advertised, "Refuse alias Refuge Fish" for sale. Common twenty years ago,—but much less common now.

Whoppet, (*whə'pit*). A harmless cur, or mongrel dog. Connecticut, and elsewhere in New England. Common, in the rural districts, though omitted by Bartlett and Webster. Wright, Prov. Gloss., has "Whappet; the prick-eared cur." Here, the name has a larger denotation.

MR. BRISTED'S NOTES ON AMERICAN
PRONUNCIATION.

South Carolina.

The inhabitants of Charleston, and all the Southern and South-Eastern part of this State, pronounce initial *w* (whether at the beginning of a word or syllable) like *v*. Like *v* to me; perhaps you would call it (*bh*) or German

w (which I own myself unable to distinguish from *v*). This peculiarity is common to all classes, except those of the upper class who have lived in Europe or at the North. They are not aware of it. I cannot find any European origin for it. It is supposed to come from the negroes. Teachers from the middle of the State have told me that the boys from the central and northern districts pronounce *w* in the usual and correct way. [Prof. March, in his letter to me of 22 March, 1872, from which I have already so largely quoted (1092, c. 1143, c), says: "A large part of the people of this region (Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S.), which was settled by Germans, do not use their teeth for English *v*, or make with *w* the usual English sonancy, and they are said, therefore, to exchange *w* and *v*. I dare say the facts are the same at Charleston, South Carolina, of which Mr. Bristed speaks. I have heard it said that the South Carolina change was started by German market gardeners about Charleston, but one would think that there must have been some general tendency to this *lautverschiebung*, or it could have hardly gained currency, as it has, among that proudest and precisest of colonial literary aristocracies. It looks like it too, that they sound *r* like *w*, or drop it. *Mister* is *Mistoow* (*mī-stuūw*?) they say,—one of my slight diphthongal *ws*, I suppose, if really any." In another part of his letter he had said: "As to the naturalness of *w*, I notice that my children, just catching sounds, not only make *w* in its own place, but also for other letters, regularly for *r*," [in which case perhaps it is a substituted lip trill with tense lips, or (*w*), see (9. *cd*),] "and for *wh* they make *f*. This last is an unknown change here in mature speech." As to the American interchange of *v*, *w*, see Webster's remark (1067, *d*) relating to Boston and Philadelphia, where he observes *w* used for *v*, which in the case of Philadelphia Prof. March, no doubt correctly, has just ascribed to the influence of German *w* (*bh*). There is a well-known cockneyism by which (*v*, *w*) are said to interchange in England. We all know that old Weller in *Pickwick* spelled his name with "a *we*." Dr. Beke considers, from personal experience, that the sound is really (*bh*), which is heard as (*w*) for (*v*) and as (*v*) for (*w*); and he believes that in Naples and Rome there is the same tendency

among the uneducated to substitute (*bh*) for (*v*). This opinion was contained in a private letter, in answer to another gentleman, who informed me that he had heard Romans, especially Roman beggars, use (*w*) for (*v*). I had never noticed this habit myself when in Rome, and my son, who was in Rome at the time when I received this information, did not succeed in hearing more than an occasional German (*bh*), with which sound he was well acquainted. But more recently a Scotch lady informed me that she had certainly heard (*w*) and not (*bh*) for (*v*) in Rome. It is a point requiring investigation, and as it has considerable philological interest, I think it right to draw attention to it here. I have never been fortunate enough to hear (*w*, *v*) confused in London, naturally, off the stage and out of story-books. But I recollect when a boy hearing people at Canterbury regularly saying what sounded to me as (*wæn*) for *van*, and one respectable pianoforte tuner, after vainly trying to say *view*, bringing out something like (*wu*). But this was in days when I had no notion of German (*bh*). The confusion of *w* and *v* is also reported from East Kent, and East Anglia generally. The Charleston confusion, however, is a remarkable phenomenon.]

[In a later communication Mr. Bristed adds:] We (that is, all Americans except the Carolinians aforesaid, and possibly the Southern negroes generally; I am not sure on this last point) say *hwen*, putting the aspirate before the digamma, so that, were the monosyllable prolonged to a dissyllable, it would be (*huen*) or (*hū'en*). [See (pp. 1142-3).] The Carolinians who say *v* (or what I call *v*) for *w*, do not, I think, mix any aspirate with it; they say *ven*, not *hven*. But I am not absolutely certain of this. [In his original notes respecting South Carolina, Mr. Bristed added:] So common to all classes, and also unconscious, is the old *re-actionary Anti-Irish* pronunciation of (*ii*) for (*ee*), *cheer* for *chair*. But it seems confined to some words, e.g. they don't say *fear* (*fīir*) for *fair* (*feer*). [Writing subsequently, he says on this point:] I have discovered that the last century pronunciation (*tshiir*) [the trilled (*r*) in this and the following examples is possibly an oversight] for *chair* is not so common in

South Carolina as I had supposed. On the other hand, I have found in some of the best educated Charlestonians the still more archaic pronunciation (eer) for *car*, e.g. (feer) for *fear*, (reer) for *rear*, (beerd) for *beard*, etc., etc. Not having a nice musical ear, I will not be certain that the sound is quite as long as (ee), but for practical purposes it is the same; *proof*, I first observed it from supposing that a friend had said *fare* when he meant to say *fear*. (Beerd) for *beard* is heard in other parts of America (and of England I suppose), but the general substitution of (eer) for *car* seems to be Carolinian. The pronunciation is involuntary, and acknowledged by the natives to be heretical; it is not like their (kjard) and (gjard), of which they are proud as of shibboleths. It is never found without the *r*; no Charlestonian would say (pceez) for *peas* as an Irishman does. [Considering that some of the earliest cases of *ea* sounding as (ii) occur before (r), these archaisms are very interesting.]

Gulf States generally.

All classes, from Virginia to Georgia inclusive, have a sort of shibboleth of which they are proud. It is the old Sheridan and Walker insertion of *y* before *a* after initial *c* and *g*; *gyarden* for *garden*, *kyard* for *card*. I believe Sheridan and Walker only inserted the *y* when *a* is followed by *r*; but our Southerners say *kyamp* for *camp*. [This means possibly only (*ga:rdn*, *kaad*, *kæmp*).] I do not know how far this pronunciation extends westward; for instance, if it is found in Alabama, I am pretty sure it is not in Mississippi, and *a fortiori* in Louisiana and Texas.

New England.

All but the best educated New Englanders make an insertion before *ow* final in monosyllables. Probably most persons would explain this insertion as *ā* nasalized. I don't think so, e.g. I don't think the New England *cow* is like the first syllable of the Spanish *causa*. Some make the insertion *ē*. I consider it *y*. *Kyow* for *cow*, *nyow* for *now*. [Probably (*kæ'u*, *njæ'u*), see the extract from Webster (1066, *b'*). If there is nasality, it will be (*kæ'u*, *njæ'u*).] Whatever nasalization there is, seems to me to lie in the diphthong itself, not in the preceding insertion. I think this is clear from polysyllables,

e.g. *around*, where there is no insertion that I can detect, but there is a nasalization or *twang*. [Possibly (*æri'e'und*) see (136, *d*).] The New Englanders sometimes lengthen *ū* into *au*. *Naughtin* (or more commonly *nauthin*) for *nothing*. [Possibly (*na'θin*) or merely (*no'θin*), which would be more historical.] On the other hand, they frequently substitute *ū* (ə) for *ō* (oo), *stun*, *hull*, for *stone*, *whole*. The substituted vowel is the pure and simple English *ū*. The New England pronunciations of *stone*, *whole*, are precisely the English words *stun*, *hull*. [They sound to me more like (*ston*, *hol*) than (*stan*, *hol*).] There is, however, *one word*, in which the people of Massachusetts (*not* the other New Englanders, so far as I have observed) substitute *ū* for *ō*. That word is *coat*, for which they say *cot* (*kət*). It is just possible the sound may be a little longer than *cot* (*kəʊt*), but it certainly is not so long as *caught*, or as Italian *o aperto*. [The Italian *o aperto* is by no means always or generally long, so that I attributed a medial length to this vowel; but in a subsequent letter Mr. Bristed says:] Since I wrote to you, I have observed that the Massachusetts pronunciation *caught* for *coat*, about which I was doubtful, does exist; within a fortnight I have heard it, as broad as possible, from a lady. Some Massachusetts men maintain that the short sound usually given in Massachusetts (especially Eastern Mass.) to the *ō* of *coat* is not *ū*, but the short sound of *ō*, a sound which, if it exists, has a constant tendency to run into *ū* or *ū̄*. [Short (*o*) certainly seems to exist in English dialects and in America, but it is frequently misheard as (*ə*), and it is singular that in Mr. I. Pitman's phonography (*oo*, *ə*) are represented by marks which should systematically represent them to be the long and short of the same sound. All this again is attributable to the relation of (*æ*, *ə*) and (*ə*, *oh*), where the vowels in each pair are due to the same position of the tongue, and differ only by the "rounding" or "lip-shading." This again leads to the common affected drawl (*əʊ'oh*) for (*oo*). In the same letter Mr. Bristed notes having heard *root* made (*rut*), rhyming to *foot*; and *deaf* called (*diif*), see (1069, *c*), by educated speakers. He adds:] Nearly all the New Englanders say *testimōny* and *territōry*.

The pronunciation *fort'n*, *nāt'r*, [possibly (fā·tū, nē·tū)] for *fortune*, *nature* (the very shortest possible indistinct vowel substituted for *ū*), was traditional in New England, and only went out in the present generation. [It is xviith-century English.] When I was a boy at Yale College (Connecticut), in 1839, some of the older professors said *fort'n*, *nāt'r*, etc.

The Bostonians and the people of Eastern Massachusetts generally are popularly accused of superfluous final *g*: *capting*, *Bosting*, for *captain*, *Boston*. Or to be more accurate, they are charged with substituting *ng* (*q*) for various short terminations. I have not observed this particularly in them. It seems to me a vulgarism general in both England and America. Dickens's Mrs. Gamps and Hay's Western Colonels say *parding* for pardon. But I have observed that the Bostonians lay unusual stress on these short final syllables. This winter [1870-1] a Boston young lady observed to me, "You New Yorkers say, 'the chick'n goes up the mount'n.'" I retorted, "What do *you* say? The chicking goes up the mounting?" She replied, "No, the chickenn goes up the mountenn." (That is the nearest I can come to literating her.) [Possibly (tsh'kkenn, mā·untenn), exaggerating for the purpose of illustration. Smart marks (tsh'k'en, mā·ur'ten). I think (tsh'k'in, mā·ur'ten) or (-t'n) are common. But (tsh'k'n, mā·ur'tn) or (tsh'k'en, mā·ur'ten) are disagreeable to my ears. Some persons likewise say (Læ·tn, Siæ·tn, pū·dn'), but these sounds are going out of use.]

New York.

I am a native New Yorker, though not now resident in the State. This fact disqualifies me in a measure from noticing our peculiarities. Indeed, I know of but one, which has come up in the better classes within the last twenty years, and is (I think) more common with young women than young men. It consists in dropping medial *r*, and thinning the indistinct vowel before it into a very short *e*, e.g. *fest* (fēst) for *first*. [I have myself noticed in many Americans a tendency of this kind in the pronunciation of the word *America*, from which the *r* seems to be lost, or not trilled at all, and the *e* curiously obscured, something like (əmə·)kə),

with a tendency to (əmə·)r·kə əmə·)r·kə), but the vowel used for *e*, for which I have helplessly written (ə), does not glide on to the following (r, r) in the slightest degree. But the same speakers pronounce a trilled (r) before vowels habitually in other cases.]

Western States.

I have never been in them, and only know from common report that among the less educated classes, the pronunciation (a, aa) for (ee) is universal. *Bar* for *bear*, *far* for *fair*, *straunger* for *stranger*. [Possibly remnants of (bæar, fæar, stræ·ændzher), misheard. Mr. Bristed finds a difficulty in understanding (æ, æe) in palaeotype, which seems to him "to embrace all sorts of sounds, from the shortest continental sound of *a* to ordinary English *ā*. This," says he, "causes confusion. I am not sure how you pronounce *plaid*; it seems to me that you call it *plād*." I call it (plæd), and it is curious that the American Worcester gives no other pronunciation; I have heard (pleed) called a Scotticism, which Mr. Bristed thinks the only right sound, as he says of mine, it "is surely a mistake, according to Scott's rhymes *plaid*, *laid*, *maid*, etc. Perhaps your (æe) is that 'fifth sound of *a*, *ai* in *fair*,' given in the old dictionaries, Walker, etc., which to me has always seemed a myth. I mean I can't make out any difference between *fair* and *fare*." Walker made none, but I have adduced these facts to shew what difficulties variety of pronunciation throws in the way of indicating sounds by keywords. As to *fair*, etc., however, the sound may really be (aa), and not (æe). Such sounds occur dialectally in England.]

General Americanisms.

We all (except perhaps some of the negroes?) sound distinctly the *h* of initial *wh*, just as Irishmen, Scotchmen, and North-Countrymen do. This I believe to be the only universal Americanism. There is a great difference between the speech of (most) Englishmen and (most) Americans, but it is a *musical* difference rather than a *letter-power* difference. We pitch our conversation in a monotone; Englishwomen appear to a green American to be *just going to sing* when they talk. [The English return the compliment with interest, which reminds me that

a Pole, whose language to an English ear is all hiss, told me, after hearing Hamlet, that the English words sounded to him as mere hisses! Some Englishmen think that we lengthen the *i* more than they. I doubt it. I don't think, for instance, that we say (táim) for (tá'im). [Many Americans do say (táín), and even (tá,ím).] All Americans pronounce *vase* to rhyme with *case*. I see you would rhyme *vase* with *draves*. So does Sotheby in his Homer, and I am told this is the British Museum pronunciation. Most Englishmen of my acquaintance sound it with German *a* (to rhyme with *grass*?). Your pronunciation would be unintelligible to most Americans. [*Vase* has four pronunciations in English: (VAAZ), which I most commonly say, is going out of use, (vaaz) I hear most frequently, (veez) very rarely, and (vees) I only know from Cull's marking. On the analogy of *case* (kees), however, it should be the regular sound. I have known the three first pronunciations habitual among a party of four speakers, to

whom the fourth sound was unknown. Goodrich gives all four sounds; but just as Cull only acknowledged (vees), Smart only admits (veez). As to the British Museum pronunciation, I find on inquiry that the Antiquities Department call it (vaaz), "to rhyme with *papa's*," but one of the assistants in that department says he would say (VAAZ) of a modern vessel to contain flowers (for instance), "in fact," says my authority, "he seemed inclined to distinguish different kinds of vases by the pronunciation." The vulgar pronunciation of *i* for *oi* is very general among the less educated New-Englanders, but is chiefly confined to words in *oil*, *boil*, *spoil*, etc. No native says *by* or (bai) for *boy*; that is purely Irish. [These are all xviiith century.] I think I have found a New York peculiarity, *buddy*, *nobuddy*, for *body*, *nobody*, but am not quite certain if the vowel is the indistinct *ü*. [(Noo-bə'di) is the most common English, but perhaps Mr. Bristed meant (noo bə'di); was it (noo bə'di)?]

AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION ACCORDING TO AMERICAN HUMOURISTS.

The pronunciation indicated by humourists in any language is of course *not* the pronunciation of the educated part of the people. But it must be the pronunciation of a section of the people, and also a widely known pronunciation, or the whole humour of its adoption would be lost. It therefore occurred to me that Dr. Trumbull's and Mr. Bristed's remarks on existent and Noah Webster's on older Americanisms would be best supplemented by a selection of phonetic orthographies from the works of known humourists.

Major Downing's "Letters" appeared in the New York *Daily Advertiser* in 1833-4, and had a popularity never before equalled in the United States. This book was a political skit on General Jackson's government, and is described in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 106, as "by far the most amusing, as it must be allowed to be the most authentic, specimen that has as yet [1835] reached Europe of the actual colloquial dialect of the Northern States." They are by this reviewer attributed to "Mr. Davis, of the respectable mercantile house of Brookes and Davis, New York." To these then I give the first place. The whole book is not spelled phonetically, but about as much American orthography is introduced as Scott uses of Scotch spelling in his works, and this I have extracted. With the humorous mode of expression, the grammar, and so forth, I have of course had nothing to do. I quote from the second English edition, published by Murray in 1835, "from the latest New-York edition."

Judge Haliburton's "Clockmaker; or, the Sayings and Doings

of Sam. Slick of Slickville"—of which the introductory letter, attributed to Mr. Slick himself, is dated 25 Dec., 1836—is fully as authentic, but the sprinkling of spellings is rather sparser, and I have not attempted to go through more than about one-sixth of the book.

Charles F. Browne's "Artemus Ward his Book" is made up of contributions to the New York *Vanity Fair* about 1860. It is almost entirely in picturesque spelling, which is frequently merely grotesque, but generally exhibits specimens of Yankee pronunciation, or what must pass current as such among Americans. His efforts in that way met with general appreciation. From this book I have culled a large number of words without attempting to exhaust the list.

Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee and other Poems mostly humorous" have furnished me with several pronunciations supposed to be current in the Gold Mining Regions of California.

In quoting these words the letters D, S, W, H, refer to Downing, Slick, Ward, and Harte respectively. The addition "occ." shews that the spelling is only *occasionally* used by the writer to whose letter it is appended.

One of the most striking points to an Englishman on reading them is that there are practically no American Americanisms among them. They are all old friends, known in English humourists, and known in older or dialectal or vulgar English pronunciation. The twang, the intonation, the application, all tend to give them a different effect, but these are absent in the bare phonetic representation. The orthography of the writers is left intact, and I have not ventured to suggest their meaning. There may be some recondite differences with which I am unacquainted; but when the words are read as their spelling would suggest to one used to received pronunciation, the effect is quite familiar.

1. *Miscellaneous.*

The following is an alphabetical arrangement of some words and phrases which could not be easily classified.

A. *Account* 'count D, *acute* cute D S H, *afraid* afeard D, *against* agin D, *am not ain't* H, *are not ain't* H, *Americans* 'Merricans H, *apoplexy* appleplexy D, *apothecaries* pottecaries D, *attention* tenshon D.

B. *Believe* bleeve W, *bellows* bellesses D, *be not beant* S, *beyond* beyend D, *boisterous* boysterious W, *by and by* bime-by D W.

C. *Calculate* kalklate D, *chimney* chimbly D, *Chinese* n. Chinee H, *classically* ? cussyeally W, possibly a mere grotesque; *contrariness* contrairiness H, *cordial* cordyal W, put apparently as an uncommon pronunciation, indicating "corjal" as the common ? (1069, *cb*); *cupboards* cubbords D, *curiouslest* curiesest D.

D. *Damned* damned S, this is given as an uncommon spelling, "darn'd" being most usual, but in consequence of Webster's remark (1067, *ed*) this will be given among the *er*-words; *diamonds* diminds W, *does not* don't D, *drowned* drown'd D, *durst* not dursent H.

E. *even* almost eny most D, *een* amost, *een* almost S, *evenly* ? c'eny D, *ever* a one ary one D.

F. *Funeral* fun'l H.

G. *Gave* gin D, evidently the participle used for the preterite, see *given*; *genuine* giniwine, *genwine* D, *give* gin W, here we have the participle used for the present; *given* gin D, *grew* grow'd S.

H. *Handkerchiefs* handkerchers D, *have not hain't* D, *hant* S, *have given* a gin S, *heard* hearn D W, the form *heerd* also occurs, as will be seen afterwards; *hers* hern S, *his* (pred.) hisn D, *history* histry W, *holiday* hollow-

day D, probably a mere grotesque;
however homsumever howsever D.

I. *Idea* ide idee D, idee H, idear W,
ideas idecs W, *is* be's H, *is not* ain't D
W H, an't S, isn't H, *it is not* taint D,
tante S, 'tain't H, *it was not* twarnt D,
I was Ise W.

K. *Knew* know'd D, *knoll* nole D,
this must be merely grotesque spelling,
as the sound is received.

L. *Laudanum* lodnum D.

M. *Mamma* mam H, *military* mil-
ing'tary W, *Mississippi* Massissippy D,
Missouri Mizzoori H, *monster* monkster
W, *more than* moren mourn W.

N. *Necessity* needecessity S, also in
Irish and in Scotch, so that it is not a
mere grotesque; *necromancy* nickre-
maney D, *never a nary a* W H, here
there is a mistaken tautology, as *nary*
should mean *never a*, see *ever a* above.

O. *Of it on't* D, *only* ony D, *ordeals*
ordeels W, evidently given as a mis-
pronunciation in place of *orjeels*, see
cordial above; but historically *or-deal*
= ags. or-dāl, would be pronounced as
W writes; OR-DE-AL is a mere piece
of confusion; *ordinary* ornery W H,
ordinarier ornrear W, *ours* ourn D S.

P. *Particular* pertickler H, *particu-
larly* partiely W, *perhaps* p'r'aps H,
popular poplar W, *previously* previsy
W, *probably* probly W.

R. *Regular* regler W, *rheumatism*
rumatiz D.

S. *Saw* p.t. see D, seed S W, *secure*
skewer W, *seen* p.p. sawn W, *series*
serious W, *shall not* sha'nt D, *shallow*
shaller S, *singularlest* singleris H,
soldiers sogers D, *sovereignty* suvrinty
W, *sphere* spear W.

T. *That there* that air W, *theirs*
their'n D, *them* 'em D S, *the other*
t'other D, *there are* S, *tickled* tikled D,
told tell'd D, *tour* tower D, *towards*
tords W, *tremendous* tremenjus W.

V. *Violent* vilent W.

W. *Was not* warn't D, *warnt*
won't S, *were not* wa'n't D, *will not*
won't D.

Y. *Yours* yourn D W.

2. Vowels.

In the following some little attempt
at classification will be made, but the
instances are not numerous enough to
arrive at any satisfactory result.

A. The oldest (aa) sound remains in
stare star H, *square* squar H, *hair-pin*
har-pin H, and is broadened into (oo),
where in England it has sunk to (ee),

in *chares* chores D. On the other hand,
it falls into (ee, e) or even (ɛ) in *are* air
W, *came* kem H, *again* agen H, *agin*
S, *may be* mebh'y W, and completely to
(ii) in *ears* keers W.

Long a, ai = (ee, ee) has become (ii)
in *chair* cheer W H, *cares* keers W,
careless keerless H, *scared* skeery W,
James Jeemes H, to which must be
reckoned *apparel* appeerel W; but *gave*
giv W, is probably only the use of the
present as past.

The same tendency is shewn in the
short vowel a (æ) in *any* eny D, *enny*
W, *can* kin H, *catch* kitch ketch D,
had hed H, *have* hev W, *that* conj. thet
H.

Broadening appears in *canal* kanawl
W, *sat* v. sot D, *far* fur D, *stamped*
stomped D, but uncertainly in *what*
whot wat W occ., *wat* wot H, where
the absence of h is noticeable, as it is
generally present, and *was* war H. Even
au shews both tendencies in *because*
caze D, *audacity* owdassity W, but
caught ketched D is merely a weak
form of *ketch*, already cited.

E short is thinned to (i), which may
be (i) in *end* cend D S, *neats* neests D,
and, as is very common in England, to
(i) in *chest* chist S, *general* gieneral D,
ginral W, *generally* ginerally W, *get*
git D W, *getting* gitting gittin' H,
kettles kittles D W, *passengers* passin-
jers W, *pretty* adj. pretty pritty D.
But shews the Scotch broadening ten-
dency in *keg* kag W, *set* p.p. sot S, p.t.
sot W, where there may be a confusion
with *sat*, *well* adv. wall W, *wrestled*
rastled H.

The long ee is shortened in *been* ben
bin D, but as *ea* seems to remain (ii),
even in *New Orleans* New Orleens S,
heard heerd S W, with which we may
class *anywhere* anywheer H, but the
old (ee) crops up in *real* rale D, *really*
raly D, *ra'ly* H, *beard* baird H, and
some other cases, for which see *er*.

The following are very common in
England: *neither* nother nuther D,
chewing chawin W, *ewe* yo S, *news-
paper* noospaper W.

I. In *if* ef W H, *sit* set D, we have
a tendency opposite to that of *get* git.
Little leetle D W is common here, but
squire square W is very strange.

There seems to be a tendency to sink
all unaccented vowels into (ɪ), or per-
haps Mr. Bell's (y), see (1159, b), and
it is worth while noticing this, because
a similar tendency shews itself in Irish,

and (*i*) is constantly used in Buchanan, see the vocabulary, pp. 1072-1083. See the Irish examples below. *Extra* extry W, *panorama* paneramy W, *opera* opery W, *actually* actilly S, *animal* animil W, *counterpane* counterpin D, *manage* manige W, *poem* poin W, *garments* garminits W, *trousers* trowsis W, *nephew* nevey H, *region* regine W, *passion* pashin D, *waistcoat* weskit W, *argument* argyment W.

O seems to assume all varieties of different local English forms, so that any classification is difficult. It becomes (aa) in *roar* rar' H, (uu) in *boast* boost D, *more* moore W, falls to (a) in *home* hum D W, *whole* hull D W, *stone* stun D W, *nobody* nobuddy W, and even to (*i*) in *rose* v. riz D W H, *cover* kiver D W, with which we may compare *touching* techin W, while it varies in the same writer in *bosom* boozum buzzum W. Then we find *solder* sawder S, *boulders* bowlders H, *thought* tho't D, *bought* bo't D.

The (oo) sound varies, as (au) in *route* rowt W, (iá) in *chooses* chuses D, *boots* butes W, *do dew* W occ., *through* thrn' D, *threw* D W, *zoological* zewological W, the last being derived from the "zoo"; and (a) in *took* tuk W, *roof* rnff D, and *you* yu W, *your* yer H, the two latter used enclitically.

The diphthong OI is treated as long *ī* in all those cases in which it was so sounded in the xviiith and xviiith centuries. Thus: *appointed* appinted D, *boil* bile D, *boiling* bilin W, *bilin'* H, *broiling* brilin D, *hoisted* histed W, *join* jine D W H, *loins* lions W, which of course is merely grotesque for *lines*, *oil* ile D W, *point* pint W, *pointing* pintin W, *points* p'int H, *poison* pyson S, *pizen* W H, *soil* sile W, *soiled* siled D, *spoils* spiles D.

U. The prefix *un-* is generally *on-*, as in *uneasy* oneasy S W, *unparalleled* onparaled W, *unpleasant* onpleasant S W, *unsatisfactory* on-satis-factory H. In a few words short *u* is *c*, *i*, as *just* jist D, *jist* D S, common in London, *judge* n. jedge. H, compare Scotch (dzhdzh), *such* sich D W, *shut* shet H, very old. The form *shut* p.p. shot W, seems to be founded on some confusion.

The long *ū* when accented constantly becomes (un), a well-known English vulgarism, but dating apparently from after the xviith century, and the preceding *s*, *t*, do not then become (sh,

tsh); but this is by no means always the case, as will be seen from the examples of consonants given below. Thus: *actuate* actooate W, *adieu* adoo W, *amusing* amoozin W, *circuitous* sircooitins W, *confused* konfoozed W, *constitution* constitooshun W, *dispute* dispoot W, *excuse* excoos W, *gratuitous* gratooitus W, *impudence* impoodents W, *including* incloodin W, *individual* individoal W, *influence* infloouance W, *lunatic* loonytick W, *nuisance* noo-sanse W, *obtuse* obtoos W, *peculiar* pocooler W, *punctually* pancktooally W, *pursue* pursoo W, *resumed* re-soomed W, *spiritual* sperretooul W, *subdued* subdood W, *sued* sood W, *suit* soot W, *untutored* untootered W, *virtuous* virtuous W. It will be observed, however, that all these examples are from W. After *l* and *r* this change is received, but W furnishes both *bloo* and *blew* for *blue*.

Unaccented *u* in open syllables, which, though always very short (iú), is called long by our orthoepists, seems mostly to become (*i*, *í*). Thus: *education* ideoation S, *minute* n. minet S, *minut* H, *minutes* minits W, *valuation* valeation S, *value* valy S, *regulating* regelatin D, *ridiculous* ridikilous H.

Final and unaccented *-ure* is usually treated exactly as *er*, and generally does not influence the preceding consonants, as *creature* critter cretur D, *creeter* critter W, *creatures* critters S, *features* features S, *figures* figers D, *figgers* W, *future* futer W, *injure* inger D, *legislature* legislatur D, *nature* natur D S, *nater* W, *natural* nateral S, *natrál* W, *pasture* pastur S, *pictures* pieters W, *rapture* rapter W, *venture* venter W, *pressure* presher W. The last word is exceptional. It will be found that these foreign words are very irregularly treated in the English dialects, probably depending on the time of their having been first used.

3. The Consonant R.

ER, EAR, UR. The treatment of vowels before R is very curious in America, dependent partly on the R having become thoroughly vocal, and partly on the retention of the old *ar* forms, with which *ur* forms have been confused. A few *er-* words retain their form as *er*, *ear*, or *air*, thus: *derm* dern H, *earth* airth S, *yearth* W, *early* airly S, *pert* peart H. But the rule is

for all such words to become *ar*, as: *learn* larn D S, *learned* larned D, larn'd S, *search* sarch S, *astern* astarn D S, *bear* bar W, *certain* certin sartin D, *sertain* S, *certainly* sartinly W, *certify* sartify D, *concern* concern S, *concerned* consarned W, *converse* converse W, *dern* v. darn D W, *derned* darned S, *dernation* darnation D, *tarnation* S, *deserved* desarv'd D, *determined* detarmined D, *early* arly W, *earth* arth W, *errand* arrand S, *eternal* tarnal D, *eternal* S, *eternallest* tarnulest W, *eternity* etarnity D S, *infernal* infarnal D W, *Jersey* Jarsey (?), *merchant* marchant D, *Lord have mercy* Lord a massy S, *nervous* narvous H, *observed* obsarved W, *observes* obsarves W, *preserved* presarved D W, *sermons* sarmons S, *serve* sarve D S, *uncertain* onsartin S W, *universe* univars S, *verses* varses D, to which may be added *there* thar W II, *where* whar W, *blurt* blart S, *disturb* distarb W.

R. The late Prof. Hadley, in reviewing the first part of this work, after quoting my remarks *suprà* p. 197, says: "It is fortunate for this much-abused letter that so large a part of the English-speaking world is found in America, where the first settlers brought this *r* in a less attenuated state, and where their descendants have been largely reinforced by users of a yet stronger *r* from Ireland and Scotland and the Continent of Europe. Instead of losing the final *r*, like our brethren in Southern England, we are more likely to restore it to its ancient equivalency with the initial letter." (Essays, 1873, p. 252.) See also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1195, b'). My own experience of polished American speech does not bear out this remark. No approach to an Irish or Scotch *r* final seems to be made. If a trill was ever used by the speakers I observed, it must have been very faint, for I am constantly awake to trills, and should have certainly remarked it. An untrilled *r*, perhaps as much of a consonant as (r_c), I seem to have heard; I think I have heard at least one American preacher say (h̥æ:|rt) where I say (h̥æt),—a matter of choice, (hart) presenting no difficulty to me. But that Dickens' *smolt tork* for *small talk* would have been as easily written by an American as by an English humourist will be quite apparent from the following instances, which shew that

ar or *are* recognized ways of writing (aa AA) without implying the least trill or vowel (ə) in place of a trill. It follows therefore that such a pronunciation must be familiar to American ears from American mouths. No American humourist could otherwise have ventured to use it.

After *arter* D S W, *ah!* ar W, *à la* ar-lar W, *amassed* amarsed W, *basking* barskin W, *calm* carm W, *danced* darned W, *daughter* darter D S II, *earned* ernt, *rhyming* to want D, *half* harf W, *Iago* Iargo W, *last* larst W, *lather* larther W, *laugh* laff D, larf W, *laughable* larfable W, *laughed* laft D, *larfed* larved S, *laughing* laffin D, *larfin* S, *Madam* marm S W, *pa* par W, *pass* pars W, *passed* parst W, *pasture* parster W, *sauce* sass D W, *sarse* sarce S, *saucer* sassar D, and similarly *awful* orful W, *off* orf W, *offsprings* orf-springs W, *officer* orficer W, *thought* thort thawt W, the last being an identification of *or* *aw* by W.

In the following we have not only the *r* omitted, but the vowel which was before it shortened, shewing its utter disappearance even from the thought of the speaker. *Horse* hoss W, *horses* hosses W, *burst* bust D W, *busted* II, *bursting* bustin W, *curse* cuss W II, *cursing* cussin D, *coloured* culled W, *first* fust W, *linterns* lantuns W, *nursing* nussing W, *persons* pussons W, *purse* puss W, *worse* wuss W, *worser* wusser W. And I would explain *girl* gal H, *girls* gals D, *galls* S, in the same way, *girls* becoming first *garls* and then *gals* (gæ:|z gæ:|z gæ:|z), and similarly *pretty* having the *r* "transposed" becomes *perty*, and then, *putty* D W, of which *pooty* D II is regarded only as another form. In *scarcely* scacely W we have a simple omission of *r*, with probably a corresponding omission of its modification of (ee) into (ce), which is also found dialectally in England.

ER, UR, as an indistinct vowel where no trace of trill can be reasonably supposed, shews this vocality more completely. Thus it stands for A unaccented in *afloat* erlote W, *drama* dramer W, *orphan* orfurn W, *spectacles* specterkuls W, *valise* verlise W, *umbrella* umbreller W, *vista* vister W, to which may be added the common *always* allers W II, generally written *allus* in England:—for E unaccented in *elements* ellermunts W, *elephants*

ellerfunts W, *intellectual* interlectooal W, *tragedy* traggerdy W:—for I unaccented in *dignify* dignerfy W, *exhibited* exhiberted W, *pusillanimous* pussylanermus W, *signify* siggerfy W, *specimen* spesserman W, *veracity* verasserty W:—for O, OW, unaccented very frequently, as *belowed* bellered W, *billows* billers W, *calico* caliker W, *fellow* feller D S W H, *followed* follered W, *gallows* gallers W, *hollowed* hollerd W, *innocent* innereent W, *negroes* niggers D, *patronised* patrernized W, *politest* D, *political* perlittercal purlittercal W, *potatoes* pertaters W, *shadow* shadder W, *sorrow* sorrers W, *swallow* swaller W, *tallow* taller W H, *vociferously* versifussly W, *window* winder S W, *widow* widder H, *yellow* yaller S H, *yeller* W; in *following* follerin W there is a suspicion of a trill, but it is not certain, and even if it existed, it would only be similar to the usual euphonic London *r*; in *colonel* kurnel S, identified in the passage cited with *kernel* kurnel S, we have a received pronunciation; considering of as *o'*, the following come under this category: *kind* of kinder D S W H, *sort* of sorter, *ought* to oughter H, *onto* onter W; but in *provisions* pervishuns W it is doubtful whether there is not a confusion of *pro-* and *per-* as prefixes:—for U unaccented in *ague* ager H, *continues* continmers W, *continuing* continnering W, with possible trill, *deputised* deppertised W, *invaluable* invalerble W, *sublime* surblime W. In *glorious* gerlorious W, *slave* ser-lave W, *prairie* per-rairie per-ar-ie H, it takes the part of an exaggerated ('h), and the same is the case for the ludicrously prefixed *ker-*, sometimes used in W, as *slap* kerslap W.

These examples shew that in America, as it will be seen in § 2, No 10, is the case also in England, *r* has become a mere means, first of writing (aa, AA), and secondly of indicating a *long* or a *brief* ('h, ə, v), that is, one which has either only that short glide which follows a long vowel, or else no glide on to the succeeding consonant. In both cases *r* may consequently be considered as the sign of *lengthening*. Its use in this respect is similar to that of *s* in older French (831, *ab'*), and of *l* in Scotch (Murray, p. 123), having like them no historical foundation, and, so far as the usual value of these letters *r*, *s*, *l*, is concerned, no phonetic signifi-

cance. They merely arose from the fact that in many words the phonetic values of *r*, *s*, *l*, had been lost, where they once existed, and the preceding vowel lengthened. With regard to the short *-er*, representing (-ə, -e), writers have felt the same difficulty as Mr. Murray in his historical orthography (*ib.* pp. 133, 134), and have generally adopted his contrivance of writing *-a* when final (though many fall into *-er*, which leads, however, to a suspicion of a trilled *r*, which is tainted with vulgarity), and *-er-* when before a consonant (when trilling would be out of the question). Of course in Scotland, where the sight of an *r* in any position is the signal for trilling, this use of *er* was impossible. Its use in the United States, even in humorous writing, is consequently proof of the very general existence of non-trilled *r* among the English speakers of America.

4. Other Consonants.

D is changed to *t* in *hold* n. bolt W, which is not uncommon in England. It is added after *n* in *drowned* drownid W, *drowned* H, *gowns* gownds W, as with us, but there is a more general tendency to omit it in this case, as *friend* fren W, *vagabond* vagabone W, especially when *s* follows, as *friends* frens W, *husbands* husbans W, *understands* understans W, *reminds* remines W, *handsome* hansom S (although *handsome* handsum S is also found, where the *d* is probably erroneous), and even before other letters, as *handbills* hanbills W. There is a great tendency to change *d* to *j* under the influence of a full *i* unaccented but followed by a vowel, as *Indian* Ingen D, *Injin* D H, *Injun* W, and *audience* awjuice W, *grandeur* graunjur W, *immediate* immejit W, *induce* injuce injoocce W, *medium* mejum W, *produce* projuce W, *soldiers* sojers W, *tremendous* tremenjous tremenjis W.

H. This much-abused letter in England seems to escape in America. Of course *ostensibly* hosstensibly W is a mere grotesque to recall *hoss*, the word not being popular. The enclitic *here*, in *this here*, *been here*, etc., suffers various changes, as: *h'yur* 'yar 'yer yere H, which however are attributed to the strong action of the (ə) or (iə) pronunciation of the *-ere* portion. Even Sir John Herschel (*Sound*, art. 361, in *Encyc. Metr.*) makes "*young*; *yearn*;

hear, here" consist of the vowel in "*peep*, *leave*, *believe*, *sieben* (Germ.), *coquille* (Fr.)." "succeeded more or less rapidly" by the vowel in "*spurt*, *assert*, *dirt*, *virtue*, *dove*, *double*, *blood*," entirely omitting the *h*. This will be found frequent dialectally, and *earth* *yearth* *H* is quite similar.

L for *r* in *frustrated* *flustratid* *W* is grotesque, but the omission of *l* in *only* on'y *H* is quite common.

M is omitted in *rheumatism* *rheumatiz* *H*, which is quite familiar in England.

N becomes exceptionally (q) in some words, as *captains* *captings* *W*, *cushions* *cushings* *H*, *garden* *garding* *W*, *weapons* *wepings* *H*, but more commonly -*ng* becomes -*n*; in fact this is the rule for the participial and gerundial -*ing* and the word *thing* in composition, as *amazing* *amasin* *S*, *capering* *capen* *D*, *everlasting* *everlastin'* *S*, *everything* *evrythin* *D*, *meeting* *meetin* *S*, *nothing* *nothin* *D* *S* *W*, *pudding* *pudden* *D*, *seizing* *ceasin* *W*, *something* *suthin* *W* *H*, *toiling* *toilin* *W*, etc., etc.

PH. The change to *p* in *nymph* *nimp* *W* is probably purely grotesque.

QU becomes *c*, *k*, frequently in *equalled* *ekalled* *W*, and occasionally in quotation *cotashun* *W*.

SK is transposed, or rather the original *cs* is preserved in *ask* *ax* *S*.

T is omitted when final after *c*, in *acts* *ax* *W*, *conflicts* *conflicks* *W*, *contact* *contack* *W*, *districts* *districks* *W*, *facts* *fax* *W*, *intellect* *intelleck* *W*, *just so* *jes so* *W*, *just* *jess* *H*, *object* *objeck* *W*, *perfect* *perfeck* *W*, *sect* *seck* *W*, and after *p* in *attempt* *attemp* *W*, *crept* *crep'* *H*, also in *don't* preceding *n*, as *don't know* *dunno* *W*, and probably also before other consonants. On the other hand, it is added in *once* *onet* *W*,

sudden *n*, *suddent* *H*, and assimilated in *let go* *leggo* *W*, to which category probably belongs *partner* *pardner* *H*. In *surtout* *surtoot* *W* the added *t* is orthographical; educated Americans also pronouncing the final *t* in *trait*.

TH remains *d* in *further* *furder* *W*, and is omitted in *clothes* *close* *W*, but *that* *there* *that ar'* *H* is the English *that* *ere*, and it is doubtful whether this should be reckoned as an omitted *th*.

V is written *w* in the first syllable of *conviviality* *conviviality* *W*, shewing that some such change would be appreciated, (1067, *d*. 1220, *d'*), but this is the only instance I have noted.

W is, as often, omitted in *inwards* *inards* *W*.

X becomes *z* by the omission of preceding syllable in *exactly* *zactly* *W*, where the *t* also ought to be omitted.

The above examples, though very incomplete, will serve to give some notion of the prevailing illiterate or Yankee pronunciations in America. Those arising from negro influence have been kept out of view. But they form a remarkable instance of linguistic break down, and deserve careful study. For examples see *Da Njoe Testament vo wi Masra en Helpiman Jesus Kristus*, or *New Testament in the Negro English of Surinam*, to be had of the British and Foreign Bible Society, price 2s.6d.; also *Proeve eener Handleiding om het Neger-Engelsch*, zoo als hetzelfde over het algemeen binnen de Kolonie Suriname gesproken wordt, door A. Helmig van der Vegt, Amsterdam, 1844, p. 56, and *Slave Songs of the United States*, New York, 1871, introduction by W. F. Allen, pp. xxiv-xxxvi. To which Addison Van Name (1155, *e'*) adds *Wullschlägel's Neger-englisches*, Würterbuch, Löbau, 1850.

IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.

Although vast numbers of the Irish who speak English are uneducated, yet the English language is not of native growth in Ireland. There are still several parts of Ireland where English is not spoken. Hence an account of the Irish pronunciation of English can be better classed as educated than as natural. But there is a still stronger reason for placing it next to the American. They are both examples of an emigrated language of nearly the same date. If we disregard the English settlers in Forth and Bargo in the XIIth century, to be considered hereafter, the English language in Ireland may be considered to date in the north from the settlement of Ulster by James I. in 1611, and generally from the events

which followed Cromwell's incursion in 1649. The first English settlements on the Bay of Massachusetts date from 1628. The language in both cases therefore belongs to the xviith century. An inspection of the preceding and following lists compared with the accounts of the pronunciation of that period already given, will shew the correctness of the estimate already formed for these cases (p. 20) as examples of persistent mother-tongue in emigrants.

The general xviith century character is most strongly marked in Ireland by the retention of the pronunciation of long *e*, in the state which had been reached in the xviith century,—those words that had then changed long *e* into (ii), mostly marked by the orthography *ee*, remaining as long (ii), and those that had not yet changed their (ee), mostly marked by the spelling *ea*, remaining as (ee) or (*ee*). This character is so marked and prevalent among all but the higher educated classes in Ireland, among whom the present English usage is not a century old, (1050, *a'*), that most persons seem to regard it as one of the marks of Irish "brogue," whereas it is pure xviith century English fossilized by emigration, and, as we shall see, is more or less persistent among our own dialects. But there are two distinct styles of English spoken in Ireland, that in the Northern part due to the mainly Scotch settlement of Ulster, and that elsewhere spoken.

After Mr. Murray had published his book on the Dialects of the South of Scotland, so frequently referred to (1085, *c*), Mr. W. H. Patterson, of Strandtown, Belfast, sent him a copy of a pamphlet called: "The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts pointed out and corrected, by David Patterson, industrial teacher of the blind at the Ulster Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, and a resident of Belfast for the last forty years, Belfast, 1860." Mr. Murray having shewn me this pamphlet, and pointed out the numerous Scotticisms which it contained, I requested him to mark all the words which bore a Scotch character. At the same time, to check the North by the South, I requested Mr. T. M. Healy, who had lived the first 18 out of the 20 years of his life in Cork, where he was born, to mark such words as were pronounced in the same way in Cork as at Belfast, and where there were differences to point them out. Both gentlemen having obligingly complied with my request, I have been enabled to compile the following lists, which, although leaving very much to be desired, give a fuller account of Irish peculiarities than any I can refer to elsewhere.

To obtain further information, I addressed a series of questions to Mr. W. H. Patterson, who sent the pamphlet, and to its author, Mr. D. Patterson, who is himself blind, and is personally unknown to the other, and also to the Rev. Jas. Graves, of Inisnag Rectory, near Stoneyford, Kilkenny, honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, all of whom, as well as Mr. Murray and Mr. Healy, most kindly and readily assisted me, and from them I have gathered the following information.

The pronunciation of Belfast decidedly differs from that of the

greater part of Ireland, but extends pretty uniformly over the Northern and Eastern parts (about two-thirds) of Ulster. Though Scotch, it is not so much so as the Eastern parts of Down and Antrim. For instance (says Mr. W. H. P.), a farmer living in east of County Down will have many Scotch words in his speech and a very Scotch accent, but will be at once distinguishable from the Scottish land-stewards and gardeners who come over. He will say: "Hae ye got ony guid shearin hewks?" and his children will play at: "Ngeery, ngaary, ngiek, ngack, which han will ye tak, the right or the wrang, I'll beguile ye if I can." A child was heard to cry: "Qut eloddin stanes at them kye!" Here *Qut* is *quit*, give over (*kʷat*). A farmer's wife called some people to "see Billy biggin," i.e. building a corn stack; a wild bee's nest is a bee's *bike* (Co. Down); *missly* is lonely, solitary (Belfast; Mr. Murray says Jamieson gives it for Roxburghshire, but he never heard it, it is ags. misalíce), *brulliment* disturbance (Glenarn, Co. Antrim), *glam* grasp or sudden clutch (Belfast), *hoke* to make a hole (Sc. howk), hence *the hoques* a game played with *peeries* pegtops, which are to *hoque* one another.

All my authorities state that the English from different parts of Ireland is decidedly different, but they are not prepared to say how it is different. It is evident that there is a considerable field for investigation here. The R is strongly trilled. There is an Irish *r* which seems to occupy the whole tongue in its trill, and may hence be written (*ˆr*), but I have not investigated it. The H is always pronounced, except in French words, and the WH is, says Mr. Murray, as in Scotland, varying between (*wh*, *kʷh*). The peculiar dental T, D, before R, are considered under D, in the Alphabetical arrangement of the Consonants, No. 3, below.

My inquiries as to the "brogue" have not resulted in any very satisfactory information. It seems to me that we must study the Irish habits of Celtic pronunciation, and the de-formation of English by persons naturally speaking Celtic, before we can form a proper judgment on the brogue. Thus Mr. Murray, from his own Irish experience, defines the brogue as speaking English with Celtic habits of utterance—1) in the pronunciation of consonants, as the rolling *r* (*ˆr*), the post-aspiration (*pʰh*, *bʰ*), the dental or bi-dental (*ˆt*, *ˆd*) before this (*ˆr*), and excessive palatalisation of (*l*, *n*, *k*, *g*); 2) in the vowels (*i*) for (*î*), (*o*) for (*ô*, *ɑ*), (*ee*) for (*ii*), all three of which appear doubtful to me, as the last seems certainly XVIIth century English; and 3) most of all in the intonation, which appears full of violent ups and downs, or rather precipices and chasms of force and pitch, almost disguising the sound to English ears. In this work I have generally omitted to dwell on intonation, because, at all times extremely difficult to catch and describe in living speech, it was hopeless to recover it in the past. But in local speech intonation is very characteristic, and for Scotch and Irish it is generally unmistakable, although so difficult to describe. Mr. Graves says Cork and Killarney are marked by a peculiar accent on the ultimate syllable, a high key, and a brogue that is never lost. Even the gentry partake of this peculiarity. This brogue, when

once heard, can never be forgotten. Kilkenny, says Mr. Graves, has a peculiar drawling brogue, which he endeavours to write thus: *Calf* caalf, *Margaret* Maargaret, *clean* claane, *height* hoith, *potatoes* pyaatées, *wheat* whate, *father* faather, *door* dure, where *au* is French *a*, except when answering to *ea*. Mr. Graves also remarks that "in the ballads of the peasantry the consonants at the ends of lines are ignored, it is enough if the vowels jingle together," and adds that this is also the rule of Irish poetry. That is to say, the Irish are still content with assonances, which had disappeared from English poetry before the immigration. In some modern street ballads of Belfast, sent me by Mr. W. H. Patterson, I find: name vain, shame train;—found known, surprise sight, found down, hands land;—eve grief, time line;—tin limb, mixed bricks, line pantomime;—kneel field;—alone home, eyes high, strong on;—chalk walked, malt walked, shock walked, hot clock, stop walked, talk walked, knocked walked (here every stanza ended with 'walked,' and the rhymester was evidently hard up);—remember surrender, perished cherish;—march smash, toast force;—cared bed;—sobbed Lord, joy smiles while;—found town. But by far the greater number of rhymes are perfect, although sometimes the authors seem to have had no rhymes at all "*convenient*," as when they condescend to: comrade poor Pat, morning darling, explain line, spring strung, kneeled side. It is very seldom that an Irish pronunciation comes in as: door sure, scream same.

Mr. Graves gives the following as "a fair specimen of the Kilkenny English of the last generation, *i.e.* as spoken by the old people," and adds that national school education is fast destroying these peculiarities; he says also that this dialect has evidently been influenced by an early English colonisation, and that the speakers use very good English, not clipping their words much. The bracketed explanations are his own.

"Shure yer 'Oner never seen so clane [clear-complexioned] a boy, [unmarried man,] or likely [handsome] a colleen [girl] as them two that was married the week afore last.—Is it what the daacent couple had to depind [the *i* sounded like Italian *i*] on for their livin, yer oner is axin? Sorra a haporth but God's goodness, and the quarter of pyates [pronounced as two syllables, pya-tes, a quarter of an acre of potatoes] the boy sot last Easter.—Is it after the woman [the speaker's wife] yer Riverence is axin? Och she's bad intirely with the faver, and the

childhre down [sick] along with her. Glory be to God! an sorra an egg or a dhrop of milk meself has to give the crathers, becace the fox, the thief of the world, tuck the hins, an the cow's run dhry with the red murrin, not a dhrop inthered thir lips since yistherday but could wather.—Yer Riverence is a daacent gintleman, and won't see a poor craathur in want uv a bit to aate. The baaste perished [died] on me last week, and sorra a sup of milk I have for the childhre. It's kind faather [proving yourself kin to your father] for yer oner to be good to the poor."

Most words are here in received spelling, some occasionally in

both received and characteristic spelling; probably not one was altogether in received pronunciation.

With regard to the letter *a*, I have been told that the first letters of the alphabet are called (*ææ*, *bee*, *see*, *deee*), and that *barrel* is (*baa'ril*), and so on. But nothing of this is shewn in the above or in the following orthography.

In re-arranging Mr. D. Patterson's words, the ordinary spelling is put in italics, his phonetic spelling follows in roman letters, with B annexed, and C if this is used in Cork, S if in Scotch, WS in West and SS in South Scotch, and SE in Scotch English. Sometimes the word is re-spelled or only a single letter is added to shew the differences. When C is put after the usual spelling, it shews that at Cork the received, or what is there considered as the received, pronunciation is used. Sometimes this plan is specially broken through for brevity, as explained on each occasion.

Mr. D. Patterson seems to use *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, in closed syllables for (*ii*, *ee*, *aa*, *AA*, *oo*, *au*), and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, for (*i*, *e*, *æ*, *o*, *ə*), but (*ɛ*, *ɐ*) may be meant, and he seems to have no sign for (*u*). In open syllables, or with a final *e* mute, (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) seem to be (*ee*, *ii*, *ái* *éi*, *oo*, *iú*), and *ou* is (*áu*). The two sounds (*ái*, *éi*) will be spoken of under *i* long.

1. Miscellaneous.

To begin with a few instances which cannot be easily classed under letters. We have not unknown deformations of words in *column* *colyum* B C SE, and *tremendous* *ttthrenen-dyay-iss* B, *ttthrenendus* C, which appears rather as (*trime'ndzhās*) in English, but *massacre* *massacree* B, *massacrai* C, is very peculiar. The three following are usual enough in England: *coroner* *crowner* B, C or *corner*, *courtesy* *curchy* B C, *pocm* *pome* B C SE, (*poi'em*) S, but *proeiss* C, *pross* B, seems to be simply (*prō'ses*) abridged, and *portmanteau* *portmantvea* B, where *vea* = (*je*), or *portmanchu* C, is a mere local mispronunciation in B, where 'portmankai' has also been heard. Initial syllables are lost in *apprentice* C, *prentice* B S, *enlist* *list* B S C, and perhaps a final *t* in *lance* *lance* B S C, which looks, however, more like a different usage.

Accent is thrown back, as regards received pronunciation, in *brigadier* *brig'adier* B, *cavalier* *cav'ulier* B, *engineer* *en'gineer* B, *fusilier* *fu'silier* B, *mankind* *man'kine* B C, and S for accent, *parishioner* *par'ishioner* B C; and forward in *contrary* *contra'ry* B S C, in B and C we ought certainly to have *tth*, *desultory* *desul'tory* B, *desul'thory* C, *discipline* *disceip'line* B S C, *disciplined* *discip'led* B, *disputable* *dispu'table* B C, *disputant* *dispu'tant* B,

district C, *district'* B, *exemplary* *exem'plary* B S C, *industry* *indus'try* B S, *industhry* C, as it certainly should be in B, *inventory* *inven'tory* B S, *inven'thory* C, *lamentable* *lament'able* B S C, *maintenance* *maintain'ance* B C, (*menti'nous*) S, *subaltern* *subal'tern* B.

2. Vowels.

A is sometimes but rarely broadened into (*AA*, *ə*), as *cabal* C, *cabaul* B, S (*a*), *canal* C, *canaul* B, S (*a*), *tassel* *torsel* B C, S (*a*). The general tendency is towards thinness, which takes several degrees. Thus, *alderman* C, *alderman* B, that is, with (*æ*) not (*AA*), agrees with the retention of (*æ*) after *w*, which goes through the Belfast pronunciation, answering to S or SE (*a*), but, except in the one word *wasp* *wasp* = (*wæsp*) B C, seems to be unknown in C, where the received pronunciation prevails, the examples being: *qualify*, *quality*, *quantity*, *quarrel*, *quarry*, *squabble*, *squad*, *squander*, *sicab*, *swaddle*, *swallow*, *swamp*, *swan*, *swap*, *swarm*, *swarthy*, *wadding*, *waddle*, *wallet*, *wallow*, *want*, *war*, *ward*, *warn*, *wart*, *warble*, *warm*, *warp*, *warrior*, *wash*, *watch*, *wattle*, and *what*.

The short *a* seems to be lengthened to (*ee*) in *ration* *rashin* B C, *nag* C, *naig* B S, and falls quite into short (*e*, *ɛ*) in *apparel* *apperrel* B C, *bandy* C, *bendy* B, *branch* C, *breuch* B, (*breush*) S, *calico* C, *kelligo* B, *cartridge*

ketthridge B, or kattthrij C, *damsel* C, demsel, S (e), *examine* C, exemine B, *example* C, exemple B, *January* C, Jenuary B, nu'am C, mem B, (mæm mem) S, *mangle* C, mengle B, *slant* C, slent B, (sklænt) S, reach (i) in *hang* C, hing B S (e¹), *many* C, minny B, *has* C, his B, *have* C, hiv B.

A short often sounds as e short in almost any word, but in Belfast this pronunciation is confined to words in which a is preceded by (k, g), or followed by (k, g, q). What shade of short e this may be is not known; possibly (e), but Mr. Murray suggests that it may be only a too narrow pronunciation of (æ), as a rebound from Scotch (a, á), and doubts whether a Southern Englishman would feel it too narrow. In Cork nothing of the kind is known. The following are some of the examples: *bag* beg, *canal* kennel, *can't* kent, *carry* kerry, *cattle* kettle, *cavern* kevern, *drags* dregs, *fang* feng, *gabble* gebble, *galley* gelley, *gas* guess, *hack* heck, *hag* heg, *in fact* in feet, *knack* neck, *lag* leg, *pack* peck, *pang* peng, *plank* plenk, *rack* reek, *rank* renk.

CAR-GAR- are usually kyar- gyar- in Belfast, but sometimes kare- gare-. The first is just known in Cork. Neither are known in South Scotch.

In *was* C, wuz B, S oec., we have probably an occasional B use, and *vacation* C, vocation B, is no doubt mere confusion. Unaccented A is perhaps exceptionally treated in *America* Americy B C, and *Meriky* C.

A long seems to be in Ireland naturally (æe), but much further examination is here necessary. D. Patterson notes that -ar is often called (-eer), possibly (-æer), and that when following k a y is introduced, as *kyar*, *skyar*, for *car*, *scar*. This and the long -are must in general be passed over, to note *char* C, char B SE, *farm* C, form B, *dare* dar B S C, and *acorn* C, aheorn B S, *panorama* panoramma B S C, *rather* C, rether B, S (ree).

AE is noted as *spae* C, spae B, but the meaning of the pronunciation is not obvious.

AI. Only *again* C, again B SE, *against* C, against B SE, *said* C, said B SE, are noticed.

AU is exceptionally pronounced in *assault* C, assult B, *auger* C, ogre B, *jaundice* jendiez B, jaundis C. The regular sound is marked as a, but whether this means (æ) or (ææ) or (aa)

is not noted. The C is as received, the S has (aa, aa) always, and the English has (AA), hence I only give B in *brawl* bral, *claw* cla, *crawl* cral, *faun* fan, *flaw* fla, *gnaw* na, *hawthorn* hathorn, *jaw* ja, *gnaw* na, *law* la, *paw* pa, *saw* sa, *sprawl* spral, *tawny* tanny.

E short is apparently lengthened in B, and not in C, in *bet* C, bait B, *led* C, laid B, *precious* C, prayshayis B, *shed* C, shade B. It is occasionally deepened to (æ) as in *desk* C, dask B, (dæsk) S, *grenadier* granmidier B S C, *wren* ran B WS C, *wretch* C, ratch B, S (w'r), *wrestle* rassel B WS C; but its general tendency is to sharpen into (i), as in *bench* bineh B C, *besom* bizzim B, (bæzom) S, *bless* C, bliss B, S (e¹), *brethren* C, brithren B, S (e¹), *cherry* C, chirry B, S (e¹), *chest* C, chist B, oec. C, (ke'st) S, *clever* C, clivver B, S (e¹), *criver* C, crivvis B, S (e¹), *devil* divvil B C, S (e¹), *engine* injine B C, S (e¹), *ever* C, ivver B, S (e¹), *every* C, ivvery B, S (e¹), *jerk* C, jirk B, *jet* C, jit B, S (e¹), *kernel* C, kinsel B, *merry* C, mirry B, S (e¹), *never* C, nivver B, S (e¹), *next* nixt B C, S (e¹), *premises* primmises B C, *red* C, rid B, S (e¹), *shettie* shittie B, S (e¹), *speckled* C, sprickled B S, *together* C, togither B, S (e¹), *twenty* twinti B C, *whether* C, whither B, S (e¹), *wrench* wrinch B C, *yes* yis B, yis yes C, (æe's) S, *yesterday* yisttherday B C, S (ye'e's), *yet* yit B C, S (e¹), and in *seena* C, seeni B, (se'ni) S, it seems to be even lengthened into (ii). Although the tendency does not seem to have always reached C in these cases, it is widely diffused, and the above list is far from containing all the instances that might be given.

E long is often (ee) or (ee), where it was so in the xviiith century, as in *decent* daicent B C, *equal* aiquil B C, *extreme* extthraim B C, *female* faimil B, faimail C, *fever* favour B, fayvür C, *frequent* fraiquent B C, *immediately* immaidlyently B, immaidjutly C, *scheme* skaim B C, *secret* saieret B C, *tedious* taidious B C. The B short pronunciation in *hero* herro B, *hair* C, does not extend to C. In those words where it was spelled or might be spelled *ee*, the (ii) sound had already prevailed by the xviiith century, but *bestings* bestins B, *baystins* baystees C, *queer* quair B C, are partial exceptions. The pronunciations *were* wur B, wor C, *threepence* thruppence B SE, *thrippence* C, arise otherwise. But where

EA was introduced in the xvth century, we know that the sound (ee, ee) remained in the xvth, and hence we are not surprised at finding it almost uniformly so pronounced in Ireland. The remarkable point is that this pronunciation occurs in Belfast also, whereas it has nearly disappeared from the Scotch, whence it was derived. That it really existed there once, appears by some few remains. Thus *reason* is now in SS (ri'z'n), but in the common phrase *reason or none*, used adverbially, they still say (re'z'n-əni'n). Mr. Murray (in a private letter) says that there are many similar facts which lead him to suppose that the SS (i') in the xvth century was still (ē) or (æ), and that it travelled through (e₁, e₁¹) to (e^v, i'). In examining the words in EA, it is hence convenient to divide them into groups.

1) Those words in *ea* now (ee) or (ee) both in B and C, but not in S, these are: *bead* baid, *beagle* baigle, *beak* bake, *beam* bame, *bean* bane, *beast* baste, *beat* bait, *bleach* blaiçh, *breach* braich, *cease* saice, *cheap* chaip, *cheat* chait, *clean* clain, *creak* craik, *cream* craim, *crease* eraice, *creature* craiththir B, *craiththir* C, *deacon* daikin, *deal* dale, *dean* dane, *each* aitch, *cager* aiger, *eagle* aigle, *ease* aize, *east* aist, *eat* ate, *feasible* faizible, *feast* faist, *feat* fate, *flea* flay, *freak* fraik, *grace* n. grace, v. graze, *heal* hale, *heathen* haithen, *key* kay, *lead* lade, *leaf* laif, *league* laig, *leak* lake, *lean* lane, *lease* lace, *least* laist, *leave* lave, *meal* male, *mean* mane, *measles* maizels, *meat* mate, *pea* pay, *peace* pace, *peal* pale, *please* plays, *preach* praich, *reach* raich, *real* rail, *reap* rape, *rear* rair, *reason* raisin, *repeat* repait, *sea* say, *seal* sale, *steam* same, *seat* sait, *sheaf* shaif, *sheath* shaith, *sneak* snake, *speak* spake, *steal* stale, *stream* stthraik, *tea* tay, *teach* taich, *treacle* tthraice, *treason* tthraizin, *treat* tthrait, *veal* vale, *wane* wane, *weave* wave, *wheat* whait, *wreck* rake.

2) Words in *ea* having the (ee, ee) sound in S, as well as B and C, *breathe* braithe, *endeavour* endaiver, *neat* nait, *wake* wake.

3) Words in *ear* having the (aa) or (ææ) in B, and the regular (æ) or (er) in C, *earth* darth B, S (æ), *earth* C, arth B, S (æ), *heard* C, hard B, S (æ), *learn* larn B C, S (æ), *search* C, sarch B, S (æ).

4) Words in *ea* having (e, ē) in both B and C, *leap* lep, *meadow* medda.

5) Other words in *ea*, mostly treated differently in B and C, *beard* baird B, *deaf* deef B S, *deaf* daif def C, *deafen* deeve B S, *differ* C, *malleable* mallible B S C, *measure* C, *mizhir* B, S (e¹), *peasant* C, *payzant* B, *pheasant* C, *fayzant* B, *ready* C, *riddy* B, S (e¹), *squeamish* squammish B, *squaimish* C, *sweat* C, *swait* B, *threat* C, *thrait* B, *treacherous* tthraicheriss B, *tthrecherüs* C, *weapon* C, *waypin* B.

EI is not sufficiently exemplified, but the xvth century pronunciation appears to be the rule, *either* either B C, *leisure* laizhir B, *laizhur* C, *inveigle* invaigle B C, *seize* saize B C. Mr. Healy thinks that the *ei* is not so broadly pronounced as *ea*, but I have not been able to determine whether they differ as (ee, ee).

EW. The few cases given are quite exceptional, *chew* chow B S, *chau* C, *skewer* skivver B C, *Matthew* Matha B C.

ER is almost universally written *ar* in Mr. D. Patterson's orthography. Whether that means (aar, ar) or (ær) I do not know. The Scotch has generally (ær) in such words. B and C sometimes agree, and also often differ. The words given are as follows: *certain* sartin B C, S (æ), *clergy* clargy B C, S (æ), *commercial* C, *commarcial* B, *concern* consarn B, S (æ), *convert* convert B C, S (æ), *desert* desart B C, S (æ), *deserve* C, *desarve* B, S (æ), *determine* C, *determin* B, S (æ), *divert* divart B C, S (æ), *errand* arran B, *errand* C, *eternal* C, *etarnal* B, S (æ), *ferrule* C, *farrel* B, S (æ), *Hercules* Harklis B, *infernal* C, *infarnal* B, S (æ), *merchant* C, *marchant* B, *Mercury* Markery B, *merey* C, *marey* B, S (æ), *nerve* C, *narve* B, S (æ), *perch* C, *parch* B, *perjury* C, *parjury* B, S (æ), *perpendicular* C, *parpendicular* B, *person* C, *parson* B, S (æ), *serge* C, *sarge* B, S (æ), *sermon* C, *sarmin* B, S (æ), *serpent* sarpiant B C, S (æ), *serve* C, *sarve* B, S (æ), *stern* starn B, S (æ), *terrible* C, *tarrible* B, S (æ), *terrier* tarrier B C, (tæ'rier) S, *vermin* varmin B C, S (æ), *verse* C, *varse* B.

I short when written *ee* by Mr. D. Patterson represents the Scotch short (i), and does not reach to C: *brick* C, *breek* B, *delicious* C, *dileeshayis* B S, *giggle* C, *geegle* B S (i), *idiot* eedyet B S, *ajut* C, *malicious* C, *mileschayis*

B S, *militia* C, mileeshy B, *snivel* C, sneivel B, *ridiculous* rideekilis B S (i), ridikilis C, *wick* C, week B, (wik) S. Even the changes of *i* into (e, ε) in *miracle* merricle B C, (me¹rik'l) S, *melt* B C, (me¹lt) S, *red* C, red B, (re¹d) S, which is only partially C, and into (a, ɶ) in *bristle* C, bruckle B S, *whip* C, whup B S, are good Scotch. In *ruffian* ruffin B C the *i* seems merely a mark of the indistinct final syllable, as used so much by Buchanan, see example on p. 1053.

I long is exceptionally pronounced (ee, ee) in *diameter* C, dayameter B, *fatigue* fitaig B, fataig C, *intrigue* intthraig B C, tilae C, laylock B S, occ. C, *quiet* quate B WS, quite C, of which *fatigue*, *intrigue* are remarkable, since *oblige* C, obledge B, and obledge C, does not follow suit. Notwithstanding the usual impeachment that Irish people say *oi* naturally, I am led to suppose that *giant* joyant B C, *riot* royet B, rüt C, are also exceptional.

In Belfast there appear to be two regular sounds of long *i*, corresponding to the Scotch sounds, see § 2, No. 10 below, and similarly distributed, but not always affecting the same words, nor, as far as I can discover, pronounced exactly in the same manner. According to Mr. D. Patterson, the first sound

B (ái) and S (ái).

I was hurt
My native country I'll disown
The die is cast
He will dye it red
He dyed his hair
He was dyeing it first
He prided into the secrets of all
They tied Rose fast
That gold is mine

This distinction is not appreciated by Mr. W. H. Patterson, who hears in Belfast, *a'm goin to Benger, a wouldn't if a was you*, and thinks that *eye* is called exactly (ái). But he adds, "a Cork man would say, *oi've hurt mee oi*." This Mr. Healy, being a Cork man, repudiates. He knows in general only one pronunciation of long *i*, which he considers to be (éi), and, after noticing the habitual pronunciation of *by*, *my*, as (bi, mi), adds, "Some of them also say *moi* for *my*, but these are very few; in fact, that word and *noine* for *nine* are the only ones I can speak of as having heard personally of the change of *i* into *oi*." He had forgotten *giant* joyant, which he had already acknowledged. Rev. Jas. Graves "never remarked any

is (ái), and the second (éi) or (é'í), or (ééi) with the first element slightly lengthened. The first occurs in almost all words where long *i* precedes *r*, *v*, *z*, *th*, and in a few where *y*, *ye*, *ie*, are final.

The following words are said to have (ái) and in Scotch (ái), and hence are both B and S: alive arrive blithe buy by client connive contrive cry deny deprive derive descry despise dive dry dye expire fie five fry hive my pie ply prior prize pry revise revive rye scythe shy sire size sly spy sty surmise thy tie tithe try vie wry.

The following six have (ái) in B, and (ái) in SE. but not in vernacular S: byre desire dire fire hire tire.

The following two have (ái) in B and (ii) in S: briar, friar.

Other cases have the second or (éi) sound in B, and generally also in S, but the following eight have (éi) in B and (ái) in S: choir idol idolize iron piracy pirate quire squire.

This double sound of long *i*, which is not in received English (but see Granville Sharpe, above p. 1053, *e'*), is very puzzling to an Englishman. Mr. D. Patterson gives the following sentences to illustrate the two sounds in B. The S distribution of the sounds does not always agree with the Irish.

B (éi).

His eye was hurt—S (éi)
I will my native isle disown—S (éi)
They die at last
He will die in bed
He died in despair
He was dying of thirst
His pride was the cause of his fall—S (éi)
The tide rose fast—S (éi)
That is a gold mine—S (éi)

difference [between *I* and *eye*] in the southern parts of Ireland," but adds, "*eye* is pronounced *ee* in the north." However, he writes *height* hoit. Now Sheridan and Knowles, both Irishmen, make the English sound of long *i* = (ái), see (108, *e*), and only differing from *oy*, made (aa'í), by the length of the first element. Now what caused this, and what makes English novelists write *poi* for the Irish sound of *pie*? I have had very little opportunity of observing genuine peasant Irish. But I am inclined to think that the effect is produced by 'gutturaising' (1107, *e*), whereby the lower part of the pharynx being widened more than the upper, an effect is produced similar to the fourth degree of rounding (1114, *d'*),

so that the sound (ə'i) becomes (ə'ɪ) or very nearly (ə'ɪ), see (1100, d'). At any rate, this produces the nearest approach to the effect I have noticed. Of course any such change would be entirely repudiated by the speaker. The following are a few of the words which take (éi, éi) in Belfast: *eye, idle, ice, Irish, pipe, pile, pike, pint, spite, spider, spier, bible, bite, bile, bind, rife, fight, fine, find, vice, vile, vine, wipe, wife, wise, wile, wire, wind, twice, swine, white, whine, quiet, tight, tide, tile, time, sigh, sight, side, silent, sign, shine, child, chime, high, lie, liar, life, light, like, lime, line, oblige, fly, flight, slight, slide, slice, glide, ripe, right, wright, write, ride, rice, rhyme, bribe, bright, bridal, brine, fright, Friday, thrive, tripe, trice, stripe, strife, drive, gripe, kite, kind, guide, guile, night, mree, miser, mild, smite, nigh, night, knight, knife, nice, snipe*, and their compounds. Of these *oblige* had been previously given as 'obledge,' so that probably both pronunciations occur, but the present is the one considered by Mr. D. P. to be 'correct.' "When *ɪ* precedes another vowel," says Mr. Healy, "the *ɪ* only is heard, as *Brian* brine, *lion* line, *diamond* dimond, *crying* erine."

O short seems to be made (oo) or (o') in *cord* coard B C, (*éu*ard) S, *sort* soart B C, (*sú*ort) S.

In the following words, where the received dialect has (ə, ə), we find (ə) retained: *constable* constable B S C, *govern* C, govern B SE, *hover* hover B SE, *none* none B C SE, but *one* waun B SE, won C, *nothing* C, nothing B SE, *oven* C, oven B SE, but B and C shew different habits, and the contrary use of (ə, ə) for (ə) seems confined to B in *body* buddy, *for* fur, *hod* hud, *nor* nur, *or* ur.

That the (u)-sound after (w) should become (e, ə) is not strange, but Mr. Healy will not allow it in Cork. *wolf* C, wulf B, *woman* C, wumman B S, and even in the plural *women* C, wumen B WS.

The squeezing of (ə) into (ə) is more common, but although I have heard of its existence in Cork, Mr. Healy allows an approach to it only in one instance. *babbin* C, babbin B, *bots* C, batts B, *ehop* C, chap B WS, *erap* C, crap B, and occ. C, WS, *dabbin* C, dabbin B, *hob* C, hab B WS, *hop* C, hap B WS, *job* C, jab B, *knob* C, nab B, *lobby* C, labby B, *loft* C, laft B WS, *mop* C,

map B, off C, aff B WS, *prop* C, prap B, *Robert* C, Rabert B, (*Rab*) S, *shop* C, shap B WS, *slop* C, slap B WS, *soft* saft B WS, *sauf* saht C, *stop* C, stap B WS, *top* C, tap B WS.

The further gradation to (i) appears in *Donegal* Dinnegal B, *Dunnegal* C, *does* C, diz B S, *worsted* wistid B, *wustid* C, but is not universal. In B it seems fixed for *-tion* *-shin* B, rather *-shöön*, than *-shin* or *-shün* C. For *-in* as indistinct (*-en*), see Buchanan (1054). It is possible, therefore, that this may be an old Scottish tendency, retained in Belfast.

O long, OA, OE, are generally the same as in the received dialect, but *board* boord B C, *coarse* coorse B S C, *sloat* slot B, are exceptions, though (slot) is the common technical word in England. Before *l* there is the usual old change into an (ə'u) diphthong, now very characteristic of Irish: *boid* boul B C, and *bould* C, *bolt* bolt B, C gen., *cold* coul B. *could* C, *colt* coul B, C gen., *hold* houl B C, and *hould* C, *jolt* joul B, C gen., *mole* moul B, C gen., *old* owl B C, *pole* C, *poul* B, *roll* roul B C, *scold* scould B C, *sold* sowl B, *sould* C, *told* toul B C, and *tould* C, but *gold* goold B SS C. Exceptional changes occur in *osier* oisier B, *pony* C, *poumy* B S, *swore* C, *sore* B, *tobacco* tobecky B, *tobacky* C; but *phoenix* fainix B C belongs rather to long *e*.

OO, though generally remaining, even in *door* door B C, *floor* floor B C, (*flær*) S, becomes (ə, ə) in many words, but the usage varies, as *head* C, hud B, *look* C, luek B WS, *shook* shuek B C WS, *stood* stud B C, *took* tuck B C WS, *wool* C, wud B S, *wool* C, wul B; but *loose* C, louse B S, which also is common in English dialects.

OI, OY. No examples given by Mr. D. P., but the usual (ə'i) sound in *boil*, *point*, *join*, etc., is I believe common.

OU, OW, in the following has an (ə'u) sound, contrary to received usage: *bowl* howl B S C, *gauge* gouge B C, *pour* C, *pour* B, C also and more commonly, (*puur*) S, *route* rout B S, *shoulder* showldther B C, *soul* soul B C *tour* tour B S. On the contrary, the received (ə'u) is (oo) in *devour* C, *dévor* B, and (uu) in *couch* cooch B S, *course* coorse B S C, *court* coort B S C, *crunch* crooch B S, *drought* drooth B S C, *pouch* pooch B C, *slouch* slooch B S.

This becomes (ə, ə) in *could* C, cud B, *courier* currier B S C, *mourn* murn

B S C, *should* C, shud B, *would* C, wud B, and (ə) in *nourish* C, norrish B.

Final *-ow* becomes regularly indistinct (ə) in B S C, as *fellow* fella, and *-ough* fares the same in *borough* C, borra B, *thorough* C, thorra B. But we find the favourite *-i* in *window* windey B C, possibly etymologically founded.

U short is irregular in *puppet* C, pappet B, *torpentine* torpentine B C, torpentine C, *supple* soople B S C, and where the received pronunciation retains the old (u), has adopted, but chiefly in B, the xviiith century (ə, ʌ) in *ambush* C, ambush B SE, *bull* C, bull B SE, *bullet* C, bullet B SE, *bulletin* C, bulletin B SE, *bullion* C, bullion B SE, *bullock* C, bullock B SE, *bully* C, bully B SE, *bulrush* C, bulrush B SE, *bulwark* C, bulwark B SE, *bush* C, bush B SE, *bushel* C, bushel B SE, *bushy* C, bushy B SE, *cushion* cushion B SE C, *full* C, full B SE, *pudding* C, pudding B SE, *pull* C, pull B SE, (pʌʊ) SS, *pullet* C, pullet B SE, *pulley* C, pulley B SE, *pulpit* pulpit B C SE, (pʊpət) S, *puss* C, puss B SE, *put* C, put B, (pɛt) S. There is the usual change to (i, e) in *bury* C, birry B, *just* jist B, and jis C, (dzheɪst) S, *sueh* sich B C, (seɪk) S. For the prefix *un-* we find *on-* B C, sometimes öñ- C, never *un-*, as *unwell* onwell B C, etc.

U diphthongal, commonly called long u, becomes (i) or (e), or (ə) when unaccented, as *ague* aigay B, aigee C, (iəgə) S, *argue* C, argay B, (aɪgɪ) S and C, *education* C, eddication B, *impudent* impident B C S, *manufacture* C, mannafeethir B, *value* C, valyea S. Also we find the usual *suite* shoot B, and *buoy* boy B C.

3. Consonants.

B is called (v) in *marble* marvel B C, S occ. B is omitted in Belfast and Scotch, but *not* in Cork between *m* and syllabic *l*, as *bramble* C, brammil B, *crumble* crummil B, *fumble* C, fummil B S, *gamble* C, gammil B S, *grumble* C, grummil B S, *jumble* C, jummil B S, *mumble* C, mummil B S, *ramble* C, rammil B S, *rumble* rummil B S, *seramble* C, serammil B S, *stumble* C, stummil B S, *thumble* C, thimmil B S, *tumble* C, tummil B S, and between *m* and *er* in *timber* C, timmer, and even in Cork also in *cucumber* cucummer B S C, where the initial *eu-* for the natural xviith century historical *cow-* is curious.

C functioning as (s) becomes (sh), as *s* often does, in *spancel* spenshil B S, spansil C; *guttapercha* guttaperka B C is a mere error of ignorance.

D and T in connection with R receive a peculiar dentality all over Ireland. This dentality is not noted in conjunction with any other letter but R, either immediately following, as in *dr-*, *tr-*, or separated by an unaccented vowel, as *-der-*, *-ter-*, the *r* being of course trilled. No notice is taken of the dentality of D, T, by Mr. D. Patterson in any other case, and he tells me that it does not otherwise occur in Belfast, but it is never omitted in these cases. Whether the word begins with the D, T or not, whether the D, T be preceded by S initially or by any long or short vowel, or any consonant in the accented syllable or not, whether the unaccented *-er-*, *-ar-*, etc., are followed by a vowel or another consonant, seems to make no difference. The dentality always occurs in relation to a following R, and not otherwise. No example is given of dentality being caused by preceding *r* — which is curious in connection with the apparent non-dentality of Sanserit R under the same circumstances. The old Forth and Bargoyle dialect seems to shew an old dental *t*, *d*, even under other circumstances, as will be discussed in Chap. XII. In England, as has been pointed out at length, *t*, *d* are not generally dental (pp. 1095-6). We shall find that dental (*t*, *d*) occur frequently in English dialects, but always and only in connection with *r*, probably (*r*), under precisely the same circumstances as the Irish dental. We shall even find that in England phases or varieties of dialect are distinguished by the presence and absence of this dentality. We have nothing in older English to lead us to a knowledge of the existence of dental (*t*, *d*), and their distinction from coronal (*t*, *d*). There is also no trace of it in Scotch. It commences further south in England, in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Peak of Derbyshire, etc. How did it get into Irish-English? It is believed to be Celtic, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with Celtic usages, or the English customs of Scotch and Welsh Celts in speaking English, to form any opinion. Another question rises: is the Irish dentality the same as the Indian, French, and dialectal English?

Mr. D. Patterson writes it *tth*, *dth*, and, in answer to my request that he would describe the action of the tongue in pronouncing it, wrote: "This vulgar pronunciation of *t* and *d* is caused by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth instead of the gums," shewing that his own (*t*, *d*) are gingival instead of coronal, and so far making his dentals the same as (*t*, *d*). But he goes on to say: "The explodent *t* is first sounded, but, on withdrawing the tongue from the teeth, the sound of *th* as in *thus* (*dh*) is unavoidably pronounced between the *t* and the *r*." That is, his *tthram*, *dthram* = (*tdh.ræm*, *ddh.ræm*), which of course are quite possible, although it would thus be somewhat difficult to distinguish the first word from the second. The Rev. James Graves says: "The tongue is pressed firmly against the teeth and retracted, when the peculiar sound above described is pronounced, and before the succeeding vowel is vocalised." Here the (*dh*) disappears, and we have (*træm*, *dræm*) simply. Mr. W. H. Patterson says: "The tip and sides of the tongue are jambed tightly against the teeth and palate, by the muscular action of the tongue, assisted by the lower teeth, which are brought against it, and no sound issues till the tongue is removed, which is not done till the pressure of air from within is considerable (at least as compared with the amount of pressure used in saying *thin* or *then*). I think that this 'coarse and thickened pronunciation' owes its existence to the important part played by the lower teeth, which keep the tongue from moving. In fact the word cannot issue till the tongue is drawn backwards and downwards out of the gap between the upper and lower teeth which it had been closing." It was to meet this case that I introduced the bi-dental (*tt*, *dd*) on (1120, *b*). If Mr. W. H. P. is correct, therefore, the sound is (*tt.ræm*, *dd.ræm*). Mr. Murray, who has been in Ulster, and knows the Westmorland (*tr*, *dr*), says: "I do not at all identify the *tth* of Ireland with the North of England dental. To my remembrance it was something distinct, with more (*th*) or aspiration and more moisture in it — a spluttering effect in perfervid oratory, as though the force of the explosion were carrying out the saliva with it. The northern English has a much finer [more delicate]

and more simple-tonely effect." This would make the effect nearly (*ttph.r*, *ddh.r*), the windrush (*h*) and the jerk (*h*) carrying some saliva with them. Mr. Healy, in answer to the question: "is *t* or *d* pronounced *dentally* before *r*?" says: "Always, and to my Irish ears it would be a great improvement if they adopted or re-adopted it in England for some words. There cannot be a question as to the superior expressiveness of *Thrash!* *Murdther!* heard from an Irishman, and the feeble *trash*, *murder*, heard here!" (dated Newcastle-on-Tyne). It might be possible to amalgamate Mr. W. H. P.'s and Mr. M.'s suggestions, and write (*ttph.ræm*, *ddh.ræm*). But merely English readers would be led to nearly the right sound, most probably, by endeavouring to say (*tth.ræm*, *ddh.ræm*). The following examples are selected from a long list, to shew the varying circumstances under which this dentality or bi-dental postaspiration occurs. All are found both in B and C, unless otherwise marked.

Dthr—*drain* *dthrain*, *draft* *dthraft*, *dram* *dthram*, *drill* *dthrill*, *droll* *dthroll*, *drop* C, *dthrap* B, and occ. C, (*drop*) WS, *drowned* *dthrowned*, *drunk* *dthrunk*, *foundry* *founndthry*, *hundred* *hundthert* B, *hōōndthert* C.

-dther—*spider* *spidthter*, *powder* *powdthter*, *scountrel* *scountdthrel*, *blunder* *blundthter*, *tender* *tendthter* B, *tindthter* C, *thunder* *thundthter*, *murder* *murdthter*, *border* *bordthter*.

Tthr—*trade* *tthrade*, *tract* *ttthreck* B, *tthrack* C, *treble* *tthreble*, *trifle* *tthrifle*, *trim* *tthrim*, *trod* *tthrod*, *troop* *tthroop*, *trouble* *tthrouble*, *trousers* *tthtrousers*, *truth* *tthruth*, *trudge* *tthrudge*, *try* *tthtry*, *pultry* *pultthtry*, *sultry* *sultthtry*, *sentry* *sentthtry*, *country* *countthtry*, *partridge* *patthridge*.

Stthr—*strange* *stthrange*, *straight* *stthtraight*, *straw* *stthro* B, *stthrau* C, *stretch* C, *stthraitch* B, *strive* *stthrove*, *strip* *stthrip*, *stroke* *stthroke*, *destroy* *destthroy*, *strong* *stthrong*, *struck* *stthruck*.

-tther—*matter* *matthter*, *doctor* *doctthir* B, *doctthur* C, *rafter* *raftthter*, *shelter* *shiltthter* B, *sheltthter* C, *winter* *wintthter*, *chapter* *chapthter*, *porter* *porthter*, *Ulster* *Ulstthter*, *master* *masstthter*, *sister* *sistthter*, *battery* *battthery*, *bastard* *bastthard*, *Saturday* *Satthriday* B, *Satthriday* C, *lantern* *lanthtern*.

Miscellaneous—*children* *chiltthter*,

udder eldther B, *udher* D, *solder* sother B, *saudther* C, (*sa'dər*) S, *consider* consither B, *considther* C, *ladder* leather B S, *iadther* C, *bladder* blether B S, *bladther* C, *fodder* fother B S, *fodther* C, *splendour* splendyour B, *splendthur* C, *nearer* C, *neardther* B. In some of these latter cases most probably *th* B is an error for *tth* or *dth*.

D is omitted—

after R in *gardener* garner B C, *hardly* harly B S C, *lard* C, *lar* B S;

after L in *child* chile B C, *field* C, *feel* B WS, *held* C, *hell* B WS, *mould* monl B C, *seafold* skefil B, *skaffil* C, *wild* wile B C, *world* worl B C WS;

after N in and an B S C, *band* C, *ban* B, N and WS, *behind* C, *behine* B, *bind* C, *bine* B, (*be'n*) S, *blind* bline B C, *bound* bonn B C, (*bān*) S, *end* C, en B WS, *find* C, *fine* B, (*fe'n*) S, *friend* C, *fren* B WS, *found* foun B C, (*fān*) S, *grand* gran, B C, N and WS, *grind* C, *grine* B, *ground* C, *groun* B, (*grān*) S, *hand* C, *han* B N and WS, *hound* houn B C, *kind* C, *kine* B S, *land* C, *lan* B N and WS, *lend* C, *len* B WS, *mind* mine B S C, *pound* pounn B S C, *round* roun B C, *sand* C, *san* B N and WS, *send* C, *sen* B WS, *sound* sounn B S C, *stand* C, *stau* B N and WS, *vagabond*, *veggabone* B S, *vaggabone* C, *wind* C, *win* B.

Hence of course D also disappears between N and L, as in *bundle* C, *bunnil* B, *candle* kennel B, *kendle* C, *chandler* chanler B C, *dandle* dannil B, *handle* C, *hunnil* B S, *kindle* C, *kennel* B S (*e'*) *spindle* C, *spinnel* B S, *windlass* winlass B C.

The participial *-ed* becomes *-it* or *-t*, contrary to received usage, at least in *crabbed* crabbit B S C, "in the sense of 'cute, not sour, morose,'" C, *crooked* crookit B S C, *killed*, *kilt* B WS C, *naked* nakit B S C, *wicked* wickit B C.

The following are exceptional forms: *soldier* soger B S C, common dialectally in England, *necessity* C, *needcessity* B S, which looks like an attempt to make *necessity* intelligible, but occurring in America (1226, *ba*), may be an old form, although clearly erroneous etymologically, *breadth* brenth B, *breth* C, the last is not at all uncommon in England, especially among dressmakers.

F occasionally becomes voiced in B and S, but not in C apparently, as *calfe* C, *calve* B S, *staff* C, *stav* B, (*stav*) S.

G in *blackguard* bleggayard B seems to be merely palatalised before (aa), as *k*

usually is in B. In *drought* dthrooth B C, the (th) represents the lost guttural, but it was only (t) in the xviiith and xviiith centuries.

K is not (as in received English) transposed in *ask* ex B, (*aks*) S, ax C, and disappears in *asked* ast B C, which must be considered a form of (*ækst*), and not of (*æskt*). It seems also to disappear in *lukewarm* C, *luewarm* B S, which may also be heard in England.

L is very variously treated in a few words. Its replacement by *n* in *April* Apron C, *flannel* flannen B S C, will be paralleled under N. In *corporal* C, *corpolar* B, we have almost a Spanish interchange of *l* and *r*. In *finch* C *flinch* B, *l* is inserted, and in *Walter* Watther B, *Wautther* C, omitted, as of old. In *sluice* C, *sloosh* B, *l* causes a *y* sound to vanish, and in *column* colyum B SE, occ. C, to be inserted!

M in *mushroom* musheroon B C has gone back to its historical *n*. After L it appears to be always vocal: *elm* ellim B S, *ellum* C, *helm* hellim B, S occ., *hellum* C, *realin* rellim B, S occ., *rellum* C, *wheln* whellim B, S occ., *whellum* C, where, as usual, *i* replaces the indistinct vowel.

N becomes *l* in *chimney* chimley B S, or *chimbly* C, *danson* demsel B, (*dēmsh's*) S, *remnant* remlet B, and *m* in *brine* C, *brime* S C, *ransack* ramsack B C.

NG in participles and gerunds is regularly (n) in B S C, as *cunning* cunnin B S C, *evening* evenin B S C, *gnawing* gnawin B C, *herring* herrin B S C, *sitting* sittin B S C; in *blacking* blecknin B, S occ., *blacknin* C, there is an evident confusion with *blackening*. In *kingdom* C, *keendom* B, it would appear that the vowel also is lengthened as in the old Forth and Bargo dialect. Before *th* it becomes *n* in *strength* sththrenth B S C, *length* lenth B S C. In *dangle* C, *dang'le* B, and all similar words, C like E has ngg (qg), and S like B has ng (q) only, as in *ang-er*, *bung-le*, *ging-er*, *hung-er*, *jang-le*, *jing-le*, *mang-le*, *mong-er*, *ling-er*, *long-er*, *ming-le*, *sing-le*, *strong-er*, *strang-le*, *wrang-le*, *young-er*.

P becomes *b* in *baptism* C, *babtism* B, and often in England, *scrape* scrab B, *scrap* C.

QU is *k*, as often in England, in B and C, in *quoit*, *quorum*, *quote*, *quotient*.

R is often transposed, from before to after, in *afraid* afear'd B C, (*fiird*) S,

bristle C, *birse* B S, *erib* C, *kerb* B, *grin* C, *girn* B C, *pretty purty* B C; and from after to before in *burst* brust B, *bust* C, *curb* C, *erub* B S, *curd* erud B S C, *seurf*, *seroof* B, *seröof* C, (*scraf*) S. It is also sometimes inserted after *p*, *th*, as in *poker* C, *proker* B, *potatöe* pratie B C, and also often *pyaity*, (*tatö*) S, *thistle* C, *thristle* B S. The prior vocalisation of *r* occurs in *February* Fayberwary B, *Febery* C, *proprietor* properietor S, *proprietthor* C, *propriety* *properiety*, B C, *library* libary B S C, *sobriety* *soberiety* B C, *umbrella* *umberella* B S C, none of them uncommon in England, where also *curiosity* *curossity* B C is well known.

S is evidently mistakenly inserted in *moolest* mislist B, *mülest* C, and omitted in *corpse* C, *corp* B S, but in *sneeze* C, *neeze* B S, the omission, and in *quinsy* *squinnisy* B the insertion, is ancient. It is changed to (*sh*, *zh*), but chiefly in B, in *blunderbuss* *blundtherbush* B, *blundtherbis* C, *fleece* C, *flesh* B, S occ., *grease* *creesh* B S, *crees* C, *harass* C, *harrish* B, *mince* C, *minsh* B S, *rinse* *rensh* B, *rinsh* C, *rinzh* S, *utensil* *utenshil* B S, *utinsil* C. On the contrary SHR evidently creates a difficulty, found also in Scotch, and in Salopian, and *sr* is used for it in B, not in C, in *shrubsrub*, *shrine*, *shrewd*, *shrew*, *shrick*, *shrink*, *shrug*, *shrill*, *shrank*, *shred*, *shrivel*, *shroud*, *shrunk*. Is not *shrove* C, *seraff* B, a mere blunder? *Dictionary* *dicksinary* B, *dickshinary* C, is old, and *rubbish* *rubbitch* B, occ. C, is known in English as (*ræ-bidzh*).

Although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this work, it seems advisable to supplement the above account by a notice of some other Belfast peculiarities given in Mr. D. Patterson's book, and their relation to Scotch.

Past Tense.—He *begun* to sing, he *swing* well, he *drunk* water, he *rid* home, he *ta'en* it away, I *seen* him, he *done* it himself. Mr. Murray says that this is quite opposed to Scotch. It is not uncommon in England. *Thrive*, *driv*, *striv*, *viz*, are used for *throve*, *drove*, *strove*, *vose*. I *giv* it him an hour ago, he *come* home this morning, he *run* down stairs. *Sut*, *sput*, *lot*, *brung*, are used for *sut*, *sput*, *let*, *brought*.

Scotch Words in Belfast.—*Bing* heap, *böke* to retch, *brush* short and sudden illness, *cleek* hook, *elype* large piece, *coggle* to shake, to rock, *cowp* to upset,

T becomes *d* in *protestant* *proddisin* B, *proddistin* C, *reticule* *redicule* B, (*ræ-dik'i*) S, the latter very common as *ridicule* in England, when ladies' handbags were so called. T is omitted in *crept* *crep* B C, *empty* C, *empy* B S, *fidget* C, *fidge* B S, *hoist* C, *boice* B S, C occ., *instant* C, *insant* B, *joist* C, *joice* B, *kept* *kep*, B C, *slept* *slep*, B C, *swept* *swep*, B C, *tempt* C, *temp* B S. This would seem natural if it had not been added on in almost the same cases in *attack* *attect* B, *attaet* C, *once* *waunts* B C, and *wons-t* C, *twice* *twyste* B, C occ., *sudden* *suddent* B C.

TH has its old form in *throne* *trone* C, and becomes *d* in *farthest* C, *fardest* B, *farthing* *fardin* B, (*fæ-rdin*) S, *fathom* C, *faddom* B S, and *though* *doe*, C.

W is omitted in *athwart* *athort* B S.

Y appears as (*dh*) in *you* C, *thon* (*dhon*) B S, a remarkable form, which admits of explanation, first on the theory of assimilation to *this* and *that*, being used for a second more distant *that*; on the theory of (*dh*) replacing (*gh*) from ags. *geond*, or as a mere orthographical mistake, *y* as often standing for *h*, so that *you* may have been in these the ags. *þon*, "(*dhon*) things," being a construction equivalent to "them things." Historical proofs are wanting. Mr. Murray takes the first view (*Dial. of S. S.* p. 186). It will be seen in § 2, No. 12, that the word *yon* is not very common in our dialects. The adverbial form *yonder* is more frequent.

Z is *s* in *lozenge* *lossenger* B S, *lozenger* C.

to barter S, *dunsh* knock against, jolt, butt, *dunt* knock, blow, *dwine* pine, *farl* cake of bread, *footy* mean, paltry, taking a mean advantage at play S, *fozy* spongy, *hoke* make holes, *jeuk* to dodge, *lappered* congealed, clotted, *oxthter* armpit, *prod* to stab, *scrunt* niggard, *scunthter* to disgust, (*skæ-nor*) S, *sheugh* a ditch (*sikærh*) S, *skelly* squint, *skelp* slap v. and n., *sleekit* sly, *slocken* slake, quench, *smudge* to smirk, *stoon* pang, ache, *spel* climb, *smush* refuse n. [*quasi* what is smashed], *stoor* duct, *stroop* pipe, sprout, *thole* endure, *thraw* twist, *thud* knock or

thump, *warsh* insipid, tasteless (*wersh*) S, *ween* a quantity.

Unusual words not Scotch.—*Cur-naptious* crabbed, captious, *dotther* to stagger, *floosther* wheedle, *footther* to bungle, a bungler, *jubious* suspicious, mistrustful [dubious?], *jundy* to jostle, *ramp* rauk, rancid, *sapple* to soak, to wet thoroughly, *seam* to scorch, *seringe* to creak, *serendible* thorough, sound, *skelf* a small splinter.

English words in un-English uses.—

1. Scotch. *Even* to impute, to suppose capable of, or guilty of, *terrible* extremely, exceedingly [‘terrible’ common in Kent], *boast* hollow, (*bu’s*) S, *clash* a tell tale or idle tale, *elod* to throw, *crack* talk gossip, *gaunt* yawn, *gutters* mire, *loss* to lose, *pang* cram,

scout squirt v. and n.—*here there where* hither thither whither [almost universal in England], *a taste, a lock, a grain*, a very little.

2. Not Scotch. — *Bloodshed* blood-shot, *right* thorough, *them* those [very common dialectally], *welt* to flag, *a ha’p’orth* any thing at all, as “I don’t know a ha’p’orth about it, he won’t say a ha’p’orth about it, there wasn’t a ha’p’orth wrong with him.”

Scotch phrases.—*Whose owe* whose is [see Murray, *op. cit.* p. 193], *the t’other* the other, *throughother* confused, de-ranged [German *durch einander*], *a sore head* a head ache, *let on* let be known, pretend v., *carry on* misbehave, *put upon* ill used, imposed upon; *my, his, her, its, lone* alone.

VULGAR AND ILLITERATE ENGLISH

might be classed among educated English, if credit is to be given (as it should be given) to the following extract from *Punch* (6 Sept. 1873, vol. 65, p. 99):

Dialogue between Boy Nobleman and Governess at a Restaurant.

Lord Reginald. Ain’t yer goin’ to have some puddin’, Miss Richards! It’s so Jolly!

Stable-Boy, and Dolly’s a Laundry-Maid!

The Governess. There again, Reginald! ‘*Puddin’*’—‘*goin’*’—‘*Ain’t yer*’!!! That’s the way Jim Bates and Dolly Maple speak—and Jim’s a

Lord Reginald. Ah! but that’s the way Father and Mother speak, too—and Father’s a *Duke*, and Mother’s a *Duchess*!! So there!

But there is more in it than this. The so-called vulgarities of our Southern pronunciation are more frequently remnants of the polite usages of the last two centuries, which have descended, like cast-off clothes, to lower regions. Were there time and space, it would be interesting to compare them in this light. But the American and Irish usages just collected are sufficient for shewing the present state of these mummified forms, and we pass therefore at once to the more pressing investigation of the varieties of natural speech, as the only glimpse that we can get into the seething condition of the old pre-Chaucerian period, wherein our present language was concocted. Manuscripts transcribed by copyists who infused their own local habits into the orthography, and sometimes into the grammar, of their originals, afford at best but perplexing materials. We cannot hope to understand the ancient conditions but by examining their modern realisation.

§ 2. Natural English Pronunciation.

NO. 1. NATURAL PRONUNCIATION.

By “natural,” as distinguished from “educated,” English pronunciation, is meant a pronunciation which has been handed down historically, or has changed organically, without the interference of orthoepists, classical theorists, literary fancies, fashionable heresies,

and so forth, in short "untamed" English everywhere, from the lowest vulgarity, which, as just stated, is often merely a cast-skin of fashion, to the mere provinciality, which is a genuine tradition of our infant language. An exhaustive or even an approximatively complete investigation of this subject is far too extensive to be taken up in this place. It will, I hope, be gradually carried out in detail by the English Dialect Society, for it is full of interest for the history of our language.

In the present section, which is all that I can devote to an investigation which must extend over many years and many volumes to be at all adequately conducted, and which has been never generally treated by preceding writers, so that it is not possible to state general views succinctly, I shall endeavour to present some work done at my request, and with my own steady co-operation, in several characteristic departments, confining myself strictly to pronunciation, which is the phase of dialect to which most inadequate attention has been hitherto paid. For brevity and convenience I dismiss all consideration of merely illiterate speech, beyond the short notice that I have appended to the last section. It requires, and as an important constituent of our language deserves, a very careful study; but time, space, and materials are alike wanting.

To myself individually the present section of my work appears meagre and unsatisfactory in a high degree. Instead of being, as it ought to be in such a work as the present, the result of mature study and long research, it is a mere hasty surface tillage of patches in a district not even surveyed, scarcely overlooked from some neighbouring height. I should have been ashamed to present it at all, had I not thought it incumbent on me to complete at least the conception of the investigations promised on my title-page, and to furnish the best which circumstances allowed me to scrape together. While I have been laying friends, and voluntary but hitherto unknown assistants under contribution, the fact that the conception of writing the sounds of dialects is altogether new has been gradually forced upon me, by hours and hours of wasted labour. From Orrmin and Dan Michel to Dr. Gill was a barren period. From Dr. Gill till Mr. Laing's transcription of *Tam o' Shanter* (1182, *d'*) was another. But with Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech Specimens* an entirely new epoch was initiated. Mr. Murray's *Scotch Dialects* have worthily opened the real campaign. In this section I indicate, rather than exhibit, what is meant by *comparative dialectal phonology*, and I only hope that the results may suffice to call attention to the extreme importance of the subject, not merely to the history of the English language in particular, but to comparative philology in general. In our studies of language, we have too much neglected the constitution of its medium—sound. If language is but insonated thought, yet it *is* insonated, and the nature of this body must be far more accurately studied than hitherto, if we would understand the indications of its soul.

No. 2. PHONETIC DIALECTS.

A dialect considered phonetically is not a series of mispronunciations, as the supercilious pseud-orthoepist is too apt to believe. It is a system of pronunciation. We must distinguish between a grammatical and a phonetic phase of language. They are not necessarily co-extensive. Within the same grammatical region exist various phonetic regions. But still there is something of the same character pervading both. Varied as are the phases of South Eastern pronunciation, they have all a different character from either the Northern or the Western. Our older English is all dialectal. First Mr. Garnett¹ and afterwards Dr. Morris have done much to compare them with one another grammatically, and, so far as mere letters allow, phonetically.² In the present work an attempt has been made to determine approximatively the value of those letters. The determination can be at most approximative, for the writing even by careful writers, as Dan Michel and Orrmin, could have only been in itself approximative. The writers had no means at command to express, or training to appreciate, a variety of pronunciation even remotely approaching to that at the command of those who use palaeotype, and that is not itself sufficient perhaps to indicate the various shades of really unbridled natural pronunciation. Suppose we limited ourselves to the vowels (ii i, ee e, aa a, oo o, uu u, yy y), and the diphthongs to be made from them, and attempted to write received English from dictation, such as the passages given on pp. 1206-7, what would be the result? I will endeavour to carry out the program for my own pronunciation there given. The result would I think be something like this. The lines are arranged as on p. 1206, col. 1, to facilitate comparison.

Dhe rittn en printed
reprizenteeshen e dhe saunz
ev laqgwedzh bi miinz ev
karektez, whitsh er
insefishent booth in kaind
en nomber, en whitsh
mos dheafao bi kembaind oa
modifaid if wi wed giv e
grafikel simbelizeeshen e
dhe fonettik ellements widh
oonli som digrii ev
egzaknes en kenviinens,
hez biin frem oal taim, fe
neesshenz ez wel ez
individdiuelz,
liqgwistikel stiudents
not eksepted, won
e dhe moos nesaseri
en won e dhe moos

difikelt ev problemz, en
ez konsikwentli skeasli
evve bin happili solvd. Let
dhis tiitsh es dhett dhi
invenshen ev raitiq, dhe
greetest en moost
impoatent invenshen
whitsh dhe riimen maind
ez evve meed, en whitsh,
az it indiid oalmoost
eksiidz its streqth,
hez bin ofn en
not ondzhosli etribbiuted
te dhe godz; laik dhi
oagenizm ev e steet et wonz
simpl en kompleks, iz not
dhe weak ev individdiuelz,
bot ev sentiurez, penaps
ev thauzenz ev jiaz.

On comparing this with the original on p. 1206, it will be seen

For Footnotes 1 and 2 see next page.

that the absence of a mark for (ə), which no European language has yet accommodated with a fixed sign, has occasioned much trouble. In unaccented syllables (e) naturally presented itself, and in accented (o). The vocal *r* had of course to be omitted, but the diphthongs (ea, ia) replace (œ œ', iɪ') in accented syllables. The (aa) would be felt as something like (o) and as something like (a), so that (oa) would readily suggest itself. The distinction between long and short vowels is, properly speaking, an innovation, and it has given great power to the transcription. But the duplication of simple consonants after accented short vowels is almost inevitable. The net result, although really a burlesque on modern received pronunciation, would, if pronounced as written (with at most the usual German indistinctness or French obscuration of unemphatic *e*), be perfectly comprehensible, and would be only thought a little broad here and a little thin there, and rather peculiar in places, so that we might put it down to a foreigner who could pronounce English remarkably well—for a foreigner. I think that I have come much nearer than this to the pronunciation of Shakspeare and his followers, and that I have even given a better representation of Chaucer's. But as to the various dialectal pronunciations, as determined by the present written specimens, I should be satisfied if I came as near, not only in the XIVth and XVIIth centuries, but to-day in the XIXth, when reading English dialects written by contemporaries. What kind of an alphabet we now require for the representation of English dialects, I have two or three times attempted to shew (1174, *d*). The experience gathered by actual use has led me to modify and improve those attempts, and to select from the whole list of phonetic elements those which appear necessary for the special purpose of writing English dialects (see No. 5 below). And I shall later on select three verses from the various dialectal versions of the *Song of Solomon* executed for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and give them in their various original orthographies, contrasted with this Glossic system, so far at least as I am able to interpret the original. But otherwise I shall continue to use the palaeotypic method of writing, in order not to fatigue the reader with various systems of spelling.

Properly speaking, then, it would be necessary to group phonetic dialects according to the pronunciations of what are deemed the *same* words, or, more accurately, according to the phonetic dialectal forms which may be traced to a common ancestor. At present we have no means of doing so. It is as yet extremely difficult to ascertain the sounds used in our dialects, because those who possess the practical knowledge find themselves unable to communicate it

¹ The Philological Essays of the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, edited by his son, 1859, large 8vo. pp. 342. See especially the essay on English Dialects, pp. 41-77, and on the Languages and Dialects of the British Isles, pp. 147-195, in which, however, phonetics are as usual assumed,

like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3, 3, 7).

² See *supra* pp. 408-411, and especially footnote 3 to p. 409. See also Chap. VII. pp. 62-73, of Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872, small 8vo. pp. 378).

on paper with the accuracy required for the present purpose. In fact most of them have to learn the meaning and use of alphabetic writing. We have to class the dialects partly phonetically and partly grammatically; then, having got these classes, to make out as extensive a vocabulary of each as possible, and *ascertain the sound of each word* separately and in connection, as well as its descent. This is clearly a gigantic task, and must therefore be postponed. The admirable comparison of Scotch and English sounds in Mr. Murray's work (p. 144) suggested to me, however, that it might be possible to *select* some thousand words which were tolerably likely to be common to most dialects, and, being received words, had a received orthography by which they might be identified, and then to obtain the dialectal pronunciation of these words. The kindness of some friends has allowed me to do so to a moderate extent, and far enough at least to shew the meaning of the process. I have grouped these according to received spellings, so that the dialectal de-formations (in a geometrical, not anatomical sense) may be to some extent compared. But I have not been able to do more than give a sample of the work wanted to be done before we can properly grasp the notion of phonetic dialects. I have eked out this attempt with comparative indices which at any rate will shew how little the present haphazard or 'picturesque' writing of dialects effects in this direction.

But to condense the view of dialects still further, I bethought me of procuring comparative translations of a single short specimen containing many words very characteristically pronounced, and also many grammatical phrases which have distinct idiomatic equivalents.¹ Although I have not succeeded in getting a complete series of trustworthy versions of this specimen, and although possibly something very much better could be suggested by the experience thus gained, probably enough has been done to shew how much the comparative study of our dialects would be advanced by the simple process of getting one well selected set of phrases, instead of merely isolated words, or distinct and unconnected tales, printed in a careful phonetic version for every available phase of dialect. In glancing from page to page of these versions I seem to gather a new conception of the nature of our English language in form and construction, and to recognize the thoroughly artificial character of the modern literary language. We know nothing of the actual relations of the thoughts of a people, constituting their real logic and grammar, until we know how the illiterate express themselves. Of course it would be absurd for those possessing the higher instrument to descend to this lower one, and for the advance of our people, dialects must be extinguished—as Carthage for the advance of

¹ In putting this together I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Murray, who made many excellent suggestions and additions, and the *Athenæum* and *Notes and Queries* were good enough to draw attention to it in October, 1873. This has not been without some effect, as

will be seen hereafter, though far less than I had hoped. Assistants thus attracted have, however, often brought others to the work, so that on the whole my volunteer staff has been practically large, and its zeal has been exemplary.

Rome. But for the advance of knowledge among the literate, let the dialects be at least first studied. We all know the value of fossils. The phonologic study is of course only the first round of the ladder, but it must be placed in position, and the sooner the better, because its material is the most difficult to recover. *One* very important, historically the most important of our English dialects (that of Forth and Bargo), has died out of the world of speech-sounds within the last fifty years! I have long entertained the opinion that a knowledge of our living dialects is the only foundation for a solid discrimination of our Anglo-Saxon varieties of speech. The actual existence of an English Dialect Society under the able inspiration of the Rev. W. W. Skeat will, I hope, do much to lift the veil which at present hangs over them, and to shew the new value which they will acquire by a comparative study.

NO. 3. ARRANGEMENT OF THIS SECTION.

The present section will consist of numerous "numbers," each of them very distinct. After giving, in No. 4, Dr. Gill's account of English Dialects, I shall consider the Dialectal Alphabet in No. 5, first as to the actual sounds used, and secondly as to their "glossie" representation for practical use. Then I shall consider the Dialectal Vowel Relations in No. 6, and afterwards those of the Consonants in No. 7. These numbers contain the principal philological considerations in this section. I regret that having been obliged to compose them before I could complete my collections, they are wanting in many points of detail; but they will I hope serve to give some general views on the very difficult subject of comparative dialectal phonology, which future observers may complete and rectify, and thus furnish the required thread for future crystallisations. Next, in No. 8, will be added an abstract of the Bavarian dialectal changes of vowels and consonants, which offer an important analogy to the English, and have been admirably investigated by Schmeller. After this, through the kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, I am able in No. 9 to present his classification of the English dialects, supplemented by Mr. Murray's classification of Lowland Scotch. To illustrate the Prince's work, and the orthographical systems or non-systems of dialectal writing hitherto employed, I shall in No. 10 extract the most noteworthy words, in the original orthography, from the versions of the Song of Solomon into various English dialects, which were made for him some years ago. These I do not attempt to transliterate into palaeotype, as I feel so much doubt on many points of pronunciation, while the general intention will be clear to any reader without interpretation. The Glossie rendering of three verses by way of example is given with much hesitation.

The following No. 11 presents a series of attempts to give something like an accurate rendering of dialectal pronunciation in the shape of the classified lists of words and examples already referred to, in which the sounds are given in palaeotype. Taking Mr. Murray's admirable list of Scotch words as a basis of comparison, it

will be given first entire, without his historical spelling, with each word rendered into palaeotype. This was really the first trustworthy representation of Scotch sounds that had been given. Mr. Murray himself will kindly revise the proof-sheets of this re-edition. The various other lists and examples have been furnished by many kind contributors, whose names and qualifications will be duly chronicled as each dialect comes under notice.

In No. 12 I shall place in juxtaposition the best renderings I have been able to obtain of the comparative specimen already referred to. The reader will thus be able to glance readily from one to another on consecutive pages, unincumbered by long explanations, as all such matter will have been given previously on a page duly cited, and hence immediately recoverable.

In all arrangements of dialectal varieties and specimens, the order of the classification given in No. 9 will be followed as much as possible, and its numbers will be invariably cited, so that one part will constantly illustrate the other.

In No. 13 I hope to give a comparative vocabulary of at least the principal words adduced in Nos. 11 and 12, arranged alphabetically for the words, and in order of classification for their sounds, so that their forms may be readily studied as they vary from one phase of pronunciation to another.

The general bearing of this investigation on Early English Pronunciation will be considered at No. 6, v., and may be reverted to in Chap. XII.

NO. 4. DR. ALEXANDER GILL'S ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

The earliest phonetic account of English dialects is the short sketch by Dr. Gill, which, from its importance, I give at full length. Written 250 years ago, it is valuable as showing the comparative tenacity with which our dialects have held their own, as against the received pronunciation, which, under the influence of literature and fashion, has been and is still continually altering. And it is still more valuable as being the only real piece of phonetic writing of dialects between the early attempts of Orrmin and Dan Michel and those of the present day. The old scribes indeed wrote dialectally, but after a prescribed system of orthography, which recalls to me the modern Lancastrian spelling, an orthography so stereotyped that persons may write what looks like Lancastrian, but is merely disguised literary English, and may at the same time be quite unable to write Lancastrian pronunciation.

The following extract forms the whole of the sixth chapter of Dr. Gill's *Logonomia*, pp. 16-19. The palaeotype is a transliteration as usual.

Dialecti: vbi etiam de diphthongis improprijis.

Dialecti præcipuæ sunt sex: *Communis, Borealiū, Australiū, Orientaliū, Occidentaliū, Poetica*. Omnia earum idiomata nec noui, nec audiui; quæ tamen memini, vt potero dicam.

(Ai), pro (ai), *Borealiū* est: vt in (fai er), pro (fai'er) ignis: Et (au) pro (ou), vt (gaun), aut etiam (geaun), pro (goun) toga: et pro

(uu), vt pro (wuund) wound vulnus, (waund). Illis etiam frequens est (ea) pro (e), vt (meat) pro (meet) cibus; et pro (o), vt (beadh) pro (both) ambo. Apud meos etiam *Lincolnienses* audies (toaz) et (hoaz) pro (tooz) digiti pedum, et (hooz) nose caligæ.¹ Efferunt et (kest), aut etiam (kustn), pro (kast) iactus, a, um; (ful'a) pro (fol'ouu);² (klooth) pro (kloth) pannus; et contra (spok'n), pro (spook'n) dictus: (duun) pro (dun) factus: et (tuum), pro (t'aim) tempus: (rätsh) pro (rätsh) dives: (dhoor) pro (dheer) illic: (briiks), pro (brätsh'rez) braceæ: (seln) pro (self): (hez), pro (hath): (aus) pro (aal'soo); (sud) pro (shuuld): (ail, aist), aut³ etiam (ail, aist), pro (oi wil), futuri signo: vt et in reliquis personis (dhoul), aut (dhoust); pro (dhou wilt, dhou shalt), et sic in reliquis: (niil), aut (niist); (wiil, joul aut (joust); (dheil, dheist), aut (dhei sal). In (ai), abijciunt (i), vt pro (pai) soluo (paa); pro (sai) dico (saa); et pro (said, sed). Pro (u) et (uu), substituunt (yy): vt, pro (gud kuuk, gyyd kyyk), bonus coquus. Voces etiam nonnullus pro visitatis fingunt: ut (strunt) et (runt), pro (rump) cauda: (sark) pro (shirt) camisia; pro (go) ito, (gaq), et inde (gaq'grel) mendicæ; pro (went, jed) aut (jood) ibam, ab antiquis etiamnum retinent.⁴

Australes vsurpant (uu) pro (ii), ut (huu), pro (hii) ille: (v), pro (f); vt, (vil), pro (fil) impleo: (tu vetsh) pro (fetsh) affero: et contra (f) pro (v), vt (fín'eger) pro (vin'eger) acetum; (fik'ar) pro (vik'ar) vicarius. Habent et (o) pro (a), vt (roqk) pro (raqk) rancidus, aut luxurians, adiecit; substantivum etiam significat ordines in acie, aut alios. Pro (s), substituunt (z), vt (ziq) pro (siq) cano; et (itsh), pro (oi) ego: (tsham), pro (ei am) sum: (tshiil), pro (oi wil) volo: (tshi voor ji), pro (oi war'ant jou), certum do.⁵ in (ai) etiam post diphthongi dialysin, (a), odiose producant: vt, (to paai) solvo, (dhaai) illi.

Orientales contra pleraque attenuant; dicunt enim (fir) pro (fai'er) ignis: (kiv'er), pro (kuv'er) tegmen: (ea) pro (a), vt, (to deans),

¹ It is only this sentence which applies to Lincolnshire. The other parts refer to the northern area generally, and the words are apparently quite isolated, not even belonging to any particular locality. It was enough for Dr. Gill that they came from the north of his own county of Lincoln.

² In the original (fol'oon), but the n is probably a misprint for u; unfortunately Gill has forgotten to add the meaning.

³ Misprinted *out*.

⁴ See a specimen of connected Northern pronunciation as given by Gill (854, d).

⁵ See the quotation from Shakspeare (293, c), which is written in the usual half phonetic style still prevalent in dialectal specimens. In an introductory note to Mr. Kite's Wiltshire Version of the Song of Solomon, referred to in No.

10, Wiltshire, Prince L. L. Bonaparte remarks: "In a very scarce pamphlet which I have been fortunate enough to find, the use of *ch* instead of *I* is to be remarked when Wiltshire men are speaking; as, for instance, *chave a million for her; chad not thought*, etc. This form is not to be found at present in the Wiltshire dialect, although it is still in existence in some parts of Somerset and of Devon, and was at one time current in Wiltshire. The title of the very rare and curious little work above mentioned is as follows:—'The | King | and Qveenes | Entertainment at | Richmond | After | their Departure | from Oxford: In a Masque, | presented by the most Illustrious | Prince, | Prince | Charles | Sept. 12 1636. | *Naturam imitare licet facile nonnullis, | ridetur haud est.* | Oxford. | Printed by Leonard Lichfield, | m.cc.xxxvi.' At page 5 of

pro (dans) saltare: (v), pro (f), vt (vel'ouu), pro (fel'ouu) socius: (z), pro (s), vt (zai), pro (sai), dicito.¹

At inter omnes dialectos, nulla eum *Occidentali* æquam sapit, barbariem; et maximè si rusticos audias in agro *Somersetensi*: dubitare enim quis facilè possit vtrum Angliè loquantur an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam, enim antiquata etiamnum retinent; vt (saks) pro cultro, (nem) aut (nim) accipe; quædam,² sua pro Anglicis vocabulis intrudunt, vt (laks) pro parte; (toit) pro sedili; et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt; quædam vsu, quædam pronuntiati, vt (wiiz wai) pro freno; (wiitpot) pro farcimine: (ha vaq) huc projice, aut etiam arripe proiectum; item (hii vaqd tu mi at dhe vant). i. in baptisterio pro me suscepit: (zit am) i. sede; (zadraukh) pro (asai dher-of) gusta; (hi³ iz goon av'sht') pro (a f'ish'iq) abiit piscatum. Sic etiam protollunt (throt'iin) pro (thir'tin) 13. (nar'ger), pro (nar'ouuer) angustior: (zorg'er), pro (moor sor'ououful) tristior. Præponunt etiam (i), participiis præteritis à consonanti ineipientibus; vt (ifroor) aut (ivroor), pro (frooz'n) gelu concretus; (hav ji iduuv), pro (dun); perfecisti? Hoc etiam peculiare habent, vt nomina anomala utriusque numeri in (z), per numerum vtrumque varient: vt (hooz) hose sing: et plur: caliga vel caligæ; apud illos singulariter manet (hooz) et pluraliter fit (hooz'n): sic (peeze)⁴ communiter pisum vel pisa, cum illis fit pluraliter (peeze'n) pisa.

Communis dialectus aliquando est ambigus. Audies enim (inuf') et (iuukh') INOUGH, satis: (dhai) aut (dhei) THEY illi; (tu fliit), aut (tu float) FLOATE aquæ innatare; (haal'berd, hal'berd) aut (hool'berd) bipennis, sic (toil, tuuil; soil, sunil; boild, b'ild, byyld), vt ante dictum.

Dialecti *poetis* solis ex scriptoribus concessæ;⁵ quibus tamen, exceptâ communi, abstinent; nisi quod rythmi, aut iucunditatis causâ sæpiuscule vtuntur Boreali; quia suavissima, quia antiquissima, quia purissima, vtpote quæ maiorum nostrorum sermoni proxima. Sed quia dialectum suam Metaplasmis solâ licentiâ defendunt, de eâ satis dicetur vbi ad prosodiam peruenierimus.⁶

this small quarto volume of 31 pages, I find: 'and because most of the Interlocutors were *Wiltshire* men, that country dialect was chosen, etc.' In the introduction to Dr. Spencer Baynes's *Somersetshire* Version, the Prince says: "In the Western parts of Somersetshire, according to Mr. Jennings, *Ise* is very generally used for *I*; and in the southern parts of the county *Uchey*, *Ichê*, *Ch* for *I* are still employed. *Ise* is also to be heard in some parts of Devonshire, particularly in those adjoining West-Somersetshire."

¹ The remainder of this paragraph is the passage about the *Mopsæ*, already given at length (90, d. 91, a). The (v, z) for (f, s), so common in Dan Michel, have quite disappeared from Kent, and all the East. But a recognition of their existence somewhere in the East

of England so late as 1621 is important, if it can be relied on.

² Misprinted *quadam* three times.

³ Misprinted 'hj' = (hoi), for 'hi' = (hi). No (j'i, èi) sound of *he* is known in the West.

⁴ (Pez) in the original must be a misprint.

⁵ In his preface he says: Quin etiam vbi dialectus variat, facilè patior vt ipsa scriptura sibi minimè constet: vt, (fardher, furdher), aut (furd'er); (mur'dher) aut (mur'dher), (tu floi) aut (tu fli), (tu fliit) aut (tu float), &c. Dialectis autem (exceptâ Communi) in oratione solutâ nullus est locus nisi vbi materiae necessitas postulat: Poetis metaplasmus omnis modestè conceditur."

⁶ The passage referred to is quoted at full, suprâ p. 936, No. 7.

Et quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantum pertinere velim intelligas: nam mitioribus ingenijs, & cultius enutritis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu. De venenato illo & putidissimo ulcere nostræ reipub. pudet dicere. Habet enim & fæx illa spurcissima errorum mendicantium non propriam tantum dialectum; sed & cantum¹ sive loquelam, quam nulla unquam legum vindicta coercebit, donec edicto publico cogantur Iustitarii eius auctores in crucem tollere. sed quia tota hæc dialectus, unâ cum nocentissimis huius amureæ sordibus, peculiari libro² descripta est; quia exteris hominibus nil commodi allatura; ex oratione meâ circumscribam.

NO. 5. DIALECTAL ALPHABET.

The alphabet of received English pronunciation has been considered at length in § 1. Notwithstanding the differences of opinion respecting the precise sounds usually employed, it is clear that we can take no other starting-point or standard of comparison than these sounds,³ though we have constantly to bear in mind the possible varieties. This alphabet has then to be increased by letters for the dialectal sounds. And both sets of sounds must be conveniently symbolised. For our present purpose the palæotypic forms more than suffice. But for special studies on English dialects, symbols based on the present received pronunciation are required. Much of the best assistance I have received in collecting dialectal pronunciation is due to the adoption of glossic (1174, *b*), and in the course of my work the necessity of shewing how glossic can be applied to the representations of the sounds has been strongly impressed upon me. The adoption of glossic by Mr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society makes an accurate description still more necessary.⁴ For precise purposes of comparison, such as here contemplated, no symbolisation can be too minute. But when such minuteness is studied, the recorder is too apt to fall into individualities, which he must afterwards eliminate.

The received alphabet may be considered as the following.⁵ The *emphatic vowels* are (ii ee aa AA oo nu, i e æ ɔ ə u), with varieties in

¹ *Cant* must have been already a common term, therefore.

² Title not known.

³ See the remarks on Vowel Quality, below No. 6, iii.

⁴ The Society which is publishing the Lancashire Glossary finds the use of glossic 'too difficult,' and hence proposes a 'simple' mode of indicating the pronunciation. I have not had the advantage of seeing this 'simple' mode as yet. But any writers who find glossic too difficult have probably every thing to learn in the study of phonology, and it is very likely that any 'simple' plan they could suggest would owe its apparent simplicity to omissions and

double uses, which, of little importance to those who do not thirst for accurate knowledge,—to the *dilettanti* of dialectal writing,—are excruciating to the accurate investigator of linguistic change. It is possible, however, for any particular dialect to have a much simpler form of expression than glossic, which should still be severe, but such simpler form would be worse than useless for *comparative* dialectal phonology of English, for which glossic is proposed. Glossic is simpler than palæotype for the same reason—it is English, not cosmopolitan.

⁵ The reader is referred generally to the discussions on pp. 1091–1171.

the case of (e, ə), which many pronounce (ɛ ʌ), without, however, making any difference in signification. I do not see much chance of having these pairs of signs kept apart by ordinary writers. The distinction (ə, ʌ) is also so fine that it is not generally felt, and the tendency is to write (ə) short and (ʌʌ) long, without much thought as to whether (ʌ) short and (əə) long would not be equally correct. The distinctions (i i, u u), although seldom known, are yet clearly made. Many persons vary also in the sound of (æ), using (ah) generally, and sometimes (a); but the distinctions (æ, a) are usually well felt by speakers, and, though hitherto almost unrecognized by writers, have a dialectal value.

Leaving out the diphthongs, then, the above 12 may be considered the emphatic English vowels. Each of them *may* be long or short, but the first six are seldom short in a closed syllable. The last six are seldom long, with the exception of (ə), which seems to be (əə) in places where *er, ur* are written, and no vowel follows. This is a disputed point (1156, *e*). Another vowel (əəə) is assumed to exist in that case. But the distinction (əə, əəə) is very fine, and is certainly not always made. The real point of difference depends perhaps on the fact that long vowels do not glide so firmly and audibly on to the following consonant, as do accented short vowels in closed syllables (1145, *e*). When therefore a writer puts (ə) in place of (ə), he wants to produce the effect of the short weak glide which follows long vowels (1161, *b*). Thus to write *iron* (ə'ɪ:ən) would seem to make (ən) the same as in *shun* (shən). By putting (ə'ɪ:ən), this appearance is avoided; but still no *r* effect is produced, for the theoretical (ə'ɪ:əm): hence refuge is taken in (ə), thus (ə'ɪ:ən), the sound (ə) being only known in connection with *r*.

For *unemphatic vowels* (y, v) are practically undistinguished from (i, ə). Those, however, who use (ɛ) emphatically, do not use it unemphatically, and employ either (ə) or (v) in such cases (1160, *d*). What the precise differences are cannot be said to have been yet determined.

For the *Proper Diphthongs*, the long *i* varies as (ə'ɪ, ʌ'ɪ, áhi, ái, ái), and occasionally (æ'ɪ, ɛ'ɪ, éi). The length of the second element is fluctuating, and the laws which it follows are unknown. They seem not to be so much individual as emotional, varying according to feeling in the same individual. Consonantal action also interferes. The quality of the first element is partly local and partly individual. At least three forms (ə'ɪ, áhi, ái) must be admitted as received, and of these *perhaps* (ái) is commonest, and (áhi) most delicate. But (ʌ'ɪ) is also heard from educated speakers, though both (ʌ'ɪ, ái) have a broadness which offends many ears. The form (æ'ɪ) is distinctly "cockney," and (ɛ'ɪ, éi) are mining, to such a degree that they may be understood as long *a*. Hence I would regard only (ə'ɪ, áhi, ái) as received.

The *ow* diphthong has similar, but more divergent, and more numerous, varieties, and only (ə'ɪ, áhu, áu) can be considered as received; (ɛ'u éu éu) are cockney forms, and (ʌ'u ó'u óu óu, ʌ'u áu, æ'u) provincial, and often characteristic of particular dialects.

The *oy* diphthong has a much smaller range, at most ($\acute{A}'i$, $\acute{A}\acute{A}'i$, $\acute{o}'i$), of which the first and last are most generally received. From educated people the long *i* sounds for *oy* have disappeared, and ($\acute{o}i$, $\acute{o}i$, $\acute{u}i$) are distinctly provincial.

The second element of these three classes of diphthongs is, at least occasionally, tightened into a consonant as ($\acute{o}'ij$, $\acute{o}'uw$, $\acute{o}'j$) or ($\acute{o}'j$, $\acute{o}'w$, $\acute{o}'j$). How far this practice extends, and whether the result ever degrades into being a pure consonantal syllable as just marked, is not yet determined. Practically we may leave this point out of consideration. Also instead of (*i*, *u*), the second elements may be always (*i*, *u*), thus ($\acute{o}'i$, $\acute{o}'u$, $\acute{o}'i$); but this does not seem to be the usual English habit. Mr. Murray assumes (*i*, *u*) in Scotch.

The long *u* has only one received sound ($\acute{i}u$) or ($\acute{u}u$), varying in the length of the second element, and with its first element either falling entirely into (*j*) as ($\acute{j}u$), or using a (*j*) as a fulcrum, thus ($\acute{j}i\acute{u}$). These variations are of no importance. But ($\acute{i}u$, $\acute{u}u$) are distinctly non-received. They are known and ridiculed.

The *vanish diphthongs* generally recognized are ($\acute{e}e'j$, $\acute{o}o'w$) already described at length. To these may be added ($\acute{a}a\acute{o}$, $\acute{A}\acute{A}'\acute{o}$), although they are generally condemned, because they are supposed to consist in adding on an *r*, and often lead to the euphonic interposition of (*r*) when a vowel follows. But, when this (*r*) is avoided, there is no doubt that ($\acute{a}a\acute{o}$ $\acute{A}\acute{A}'\acute{o}$) are very generally heard in the pause. There are, however, very few words to which they apply.

The *murmur diphthongs* generally arising from a suppressed (*r*) have all long first elements, and are hence of the same character as the last. They consist essentially in adding on the simple voice ($'h$), and if this is represented by ($'$), there is no occasion to use the acute accent to mark the element which has the stress. In received English these are ($\acute{i}i'$, $\acute{e}e'$, $\acute{o}o'$, $\acute{u}u'$), where either a vowel usually short is lengthened, or a new vowel is introduced, ($\acute{o}o$) for ($\acute{o}o$), and to these we must add ($\acute{a}a'$, $\acute{A}\acute{A}'$), where there is no new first element. These are heard in *merely*, *fairly*, *sorely*, *poorly*, *marly*, *Morley*. The use of ($\acute{A}\acute{A}'$) for ($\acute{o}o'$) is very common. The omission of the vanish in ($\acute{a}a'$, $\acute{A}\acute{A}'$) is also quite common, and in ($\acute{e}e'$) the vanish is usually very brief. Besides these there is the simple "natural vowel" ($\acute{o}o$), or else its substitute ($\acute{o}o\acute{o}$), and these may go off into an indeterminate voice sound, as ($\acute{o}o'$, $\acute{o}o\acute{o}'$), in which case the first element would be usually considered short, as (\acute{o}' , \acute{o}'), although it is as long as in the other cases. When (\acute{o}) is used, it is difficult to feel any transition in saying ($\acute{o}o'$), but ($\acute{æ}æ'$, $\acute{o}o\acute{o}'$) are quite marked. The sound of Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r_o), in which the point of the tongue is simply raised without touching the palate, so that the passage of the voice is not more obstructed than for (*l*), if so much, is scarcely separable from (\acute{o} , $'h$). Whether it is necessary to insist on this separation or not is a question. It is possible that (r_o) may be in practice, as it evidently is in theory, the transition from (*r*) to ($'h$), but its habitual existence has hardly been established, and observations on it are certainly difficult to make. I think that I have heard (r_o), but I am by no means prepared to say that I have a dis-

tinct consciousness of it, or that it may not have been a personal peculiarity with those in whom I have observed it. The position of the tongue for (ə) and (r_o) is almost identical. At most the point is a little more raised for the latter. Hence the results cannot be much different. The obstruction for (r_o) is not sufficient to create a buzz. The result is at most a murmur. But for the ('h) or (r_o), combined with a following *permissive* trill, I use (ɹ), as explained on (1099, e). The notation (iɹ, eɹ, aɹ, ʌɹ, oɹ, uɹ, əɹ, æɹ, ɔɹ) is therefore ambiguous. But it is so far clear that the (ɹ) must not be employed unless a trill *may be* used. We must not write *really*, *idea*, as (riɹ'li, ə'idiɹ), because it is offensive, or unintelligible to say (riɹ'rlɪ, ə'idiɹ'ɹ). But in common talk *merely*, *really* (miɹ'li, riɹ'li) are perfect rhymes. We *may*, however, say (miɹ'rlɪ), and also (riɹ'əlɪ, riɹ'li), but *not* (riɹ'li) or (riɹ'rlɪ). There are also *murmur triphthongs* formed from the first set of diphthongs, as (ə'ɪ, ə'u, i'u). The murmurs ('l, 'm, 'n) act as vowels, and may or may not have the prefixed ('), so that (ll, mm, nn), might be written, as Mr. Bell prefers, or simple (l, m, n) might be used, such cases as *stabl-ing* (steɹ'b'lɪŋ) being provided for as above, or as (steɹ'bl-iŋ), or fully as (steɹ'b'hliŋ).

Hence we have the following list of received vowel-sounds simple and combined.

<i>Long Vowels</i>	iɪ	ee	əə	aa	əʊ	ɛɛ	ʌʌ	oo	uu
<i>Short Vowels</i>	i	e	ɛ	æ	ə	ɛ	ɔ	u	
<i>Proper Diphthongs</i>	ə'i	əhi	ái,	ʌ'i	ə'i,	ə'u	áhu	áu,	iú iúu
<i>Vanish Diphthongs</i>	ee'j	áaə	ʌʌ'ə	oo'w					
<i>Murmur Diphthongs</i>	iɹ'	ee'	aa'	əʊ'	ɛɛ'	ʌʌ'	oo'	uu'	
<i>Murmur Triphthongs</i>	ə'ɪ	əhi'	ái',	ə'u'	áhu'	áu',	iú'	iúu'	

The list is a pretty long one, and far beyond the usual resources of orthography to note. But it has to be considerably augmented dialectally. In the provinces we certainly hear long (iɪ ee ɛɛ æə oo uu), which are always professedly short in received speech, and short (i e a o u), which are only known as long in received pronunciation. And there are new long and short sounds (aah ah, aa a, yy, y₁), where (y₁) lies between (y, ə), and varies possibly with (y, ə, ɔ) short and long. There seems also to be a well-established broader sound of (u), which is possibly (u_o), or (u) with the lip aperture for (o), but which *may be* (u^h), and may be a new sound altogether. My northern authorities are not satisfied with (u), which is too fine for them. As their dialects have usually no (ɹ, ə) in emphatic syllables, they confuse this (u_o), as I will write it for the moment, with (ɹ). The confusion thus arising between (ɹ, u_o), which is the same as that between (ə, u), is widely prevalent. But on carefully observing the sounds it is apparent that (ɹ) is *not* "rounded," and (u_o) is "rounded." This rounding can, however, be imitated by contracting the sides of the arch of which the uvula is the keystone, so that the *effect* of (u, u_o) can be given with an open mouth, thus (u^ɹ), see (1114, d'). Now rounded (ɹ) is (o), and on p. 306 I consequently

represented the sound by (*o*). It is certainly more like (*o*) than (*u*) is. It may be (*uh*, *u^h*, *u_o*, *o_u*, *u₁₀*), but either one of the first three seems its best representative. As however (ə ə) and also (e e) have seldom to be distinguished except in phonetic discussions, so (*u u_o*) may generally be confused. At any rate, the subject requires much attentive consideration. Mr. Hallam has observed in South Lancashire distinctive cases of "rounding" by excessive protrusion of the lips, which may be marked for labials by the same sign (†) as is used for protrusion of the tongue in dentals (11, *d*), or as a *fifth* mode of rounding, thus (*u†*) or (*u⁵*). The fourth or internal rounding may be combined with any of the four others. In Scotch Mr. Murray has found it necessary to introduce additional vowels between (*i*) and (*e*), thus (*i*, *e¹*, *e₁*, *e¹*, *e₁*, *e*), but these are hardly distinguishable by southern ears, to which (*i e e e*) already present difficulties. See (1106, *a'*).

The number of diphthongs must be much increased. Besides the received, and the non-received (*ai* *ai* *æi* *ēi* *ēi*; *ēu* *ēu*, *ēu*, *au* *ou* *ou*, *au* *au*), with either (*i i*) or (*u u*) final, there are varieties with (*e e*, *o o*) final, and also varieties of the form (*i i* *ie* *ia* *io* *iu*, *ui* *ue* *ua* *uo* *iu*), where the second element is quite distinct, and may be short, or glide on to a consonant in accented closed syllables, or may be long, and the first element may vary, as (*e*, *o*), thus (*ea* *eo*, *oa* *oe*). The stress also may fall on the second element, as (*ie* *ia*, *ua* *uo*), etc. But the diphthongs are by no means confined to (*i*, *i*, *e*, *e*; *u*, *u*, *o*, *o*) for one of their elements. Certainly (*y₁*) or (*y*, *ə*, *e*) occurs as an element, and sometimes the whole diphthong may be made up of these elements. Thus (*éy*) was heard in Norfolk (135, *c*) as a variety of the (*iú*) form, and (*æ'y₁*) is said to occur in Devonshire as a variety of (*au*).

There are also *murmur diphthongs*, not arising from a suppression of (*r*), consisting of any one of the vowels, but chiefly (*i i*, *e e*, *o o* *u u*), short and with the stress, followed more or less closely by the simple voice ('h). The closeness is sometimes so marked that the net result, as (*i'*, *u'*) in Scotch, is felt and conceived as one sound, which may be even short in a closed syllable, just as many people consider received long *i* to be a simple sound. But the closeness relaxes at times, so that the results resemble (*io* *iv*, *uo* *uv*), which belong to those mentioned in the last paragraph. At other times the first element is lengthened, as (*ii'*), and then the received murmur diphthongs are reproduced in effect, but they have no longer necessarily a permissive (*r*).

The *received consonants* are (*nh*) and (*p b*, *t d*, *k g*, *kw gw*, *wh w*, *f v*, *th dh*, *s z*, *sh zh*, *jh j*, *r l m n q*). These all occur dialectally, together with the glottids (*u* ;). There are, however, *new consonants*; certainly (*k g*, *kh kh kw*), and perhaps (*gh gh gw*), but these are doubtful. (*Nh*, *rw*) seem to be known, among a few old people, but (*lh*) I have not heard of. The (*sh zh*) only occur in (*tsh dzh*), and practically need not be considered separately from these combinations, which may be written (*tsh dzh*). But there is altogether an unexpected occurrence of true dental (*t*, *d*) formed as

the real mutes of (th, dh) by placing the tongue as for these sounds, but making the obstruction complete. These are seldom found except before (r), or the syllable (ər), or (ə), or any other indistinct vowel representing (ər), although at least a trace of them has been found after (s), and probably, when attention has been drawn to the fact, they may be found elsewhere. But the main case to be considered is the dentality of *t*, *d*, before *r*, as already noticed in Ireland (1239, *a'* to 1241, *a*). The question arises whether (r) is also dental in this case, as (r). I have not noticed the dentality, but I am inclined to consider this due to my want of appreciation, for others do hear it as dental in such a case. See also the Sanscrit use (1138, *b*). The peculiar rolling Irish (r) in these cases (1232, *b*) must also be noted. Mr. C. C. Robinson thinks he recognizes a dental (r) in some other cases in Yorkshire, as will be pointed out hereafter. A nasal (*b*_n), as distinct from (m), is also found in Westmorland and Cumberland. The uvular (*r*) is well known as the Northumberland burr, and there are no doubt distinct varieties of this burr. There may be probably even a glottal (τ) in Shields, and in the Western dialects, though I am more disposed, from what I have been able to observe personally, to attribute the Western effect to the use of a peculiarly deep vowel (æ), gruffly uttered.

In Yorkshire and Cumberland a (t) occurs which is heard before a following (t, d, k, g), as *at t' time*, *at t' door*, *t' church*, *t' gentleman*, *t' cart*, *t' garden*, and is heard also as a distinct element before a vowel, as *t' 'ouse*, *t' abbey*, without coalescence. I think that in these cases there is a true, though very brief, *implosion* (1097, *c'*. 1113, *a'*), and that the result is (at 't táim, 't,uus), and at least three of my kind helpers, to whom this *t* is native, recognize the correctness of this analysis. The effect is quite different from (at táim, tuus), and in the first case does not seem to be sufficiently represented by a held consonant, as (att táim).

These are our dialectal elementary and diphthongal sounds, so far as I have yet learned them. The question is how to represent them. The ordinary spelling will not do. Ordinary dialectal writers help themselves over local difficulties in various manners, which render comparison extremely difficult. We have, in fact, reproduced on a smaller scale, and with more exaggerated features, the European differences in the use of Roman letters, crossed by our insular usages. No system of notation extends beyond a single author. The same author seldom pursues the same plan in two consecutive books, often varies on the same page, and is supremely indifferent to any dialect but his own. Just as an Englishman, accustomed from his birth to received sounds, reads them off from the received orthography, or any conceivable mis-spellings, without hesitation, while a foreigner, after years of training, constantly stumbles; so the man native-born to a dialect, or having the sounds constantly in his ears, reads off his own dialectal spelling without difficulty, but this same spelling put before a stranger, as myself, becomes a series of riddles, nay worse, continual suggestions of false

sounds. Even after acquiring a tolerable conception of the dialectal pronunciation of a given locality, I have been constantly "floored"—I can't find a more elegant phrase to express my utter defeat—by some dialectal spelling of the same variety sent me by a new hand. Of course comparative study remains impossible when the things to be compared are unknown. Conclusions hitherto drawn are merely arrows drawn at a venture—they may hit the mark, but who knows? My Glossic was contrived for the purpose of overcoming these difficulties, and my recent experience has led me to the conclusion that it is really adapted to overcome them, by extremely simple means, which enables the received and any dialectal pronunciation to be written with almost the same correctness as by palaeotype, without any typographical troubles, such as varied roman and italic letters, turned letters, or, except very rarely, accented letters. Having shewn how Glossic can be used for the received pronunciation (1174, *b*), I proceed to shew how the dialects may be written, because I hope that, through the influence of the English Dialect Society, it may be extensively used for this purpose. But I would especially guard against the error that, because a person can pronounce a dialect, and because Glossic gives a means of writing it, and Glossic merely uses ordinary letters, generally, at least as a basis, in their received meanings, therefore it is only necessary to put the key to Glossic before one's eyes in order to be able to write a known pronunciation straight off. You might as well expect that when a key to the relation of the notes in music to the keyboard of a piano has been given—say by pasting on each finger key the written name of the sound it will give—to any grown girl of average intellect, she will be instantly able to play off a piece of music presented to her. We know that she must learn and *practice* her scales first. Glossic writing is an art which also requires care and practice. To one who can already read and write, it is comparatively easy *for the sounds he knows*, not by any means easy for others, as when a stranger would write from dictation—my own case, when I am fortunate enough to find one who *can* dictate. But if a thing is *worth doing at all*, it is worth doing well. At present dialectal writing is not done even ill: it is literally *not done at all*. The present arrangements supersede those above given, pp. 606–618, as they are founded on a much wider experience, but the basis of the system is the same. Glossic symbols are here inclosed in square brackets [], the palaeotypic being placed in a parenthesis ().

Quantity and Accent.

Each vowel-sign represents either a short or a long vowel. *When no mark is added, the letter always represents a short vowel.* It is very important to bear this rule in mind.

In *unaccented* syllables vowels are generally short. If it is considered necessary to mark length without accent in such syllables, *two* turned periods are added, thus [ee''].

When a *long* vowel occurs in an *accented* syllable, a *single* turned period is written immediately after it, as [ee', ee't, een, i't, i'n].

When a *short* vowel occurs in an *accented* syllable, it is generally followed by a consonant, and a turned period is placed immediately after the first following consonant, as [ee't', een', it', in'], but if, as occasionally happens, a short accented vowel occurs without

a following consonant, two *direct* periods, a usual sign of unfinished utterance, must be written, as [ee.., i..], and [guo.in] for *going*.

It is rarely necessary to mark a middle length, but when it is, (:) may be placed *before* the vowel in unaccented syllables, as [ːee] = (i^l); it will thus not interfere with the use of the colon as a point. The combination of this with the turned period, as [ːee'] = (i^l'), marks medial length in accented syllables.

Secondary accent is not distinguished from the primary in Glossic; if it is strong enough to be marked, put two marks of accent, as [tuːnpeɪˈkmuːn], and leave the actual stress doubtful, as in fact it often is. The preceding use of (:) for medial length renders its accentual use as in palaeotype impossible.

Emphasis is conveniently marked by the turned period before the whole word, thus *to two* [too' too].

These rules for quantity are *very* important, because they enable quantity to be exactly expressed in every case, thus (aa' a') = [aa' aa.], (kaat' kaat) = [kaa't kaa't]. Of course words of one syllable cited independently of context may be considered as always accented, and hence we may distinguish [too', too..] = (tuu, tu).

The rule for marking the quantity of the first element in diphthongs is precisely the same, the second element being considered as a consonant, as will appear presently. It is not usually necessary to mark the quantity of the second element.

The accent should be written in every polysyllabic word or emphatic monosyllable when writing dialectally, because its omission leaves the quantity uncertain, as any sound may occur either long or short. Dialectal writers, who begin to use Glossic, are extremely remiss on this point, and fall into many errors in consequence, probably because in *received* pronunciation the short and long vowels are known from their qualities. But this is emphatically *not* the case dialectally. Of course, ease to the writer, without much obscurity to a native reader (1252, d), may be attained by omitting all these troublesome marks of accent and quantity, which necessitate a little unusual thought on the part of the writer. But the difficulties thus occasioned to non-native readers by the ordinary orthography of Latin and Italian, as

contrasted with Greek and Spanish, shew how mercilessly the reader is then sacrificed to the writer. Witness those who have been punished at school, or laughed at in after-life, for "false quantities" in Latin, due entirely to the defects of the Latin orthography itself. *Sic vōs nōn vōbīs 'vulnera' fertis, ovēs!*

All *consonants* may be considered *short*, and doubled for length if desired, as [staiːbɪl, reeːznn], or have the long [ː] added, as [staiːbɪː, reeːznnː]. When then a long consonant ends an accented syllable, it must either be doubled and followed by a turned period, or three turned periods are required, as [lett' letːːː].

Signs.

The use of short unaccented [ee], medial unaccented [ːee], long unaccented [eeː], short accented [ee.. eet'], medial accented [ːee'], long accented [eeː], should be clearly understood. This notation gets over all difficulties of quantity, and accent.

The *apostrophe* (') is used to *modify* a preceding letter, and should *never* be used to shew the *omission* of a letter. If that is thought necessary, the hyphen should be employed, as [dhai doa'n-t]. But it is best not to indicate so-called *omissions*, for they distinctly belong to the false theory that the word is a mispronunciation, and their object is to lead the reader to guess the proper word. When the reader cannot do so, he requires a gloss or a dictionary, and should consult it. Besides, it is not possible to treat so-called *insertions* in this way.

The *hyphen* has sometimes to be used to shew how letters have to be grouped, as [t-h, d-h, n-g], distinct from [th, dh, ng]. As a rule, when two letters come together which can form a digraph, they should be so read; if the middle of three letters can form a digraph with either the first or third, it must be taken with the first. Any transgression of this rule must be marked by a *hyphen*, or an interposed turned period, when it can be used. Thus [toand] = [toa-ud], not [to-aud], and may be written [toaːud], distinct from [to-auːd, to..auːd].

When several words are written together, they may be distinguished to the eye by the *divider*), thus—[t)wuodːnt)door, dhatː)l)door]. This) has no phonetic significance whatever.

Received Vowels and Diphthongs.

The 12 received *emphatic vowels* (ii ee aa AA oo uu i e æ ɔ o u) = [e'e' ai' aa' au' oa' oo' i e a o u u].

The alternative vowels (E EE, A AA) = [æ ae', uu uu'], and assumed vowel (ə, əə) = [e', e''].

The *unemphatic vowels* (y, v) always *short* are [i', u'], but need not generally be distinguished from [i, u].

Any one of the *diphthongs* for long i is represented in an unanalysed form by [ei]. It constantly happens that the writers know it to be one of these diphthongs, but cannot tell which; and it is then very convenient to be able to give the information that one of these [ei] diphthongs was heard. Similar unanalysed forms are used for the other diphthongs for the same reason. It is rather an inconvenience of palaeotype that it does not possess such forms. The three received forms are (ə'i, áhi, ái) = [y', a'y, aay'] in accented syllables, first element short. If the first element is long, as (ə'í, áhi, áaí), write [u'y, a'y, aay']. This rule applies generally. These forms with [y], however, leave unsettled the point whether the diphthong end with a vowel or a consonant, because it has not much practical importance. But when it is desirable to shew that the final element is a vowel, and to distinguish which vowel, another contrivance is used, which will be explained presently.

Any unanalysed *ow* diphthong is [ou]. The received forms (ə'u, áhu, áu) = [u'w, a'w, aaw'], and if the first element is long, [u'w, a'w, aaw'] as before.

Any unanalysed *oy* diphthong is [oi]. The received forms (A'i, AA'i, ə'i) = [au'y, au'y, oy'].

Any unanalysed *ū* diphthong is [eu]. The received (íú, ju, j'ú) are all written [yoo]. It is not considered necessary to mark these distinctions. But, if required, the short [ěě] or [i] may now be used, thus [ěěoo, yoo, yěěoo] or [íoo, yoo, yíoo]. On account of the systematic way of representing quantity, the short and long marks need not and should not be used for other purposes, as I formerly proposed.

It is seen that the forms (ái, áí, áj) are all confused as [aay']. But if a systematic way of expressing these is required, we may again have recourse

to short marks, thus [aaí', aaěě', aay']. And if the *second* element is long, we must use long marks, thus (áái, áái, áíí, áíí) = [aaí', aa'ěě', aaí', aaěě']. These long and short marks always point out the unaccented element of a diphthong, so that [aa'ěě] is a monosyllable, but [aa'ee] a dissyllable. These distinctions are, however, too fine for ordinary use.

The *vanish diphthongs* (e'í, oo'u) are written [ai'y, oa'w], or the same as [éí, óu], with which they are usually confounded. It would be possible to write [ai'y', oa'w'], but this is scarcely worth while. On the other hand, (ááa, AA'a) are written [aaü, auü], when they must be distinguished from (aa', AA'), to be presently symbolised.

The *murmur diphthongs* with *permissive trill* are written with a simple [r], which is always considered to be a diphthongising [ü] followed by a *permissive trill*, and hence must never be used when a trill is not allowable. Thus (íá, eei, aaí, AAí, ooi, uui) = [i'r, e'r, aa'r, au'r, ao'r, uo'r], and since the change of vowel is instinctively made in received pronunciation, [e'r. ai'r, aa'r, au'r, oa'r, oo'r] might be written as more generally intelligible in popular Glossie, such as that on p. 1178. For all accurate dialectal purposes, however, the vowels should be distinguished, and [e'r] should never be confused with [i'h'r], and so on.

Then for (əə, əəə) we should, of course, use [u', e''], but, if there is a *permissive trill*, (əai, əəai) = [u'r, e'r], *manner* = [man'ur man'e'r], *earnest* = [e'r'nest]. An *obligatory* trill is written [r'], which may be added to the former, as *earring* = (ii' riq) = [i'r'r'ing] or [e'r'r'iq]. Mr. Bell's untrilled (r_o) may, when desired, continue to be so written, the (o) being the turned (°) used to mark degrees.

Dialectal Vowels and Diphthongs.

We have thus exhausted the received vowels and diphthongs. For the dialectal additions we have first:

(ii ee ææ oo uu, i e a o o u) = [i' e' a' ao' uo', ee ai aa ao oa oo]

and (ah aah, a aa, y yy, ə əə, æ ææ) = [a' a', ah ah', ue ue', eo eo', oe' oe']

with perhaps a West'n. (æ ææ) = [ua ua']

It is not considered necessary to distinguish (y_i) from (y) = [uě], with which it is generally confused, on the

one hand, or (ɔ)=[eo], with which Mr. Murray identifies it, on the other; but, if required, we may write [u̇e] for (ɹ₁), and similarly [é, è] for (e₁, e₂). The four degrees of rounding (1116, ʋ') may be marked by superiors, so that (1) denotes the [au] degree, (2) the [oa] degree, (3) the [oo] degree, and (4) the inner rounding, to which we must add (5) for the pouting (1256, a). Thus (a₀, u₀, o_u)=[a^u, u^o, o^a], all of which may occur dialectally. It is advisable, however, to avoid the use of such delicate distinctions as much as possible, or, at most, to allude to them in notes and preliminary discussions. If the peculiar sound thought to be (u₀)=(u^o), is identified rather with (u^h), write it [uo'].

The new *y*, *w*, diphthongs represented on the same principle will be

(a' i äi æ'i E'i éi)
=[uuy' ahy' ay' aey' ey']
(E'u éu, éu, á'u ó'u óu
=[aew' ew' aiw', auw' ow' aow'
óu, á'u áu)
oaw' uuw' ahw']

with short first element, which would be sufficiently indicated without the accent mark as [aaw], and this form is used in unaccented syllables. A long first element requires the mark, as (*äai, äau*)=[ah'y, ah'w], or unaccented [ah'y, ah'w]. If (i, u) in place of (i, u) occur in the second element, as (*äi, äu*), write [ahěě, ahöö]. The same contrivance is necessary in such cases as (*äi ie ia io iu*)=[iěě eě eää eö eöö], and (*éa éo óa óe*)=[eää eää aöä aöě], which are of very rare occurrence. Even when the second element is [i, éě], we may write [y], and when it is [üö, öö], we may write [w], with quite sufficient exactness, as [iy, uow]=[äi, úu). When the stress falls on the second element, as (*ié iá uá uó*), we may either write fully [éé ééaa ööaa ööoa], or concisely [ye yaa waa woa], as quite near enough for every dialectal purpose.

When the last element is [üě], we may write it thus or by [w], because the effect is a variant of [w], thus (*éy éy'*)=[aiüě oöüě] or [aiw oe.w].

The *murmur diphthongs without permissive trill*, when ending in (e v), will be written with [ü ü'], but when ending in (i) with [h'], which represents the simple voice, thus

(iö üv i' — uö üv u')
=[iü iü' ih' — nou üou' uoh'],

of which (ih' uoh') are the usual forms. Of course if the first element is long, we have [i'h' uo'h']=(i' u'), and this gives us a means of distinguishing [ir] with a permissive trill, into [i'h'] with no trill, and [i'h'r'] with a certain trill, while [i'r'] has no murmur. Compare English *deary me* with French *dire à moi*=(di'r'i mii, diir a muá)=[di'h'r'i mee', dee'r' aa mwaa].

Received Consonants.

The received consonants (p b, t d, k g, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, l m n) are the same in glossic as in palacotype.

But glossic [ch, j] are used as abbreviations for (tsh, dzh), which are of constant occurrence; [tch, dj] ought not to be written, in *clutch, judge* [kluch, jnj], unless we desire to shew that the [t, d] are held, as [klutch julj]=[kluttsh juddzh].

For (jh, j) use [yh, y], and for (r), the trilled r, employ [r']; but, as in received glossic, simple [r] is sufficient before vowels, unless great emphasis is given to the trill.

For (q) use [ng], taking care to write [n-g] when this group is to be read as two letters, thus *engross*=(engroos)=[en-gr'oas].

Similarly as [h] must be used for (nh), and also as a part of the combinations [th, dh, sh, zh], etc., we must always distinguish [t-h, d-h, s-h, z-h]. The mere accent mark, however, is often enough, as in *pothook* [pot'hnook] *pothor* [pudh'u].

The mere jerk (u), which sometimes occurs dialectally where (nh) could not be pronounced, is written (h) thus *get up*=[g.haer' uop], in *Leeds*.

The catch (i), which occasionally occurs in place of an aspirate, and sometimes in place of (t), will continue to be so written.

Dialectal Consonants.

The new consonants (*k q kh kh kw h*)=[ky' gy' ky'h kh kw'h], where the apostrophised [y', w'] answer to the diacritics (j, w), and are thus distinguished from [y, w]=[j, w]. Properly (*kw, gw*) should be [kw', gw'], though few persons may care to distinguish these from [kw, gw]. The (uh, rw) are [nh, rw']. The French *ll* and *gn* mouillé (lj, nj), would be [ly', ny'], if they occurred in our dialects.

The dental (sh, zh) are not required, on account of (ch, j).

Examples of the use of this alphabet, which for any particular dialect is simple and convenient, will be given in No. 10. A learner ought always to begin with reading received pronunciation as written in glossic, with the conventions of p. 1175, as shewn on p. 1178. He should then gradually attempt to express the diphthongs [ei, oi, ou, eu] in their analysed forms, say as [aay, auy, aaw, yoo]. Next he should endeavour to appreciate the varieties [aay, a'y, ay, aey, ey, aiy], and [aay, uuy, uy, e'y], etc. Then he should turn to the unaccented syllables, and endeavour to express them unconventionally. He should constantly check his results to see that he has not allowed old habits of spelling to mislead him, as *in using silent letters*, or *ay*, *aw* for [ai, au], or *y* final as a vowel, etc. The encroachments of mute *e* will be found very difficult to resist. There will also be a tendency to write *s* for either [s] or [z], to use *th* for [dh], *ng* for [ngg], *nk* for [ngk]; and especially to introduce an *r* where it may never be trilled, as *brort arter*, for [braut aa'tu']. The difficulty experienced by northerners, who have always read *a*, *u* as (a, u)=[aa, uo] in their dialect, to refrain from writing *a bad nut* instead of (u' baad nuot) is very great indeed. It has been a source of very great trouble to myself in deciphering dialectal writing sent to me. Yet it is absolutely necessary to use [a, u] in the senses familiar in the middle, west, and south of England, and in received speech. Since also only one of the two vowel-sounds [u, uu] usually occurs in the accented syllables of any speaker (though both may often be heard, if properly sought for, in the same locality), there is a constant tendency in beginners to use [u] for their own sound, whatever it may be, and to consider [uu] as some mysterious sound which they have not fully grasped. Thus northern writers have constantly confused [uu uo²], occasioning terrible confusion and tediously evolved rectifications. Again, there is a very strong tendency to consider [ee, ai, aa, au, oa, oo] as necessarily long, instead of being in dialectal writing necessarily short, unless marked as long. It is this which renders the use of [maan] objected to, because it would be read [maan] at first. There is the same difficulty in reading [i', e', a', o', u', uo'] as long, as in [ti'h', te'h', ba'rh, o'd, bu'n, shuo'h'], representing regular sounds of *tear* n., *tear* v., *burn*, *sure*, and provincial sounds of *Bath*, *old*. Great care must be taken with these quantities. Scotch [meet] is not English [meēt], and [ee] short and [i'] long occur in Dorset. Another difficulty arises from the constant tendency to write initial *h* where the dialectal speaker is totally unconscious of its existence, and similarly *wh* when only [w] is said. Nay, many persons will dialectally insert *h*, *wh*, where there was not even the excuse of old spelling, as *hurn* for *run* in Somersetshire, where simple [u'n]=(oən) is often, if not always, uttered without the least trace of either *h* or *r*.

These are some of the rocks on which beginners founder. There is another to which I would draw particular attention. A beginner is apt to vary the glossic signs, to introduce new ones, either new combinations, or accented varieties, or even to give new meanings

to combinations already employed for sounds which he has not considered. This mutilation of a system which it has taken years of thought and practice to perfect, by one who just begins to use it, has I trust only to be deprecated, in order to be prevented. Writers may of course use any system of spelling of their own invention which they please, but when one has been elaborated with great care to meet an immense number of difficulties, so that even a single change involves many changes, and perhaps deranges the whole plan of construction, writers should *either use it as presented, or not at all*. I feel that I have a right to insist on this, and I should not have done so, had not occasion been given.

There is one point which causes great difficulty, and for which no provision has yet been made. I allude to *dialectal intonation*. The principal elements of this are *length, force, and pitch*.

The vowel and consonant *quantity* has been provided for.

Syllabic quantity is made up of a number of vowel and consonant quantities of marked differences. To go into this minutely requires a scale of *length*, and those who choose may employ the numerical system already given (1131, *d*). But for rapid writing, an underlined series like . : | — 0 = + \mp \pm will be most useful, to be reduced to figures afterwards. This may also apply to syllables generally. Here the medium length is 0, or is left unmarked, the four shorter degrees are . : | —, and the four longer are = + \mp \pm . This is abundant for most purposes.

Force also requires a series or scale, as already suggested (1130, *a'*), but the musical terms and signs there adduced are more generally known.

Pitch cannot be accurately given. The simplest mode that suggests itself to me is to draw a straight line——— above the line of writing, to represent

the medium pitch, and then a wavy line proceeding above and below it, more or less, as the pitch rises or falls. This, for printing, might readily be interpreted as a scale, 5 being the middle line, 1, 2, 3, 4 distances below, and 6, 7, 8, 9 distances above it.

All these additional marks should either be in pencil or differently coloured ink, and should in print form different lines of figures above and below the writing, commencing with the letters L, F, P, to shew that length, force, and pitch are respectively used, and for each the scale of 9, of which 5 is the mean, should be used.

No writer should attempt to use these fine indications without considerable practice upon his own pronunciation, putting by his writing for some days, and then seeing whether it is sufficient to recall the facts to his own consciousness. Of course till he is able to do this, he cannot hope to convey them to others.

Lastly, quality of tone is of importance. The dialectal writer remembers how the Johnny or Betty who spoke the words used them at the time, but they were mixed up with personal as well as local peculiarities of quality of tone, and he can't convey this, or convey the tone unqualified. It is like the despair of the engraver at not conveying colour. The nature of quality of tone has only recently been discovered, and it would be impossible to use the necessary technical language, because it would not be understood. We are, therefore, reduced to explanatory words, such as hoarse, trembling, whining, drawling, straining, and the like. If there is a character for any district, those who care to convey it should study it carefully, and spend, not five minutes, but many hours and days, at different intervals, in noting its characteristics and endeavouring to describe them in writing. All kinds of description are difficult to write, but descriptions of quality of tone are extremely difficult.

Mr. Melville Bell, in his "New Elucidation of the Principles of Speech and Elocution," (first edition, Edinburgh, 1849, p. 299), a book full of thoughtful and practical suggestions, gives the following summary of points to be borne in mind when representations of individual utterance are given. The symbols are here omitted.

Inflexion. Simple, separately rising or falling from middle tone; compound, wavingly rising and falling, or falling and rising from middle tone.

Modulation. Conversational or middle key, with a high and higher, and a low and lower; and progressive elevation and depression.

Force. Vehement, energetic, moderate, feeble, piano; and progressive increase and diminution of force.

Time. Rapid, quick, moderate, slow, adagio; with progressive acceleration and retardation.

Expression. Whisper, hoarseness, falsetto, orotund, plaintive, tremor, prolongation, sudden break, laughter, chuckling, joy, weeping, sobbing, effect of distance, straining or effect of strong effort, staccato, sostenuto, sympathetic, imitative, expressive pause, sadness, panting respiration, audible inspiration, sighing or sudden audible expiration.

NO. 6. DIALECTAL VOWEL RELATIONS.

i. J. Grimm's Views of the Vowel Relations in the Teutonic Languages.

Jacob Grimm, after having passed in review the literary vowel systems of the Teutonic languages, proceeds (I.G.I³, 527) with freier breath (*freieres athems*) to review the relations of quantity (*quantität*), quality (*qualität*), weakening (*schwächung*), breaking (*brechung*), transmutation (*umlaut*), promutation (*ablaut*), and pronunciation (*aussprache*). On the relations of sound and writing he says (*ib.* p. 579):—

"Writing, coarser than sound, can neither completely come up to it at any standing point, nor, from its want of flexibility, at all times even follow up the trail of fluent speech. The very fact that all European nations received an historical alphabet, capable of expressing the peculiarities of their sounds with more or less exactness, threw difficulties in the way of symbolisation. An attempt was gradually made to supply deficiencies by modifying letters. As long as this supplement was neglected or failed, writing appeared defective. But while thus yielding to sound, writing in return acts beneficially on its preservation. Writing fixes sound in its essence, and preserves it from rapid decay. It is easily seen that purity and certainty of pronunciation are closely connected with the advance of civilisation and the propagation of writing. In popular dialects there is more oscillation, and deviations of dialects and language generally are chiefly due to want of cultivation among the people. The principle of writing by sound is too natural not to have been applied by every people when first reducing its language to writing. But it would be improper (*ungerecht*) to repeat it constantly, because writing would then alter in every century, and the connection of literature with history and antiquity would be lost. If modern Greek, French, and English orthography were regulated by their present pronunciation, how insupportable and unintelligible they would appear to the eye! My view is that the various German languages had means of representing all essential vowel-sounds, and employed them by no means helplessly. But it would be absurd (*thöricht*) to measure the old pronunciation by the present standard,

and unreasonable (*umbillig*) to throw the whole acuteness of grammatical analysis on to the practical aim of orthography."

It is not pleasant to differ from a man who has done such good work for language, and especially for the branch of languages to which our own belongs, that it would be difficult to conceive the state of our philology without his labours. But Grimm was essentially a man of letters. Language to him was a written crystallisation, not a living growing organism. Its stages as already recognized by writing, he could and did appreciate in a manner for which we are all deeply grateful, but having reached his own stage, he conceived that the *new* languages were to remain in their present form, for the *eye* of future generations. The very languages which he cites to shew the insupportability of reinstalling the old principle, "write by sound," are the most glaring European instances of its necessity. It is only by much study that we acquire a conception of what living Greek, French, and English actually are, below the thick mask of antique orthography which hides their real features. If we had not an opportunity of acquiring their sounds, we should make the absurdest deductions respecting them. We have no occasion to go further than Grimm's own investigations of the relations of English vowels (*ibid.* pp. 379-401) for this purpose. Having nothing to bridge over the gap between Anglosaxon and the English of modern pronouncing dictionaries, which shew only the net result respecting the literary form of a single dialect, he was entirely unable to see the relations of the different vowel-sounds. Notwithstanding even all the previous investigations in the present work, the relations cannot yet be securely traced, and nothing more than indications can here be attempted.

So far from a crystallised orthography fixing pronunciation, it disguises it, and permits all manner of sounds to be fitted to the same signs, as the various nations of China use the same literary language with mutually unintelligible varieties of speech. It is not orthography, but intercommunication, the schoolmaster, and social pressure to which we owe our apparent uniformity of pronunciation. Our medieval spelling was contrived by ecclesiastics familiar with Latin, who tried to use Romance letters to express Teutonic sounds, of course only approximatively, and were able to indicate native variety but vaguely. I have already attempted to shew what would be the effect of trying even a more complete alphabet for representing received pronunciation (1245, *c*), and I have propounded the list of sounds which are apparently required for dialectal writing (1262, *b*). If we were to confine ourselves to a mere Latin alphabet, the result would be altogether insufficient. The orthography used by local writers of the present day, founded on the received pronunciation as they conceive it, still confuses many vowel-sounds, and makes perfect havoc of the diphthongs. For the older state of our language, and in the same way for the other Teutonic languages, we have to work up through a similar slough of despond. Hence the vowel relations on which Grimm dwells in the chapter just cited are comparatively insecurely based, and must be accepted as the very

best result that could then be reached, but not as the best attainable as phonology advances.

But coming from the dead to the living,—from the letters adapted by learned priests from Latin to Anglosaxon and old English, and more or less rudely followed by paid and unlearned scribes (249, *d.* 490, *c.*), to the language as actually spoken by and among our peasantry,—the problem is very different. Our crystallised orthography has not affected the pronunciation of these men at all. They feel that they have nothing in common with it, that they cannot use it to write their own language, but that it represents a way of speech they have to employ for “the gentry,” as well as they can. This imitation of “quality talk” is not dialectal, and is really mispronunciation, of the same character as a foreigner’s.¹ The dialectal speakers are in fact foreigners in relation to book-speakers. Although we are obliged to refer their sounds to those of received speech present or past, yet this is only as a help to our own ignorance. No proper classification is possible without a knowledge of the individuals, and that has, in this case, yet to be collected. The results gathered in Mr. Murray’s book on Scotch, and in the present chapter, are quite unexampled for English. They are far too few and too uncertain for scientific results. They can only lead up to theories which will guide future research; but they serve to open out a method which, when generally applied, cannot but prove of the highest philological value. The pronunciation of each district has to be separately appreciated, in connection with a well-chosen and well-arranged system of words. Of course grammatical and other considerations will also have to be weighed, but, from the nature of my subject, I confine myself strictly to phonology. Yet the formation of such a test vocabulary is, in fact, the smallest portion of the task. The discovery of the dialectal sounds of the words it contains for any one district, is a work of very great time and labour, even when the collector has much phonetic knowledge and practice. He must be a person long accustomed to the sounds, one before whom the dialect people speak freely; and he must be able to write them down when heard. There are numerous country clergymen, country attorneys, country surgeons, country schoolmasters, who are in a position to hear the sounds freely, but they seldom note them. They have seldom the philological education which leads them to consider these “rude” sounds and phrases of any value; and when they take them up as a local curiosity, they are generally unaware of their comparative value, and waste time over etymological considerations of frequently the crudest kind. But they are most supremely ignorant of phonology, and have not the least conception of how to write sounds consistently, or of how

¹ We shall have occasion to see how the desire of “talking fine” produces certain modes of speech in towns, and examples of three kinds used in Yorkshire will be furnished, through the kindness of Mr. C. C. Robinson. The

Scottish pronunciation of *English*, as distinguished from the vernacular, of which Mr. Murray gives an account (*op. cit.* p. 138), is an instance of a similar kind. But none of these belong to natural pronunciation proper.

to use a consistent alphabet when presented to them. Even those who have been partially educated by the use of Mr. I. Pitman's phonetic shorthand and phonetic printing,¹ are not up to the vagaries of dialectal speech, and make curious blunders, though happy am I to find such workers in the field. If I am fortunate enough, however, to discover any who have advanced as far as Bell's Visible Speech, or Murray's South Scottish Dialects, I begin to have great confidence. But even then the *habit* of strict writing is so slowly acquired, that slips frequently occur, and I have in no case been able to obtain information without considerable correspondence about it, raising points of difficulty and explaining differences, and worrying myself and my friends with questions of detail.²

The present considerations have been suggested by an examination of the dialectal specimens which follow. Those which are couched in the ordinary orthography, and which I could not get natives to read to me, are such uncertain sources of information, that I have been able to make them available only by guessing at sounds through information otherwise obtained, and from a general sense of what the writers must have meant. But, of course, I was at first liable to the same sources of error as a Frenchman reading English, with not quite so much information on the sounds as is given in an ordinary grammar. I feel considerable confidence in those specimens which I print at once in palaeotype. I could not have interpreted them into this form, if the information I had received had not been rendered tolerably precise. Of course there will be many errors left, but I hope that the specimens are, as a whole, so far correct as to form something like firm footing for scientific theory. The names of each of the kind friends who have helped me in this work will be given in due order. But I wish generally to express my great obligations to them for their assistance, without which this chapter would have entirely collapsed. It was a work of great labour to all of them, and was sometimes rendered under very trying conditions.

Grimm specifies quantity, quality, weakening, breaking, transmutation, and promutation.

Of these *promutation*—such as the grammatical vowel change in (*siq*, *sæq*, *səq*), or (*siq*, *saq*, *suq*)—has no phonological interest in this work, and will therefore be passed over.

Transmutation in German is *prospective*, and consists in the change of vowel-sound in a word, when a syllable is added containing a vowel of another character. It may also be *retrospective*, when a sound is reduced to conformity with one that precedes. In one form or the other, this remarkable phenomenon runs through many

¹ See *suprà*, pp. 1182–5.

² In the case of the comparative example given below, I have often had to send a paper of 50 or 60 (in one case 117) questions before I could make use of the information given. And even then it was difficult to frame them intelligibly, so as to lead to a reply which

should really give me information. And my first "examination paper" had frequently to be supplemented by a second one on the answers to the first. I can only be thankful to the patience of correspondents, mostly personally unknown to me, who submitted to this tedious infliction.

languages; it is marked in Polish and Hungarian, more than in German, and is the basis of the Gaelic vowel rule (52, *d*). The essence of prospective transmutation consists in the consciousness of the speaker that a vowel of a certain kind is going to follow, so that his preparation for that vowel, while his organs are arranged for a different one, produces a third sound, more or less different from both.¹ This consciousness crystallises afterwards into pedantic rules, which remain after all action of the consciousness has long disappeared. Not having observations on the English dialects in reference to this phenomenon sufficient to reduce it to rule, I pass it over.

Quality refers to the difference of vowels, and, in Grimm especially, to their generation, as it were, from three original short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*). This generation is, I fear, a theory principally due to the imperfection of old alphabetic usages. My experience of uncultured man does not lead me to the adoption of any such simple theory, although, as already observed (51, *a*), like the theory of the four elements, it is of course based upon real phenomena, and still possesses some value. It is singular that Grimm compares this vowel triad to a colour triad of a curious description, and the means, (*e*, *o*), inserted between the extremes (*i*, *a*) and (*a*, *u*), to other colours, after an analogy which I find it difficult to follow, thus (*op. cit.* p. 33):

(i	e	a	o	u)
red	yellow	white	blue	black
(éi	ái	áu	íu)	
orange	rose	azure	violet	

These are mere fancies, unfounded in physics,² based upon nothing but subjective feeling, and yielding no result. The qualitative theory which we now possess is entirely physical, depending upon pitch and resonance.

¹ See the remarkable instances from modern Sanscrit pronunciation (1138, *b'*. 1139, *b*). Grimm curiously enough starts the conception that this transmutation (*umlaut*) had some analogy with the change of old *S* into later *R* (*op. cit.* p. 34, note).

² If we adopt the vibrational or undulatory theory of light, then there is this analogy between colour and pitch, that both depend upon the number of vibrations of the corresponding medium (luminous ether and atmospheric air) performed in one second. In this case *red* is the lowest, *blue* (of some kind) highest in pitch, *green* being medial. Now vowels, as explained on (1278, *e*), may be to a certain degree arranged according to natural pitch; and in this case (*i*) is the highest, (*a*) medium, and (*u*) lowest. Hence the physical analogies of vowel and light are (*i*) blue, (*a*)

green, (*u*) red, and I believe that these are even subjectively more correct than Grimm's, where *white* (presence of all colours) and *black* (absence of all colours) actually form part of the scale. But physically *white* would be analogous to an attempt to utter (*i*, *a*, *u*) at once, producing utter obliteration of vowel effect; and the sole analogue of *black* would be—silence! Again, even his diphthongs, considered as mixtures of pigments, are singular. With mixtures of colours he was of course unacquainted. The *orange* from red and yellow will pass, but *rose* from red and white (pale red), *azure* from white and black (grey), *violet* from red and black (dirty brown), are remarkable failures. Could Jacob Grimm have been colour-blind? Dugald Stewart, who rested much of his theory of beauty on colour, was himself colour-blind!

Weakening consists, according to Grimm, in "an unaccountable diminishing of vowel content" (*dass zuweilen ohne allen anlass der gehalt der vocale gemindert wird*, *ibid.* p. 541). The expression is entirely metaphorical, and is unintelligible without explanation. To Grimm, vowels have weight, (i) being the lightest, (u) the heaviest, and (a) intermediate, so that (a) may be regarded as a diminished (u), and (i) as a weakened (u) and (a). This, however, belongs to promutation, and he dwells chiefly on a vowel being "obscured" (*getrübt*) into some nearly related one, comparing ags. *stäf*, *bäc*, *eräft*; engl. *staff*, *back*, *craft*; fries. *stef*, *bek*, *kreft*, where there is no transmutation. He finds a similar change of *a* to *o*. He seems to confine the term weakening to these changes.

Breaking is introduced thus (*ib.* p. 32): "A long vowel grows out of two short vowels, but the confluence of two short vowels does not always produce a long one. For if the two short ones combine without doubling their length, but leave it single, they give up a part of their full natural short quantity, and, on addition, only make up the length of the single short quantity. These may be called *broken vowels* (*gebrochene vocale*), without particularizing the nature of the fraction. Assuming the *full* short vowel to be = 1, the long would be = $1 + 1 = 2$; the broken = $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = 1$." And then in a note he has the extraordinary statement, quite upsetting all physical notions, and shewing the mere literary character of his investigations: "This breaking of vowels is like the aspiration of consonants"! (*ibid.* p. 33.) Grimm considers breaking mainly due to the action of a following *r*, *h*; his classical instances are Gothic *bafran* *faúra*, and, which are for us the most important, the ags. *ea*, *eo*, *ie*, from which he entirely separates ags. *eá*, *eó*, *ié*, considering the latter to be diphthongs having more than the unit length, and hence different from his broken vowels.

There remains *quantity*. "Vowels are either *short* or *long*: a difference depending on the time within which they are pronounced. The long vowel has double the measure of the short." (*ibid.* p. 32.) We are evidently here on the old, old footing, the study of books—not speakers.

ii. On Vowel Quantity in Living Speech.

The late Prof. Hadley very properly blamed me, in reviewing the first and second parts of this work (down to p. 632), for not having paid sufficient attention to quantity as marked in Anglosaxon works, and especially in *Ormin*.¹ With this it is not now the proper place

¹ His critique, which appeared in the *North American Review* for April, 1870, pp. 420-437, has been reprinted in a volume of "Essays Philological and Critical, selected from the papers of James Hadley, LL.D. New York, 1873," pp. 240-262. It was the earliest notice of my work in the English language, and contains the judgment of a profound scholar, who had fairly studied the first four chapters, and

cursorily looked over the next two. He begins by giving an account of palaeotype. He disputes some of my conclusions from my own data, and considers that long *a* could not have been broader than (*ææ*), "at the opening of the sixteenth century," (p. 247), nor that long *a* was substantially different from its present sound (p. 250). He confesses to "some feeling of doubt, if not skepticism," as to my "whole

to deal, but I would remark on the essential difference between the letter-length and the speech-length of vowels, consonants, and syllables. The sound of what is recognized as the same syllable lasts a longer or shorter time, according to the wish or feeling of the speaker. The difference of length does not change its dictionary significance, but occasionally (much less, however, than alterations of pitch and quality of tone, which usually accompany the various degrees of length), practically modifies its meaning considerably to the listener. And this syllabic length may be analysed, as already partly explained (1131, *d.* 1146, *b*), into the lengths of the several vowels, the several consonants, and the several glides between these parts two and two. The length of the glides is usually thrown out of consideration. But it is often a question to me how much is due to one and how much to the other. In received speech the so-called long vowels are all different in quality from the so-called short vowels; and hence when a Scotchman, for example, gives a short pronunciation to any of the so-called long vowels, in places where the southerner uses his corresponding short vowel, which is altogether different in quality, the latter blames the former for pronouncing the southern short vowel long!

This connection of quality with quantity makes it difficult for a speaker of received pronunciation to determine the real length of vowel-sounds used by dialectal speakers. I find my own ear constantly at fault, and I have no doubt that many of my correspondents are not to be implicitly trusted in matters of quantity. But the length of the glides, the different action of voiced and voiceless consonants on preceding vowels, the holding and not holding of those consonants, and Mr. Sweet's rule for final consonants (1145, *d'*), also materially interfere, not merely with practical observation, but with theoretical determination. In many cases, no doubt, our crude, rough way of indicating the quantity of a vowel as (*a*, *aa*), must often be considered as marking merely a temporary feeling due rather to the consonant than to the vowel. We have no standard of length, no means even of measuring the actual duration of the extremely brief sounds uttered. A long vowel in one word means something very different from a long vowel in another. In the case of diphthongs the lengths of the elements are entirely comparative among one another, and bear no assignable relation to the lengths of adjoining consonants or of vowels in adjoining syllables.

theory of labialised consonants," (p. 253). And he dwells on my shortcomings with respect to quantity on pp. 259-262. Thus (412, *c*) *ase* is (*aa'se*), but (*ase*)—he should have said (*as*)—occurs (413, *a'*). Of course the first should also be (*a'se*). On (442, *d'*) we have (*don*) compared with (*doon*) below. The latter is correct, of course, and (*müs'doon*) on (442, *d'*) should. I think, be (*mü'sdoon*). The (*laav'erd*, *ded*, *forgiiv*, *forgiv'eth*, *forgif-*

ness), *suprà*, p. 443, should probably be (*laav'erd*, *deed*, *forgii-v*, *forgii-veth*, *forgii-vnes*). I am sorry to see that (*dead-litshe*) for (*déad-liitshe*) occurs on (503, *ed*). Prof. Hadley subsequently did better than criticise; he supplemented my shortcomings, in a paper on *Quantity*, read before the American Philological Association in 1871, reprinted in the same volume, pp. 263-295, of which I hope to give an account in Chap. XII.

With Englishmen diphthongs may be extremely brief,¹ and short vowels may be pronounced at great length (as in singing) without altering the character and signification of the word.²

The length of vowels in received English is very uncertain. How far it is dialectally fixed I will not pretend to say. At times vowels are unmistakably lengthened, but this is not frequent. The two most careful observers on this point among my kind helpers are Mr. Murray for Scotch, and Mr. Hallam for Derbyshire, both of whom are acquainted with Mr. Bell's Visible Speech. Mr. Murray makes the Scotch sounds generally short, and occasionally long. But he remarks (Dialect of S. S., p. 97): "Absolutely *short*, or, as it might better be called, *ordinary* or *natural*, quantity in Scotch is longer than English short quantity, though not quite so long as English long quantity; but long quantity in Scotch is much longer than long quantity in English. Even in English, quantity differs greatly in absolute length; for though the vowel-sounds in *thief*, *thieves*, *cease*, *sees*, are considered all alike long *e* (ii), *thieves* and *sees* are certainly pronounced with a longer vowel than *thief* and *cease*. It would, perhaps, be most correct to say that Scotch long quantity is like that in *sees*, short quantity nearly like that in *cease*." Much here depends on the consonant; see also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1191, a. 1192, b'). Mr. Murray also observes that something depends in Scotch on the *quality* of the vowel itself; thus: "With (æ) and (a), and to a less degree with (e) and (o), there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before the mutes, and to pronounce *egg*, *skep*, *yett*, *beg*, *bag*, *rag*, *bad*, *bog*, *dog*, as (ææg, skææp, jææt, bææg, baag, raag, baad, boog, doog)" (*ibid.* p. 98). Mr. Hallam, it will be seen, constantly takes refuge in medial quantities, lengths decidedly longer than the usual English short, and yet not decidedly long. Mr. C. C. Robinson occasionally does the same, and all dialectal writers who wish to represent quantity with accuracy meet with similar

¹ The old theory made diphthongs essentially long, as made up of two short vowels, yet they did not always "scan" as long, or influence the position of the accent as long, in ancient Greek. And Merkel, a German, says: that "syllables with true diphthongs have always a medial quantity, that is, not fully short, but *not capable of prolongation*, as otherwise they would lose their monosyllabic character," (Silben mit wahren Diphthongen sind stets mittelzeitig, d.h. nicht völlig kurz, aber auch nicht producibel, sonst geht die Einsilbigkeit verloren. Phys. Laletik, p. 322). His true diphthongs are (ai, au, ay, oi, ou, oy, ui, y'i). He considers combinations like (ei, eu, œi) to be "altogether and under all circumstances dissyllabic, and to have no claim at all to be considered diphthongs" (*ib.* p. 125), which shews the effect of

native habits of speech on even theoreticians.

² Since beginning to write these remarks, I heard a man cry "Saturday," while speaking to a mate on the other side of the street. I was not able to determine the quality or quantity of the first vowel, though the word was repeated, and I thought it over for some time afterwards. Most persons would have written (sæ'tɜrdeɪ) without hesitation, but this is merely the effect of old education, which tells them that the first vowel is short and the last long, and that (r) is heard. I took refuge finally in (sah^{ah} tede), making the first vowel medial, and the two next short and indistinct, though I could not determine their relative lengths, the (t) decidedly dental, the (d) not certain, the quality of the first vowel (ah) not satisfactorily fixed.

difficulties, which do not fail to occur in other languages also (518, *a*). We are not properly in a condition to appreciate a pronunciation, which, like the ancient Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, marked length so distinctly as to make it the basis of verse-rhythm, to the exclusion of alterations of pitch and force.¹ At any rate, our own spoken quantities are very different from musical length, and the extreme variety of musical length which composers will assign to the parts of the same word at different times serves to shew to what a small extent fixed length is now appreciated. As regards myself, although I often instinctively assign long and short vowels in writing to different words, yet when I come to question myself carefully as to the reasons why I do so, I find the answers in general very difficult to give, and the more I study, the less certainty I feel.

That there *are* differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed.² There is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality, as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel qualities really gliding, that is, insensibly altering qualities, so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam's Derbyshire (*ü*, *üu*) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think, have to augment the number of such phenomena considerably. The London (*ee'*, *oo'w*) are cases of a similar kind.³ To retain the vowel quality for a sensible time requires an unnatural fixity of muscle, and consequently relaxations constantly occur, which alter the

¹ My short experience of Mr. Gupta's quantitative pronunciation of Sanscrit (1139, *a*) makes me feel it highly desirable that the reading of Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian quantitative verse, by learned natives, should be accurately studied. Italian and Modern Greek reading of classics leads to no result, because the true feeling for quantity has there died out. But it really prevails in the East. In France, some writers dwell much on quantity; others, like M. Féline, drop almost all expression of quantity, as in the example, *suprà* p. 327. We have nothing in ordinary Southern English at all answering to the prolongations made by Mr. Gupta in Sanscrit, or Mr. Murray in Scotch. If persons really observe the relative time they employ in uttering Greek and Latin syllables, and especially unaccented long syllables, they will, I think, be struck by the great difficulty of constantly and appreciably exhibiting the

effects of quantity, so as to make them a guide to rhythm. This is more especially felt when numerous long syllables come in close succession, as in the following lines from the beginning of the first Satire of Horace:

Quī fit Mæcēnās, ut nēmō, quam sibi sortem—

Contentus vīvat? laudet dīversa sequentēs—

O! fortūnāti mercātōrēs, gravis annīs—
Contrā mercātor, nāvim jactantibus austris—

where the long vowel is marked as usual, the short vowel is left unmarked, and position is indicated by italicising the determining consonants.

² Not in such living languages as I have had an opportunity of examining, not even in Magyar, as I heard it, although its poets profess to write quantitative metres occasionally.

³ See the remarks on *suffratures* in *iv.* below.

vowel quality. Again, the preparation for the following consonant acts so strongly upon the nerves which are directing the formation of the vowel, that they cease to persist in the action, and insensibly modify it, producing other changes of quality, in a manner with which we are familiar as the action of a consonant on the preceding vowel. But it may be said, although these alter the quality as it proceeds, the ear recognises the intention to continue the original quality, and gives credit for its continuance. The credit is freely given in received speech, as judged by a received orthography. But in dialectal speech we have no such assistance. We have to treat the dialect as an unwritten language, and discover what is said without reference to orthography, that is, without reference to what learned men in olden time thought would be the most practical way of approaching to the representation of sounds of *other* dialects by means of symbols whose signification had been fixed by still older writers in totally different languages. This drives us at once from books to nature, which is very hard for literary men, but is, I believe, the only way of giving reality to our investigations. As long as we do not check literature by observation, as long as we continue to take the results of old attempts at representing observations,¹ as absolutely correct, as starting-points for all subsequent theory, we lay ourselves open to risks of error sufficient to entirely vitiate our conclusions. Much harm has already been done in theoretically restoring the marks for long and short vowels in Anglo-saxon, in printing diplomatically with theoretic insertions, in systematising an orthography which was not yet understood.² Our real knowledge of the ancient lengths of these vowels consists in the analogies of other languages and the present changes. And these seem to be much affected by the already-mentioned difficulties of retaining the same quality of tone while endeavouring to prolong the sound. But to obtain a real knowledge of long and short vowels, we shall have to study languages in which difference of length, independently of difference of quality, is significant, and in which quantity forms the basis of rhythms.

¹ This is apt to be forgotten. At some early time, when phonetic knowledge was comparatively small, or the necessity of discriminating sounds was not strongly felt, alphabetic writing was comparatively vague, and, moreover, it so happens that alphabets invented for languages with one set of vowels have been used for languages with a totally different set. How much languages thus differ will be seen at the end of the next sub-number iii. But still the writing *was* based on observation, such as it was.

² "All alteration in the text of a MS., however plausible and clever, is nothing else but a sophistication of the evidence at its fountain-head: however imperfect the information conveyed by

the old scribe may be, it is still the only information we have, and, as such, ought to be made generally accessible in a reliable form." Preface to King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, by *H. Sweet*, p. viii, an edition in which the new method required for Anglo-Saxon study is well initiated. When a young man like Mr. Sweet is capable of doing such work as this, what may we not hope from his maturer years. His accurate knowledge of phonetics, and his careful powers of observation, to which frequent allusion has been made in these pages, lead us to expect the best results hereafter, if he only have opportunity to do the work he is so well qualified to produce.

The net result for our present investigations on English dialects is that all quantities here marked must be taken as provisional, that too much weight must not be attributed to the separation of long and short, and that in general a certain medial length may be assumed, which, when marked short, must not be much prolonged, and when marked long, must not be much shortened. But allowances must always be made for habit of speech, for intonation and drawling, for the grammatical collocation of the word,¹ for emphasis and accent or force of utterance, for "broadness" and "thinness" of pronunciation,—all of which materially influence quantity,—as well as for those other points of difficulty already dwelt upon, and many of which are characteristic of speech in different districts. But for the practical writing of dialects, we must continue to make a separation of short and long, if for nothing else, at any rate as an indication of glides (1146, *b*). When we write [meet·]=(mit), we seem to shut up the vowel too tightly, owing to the action of the consonant. This is not usual to the Scot, who says [m:ect]=(mi^{it}). Hence we hear the Scot say [mee·t]=(mi^{it}), and when he really lengthens, as in *thieves* (thiivz)=[thee·vz], we almost seem to want an extra sign, as [th:eevz]=(thiⁱvz). For dialectal writing we do much if we keep *two* degrees, and use the long vowel really to mark a want of tightness in the glide on to the following consonant. The real value of our longs and shorts must not be taken too accurately. The writer had better give his *first* impression than his last, for the last has been subjected to all manner of modifying influences. We have simply nothing left like the quantity of quantitative languages.

iii. On Vowel Quality and its Gradations.

The *quality* of a tone is that which distinguishes notes of the same pitch, when played on different musical instruments. It is by quality of tone that we know a flute from a fiddle, organ, piano, harp, trombone, guitar, human voice. Prof. Helmholtz discovered that there exist simple tones, easily producible,² but not usually heard in nature, and that the tones which generally strike the ear are *compound*, made up of several simple tones heard or produced at the

¹ Many English dialects, like Hebrew, lengthen vowels "in the pause," *i.e.* at the close of a phrase or sentence.

² A tuning fork gives nearly a simple tone; when held over a box of proper length, it produces a really simple tone. A *c* tuning fork, struck and held over the opening of any cylindrical vessel, tumbler, jar, wide-mouthed bottle, about six inches deep, will produce the required tone. The vessel may be *tuned* to the fork, by adding water to shorten it, and thus sharpen the tone, and by partly covering the aperture to flatten it. A jar thus tuned to *c* may be easily tuned to the *a* tuning fork below it, by still further covering the mouth. It is

interesting to observe how suddenly the resonance changes from dull to bright. Every one who wishes to understand the vowel theory should study the first and second parts of Prof. Helmholtz's (161, *d*) *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed., Braunschweig, 1870, pp. 639. A translation of this work into English is at present engaging a large portion of my time, and I hope that it will be published at the close of 1874 by Messrs. Longman, for whom I am writing it, under the title: *On the Sensations of Tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music*. It is one of the most beautiful treatises on modern science, and is written purposely in a generally intelligible style.

same time. The relative pitches of those tones, that is, the relative numbers of complete vibrations of the particles of air necessary to produce them, made within the same time, are always those of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on, 1 representing the pitch of the lowest simple tone, which the ear receives practically as that of the whole compound tone. The *quality* of the *compound* tone depends on the *relative force* or loudness of its *component* simple tones, and this relative force is dependent on the mode of production. Now, in the case of the vowels, the mode of production resembles that of the French horn. In that instrument a hemispherical cup is pressed tight on the lips, which are closed. Wind is forced from the chest, opening the lips, which immediately close by their elasticity, assisted by the pressure of the rim of the cup, and this action being repeated with great rapidity, puffs of air come in regular succession into the cup or mouth-piece, and are transmitted through a small hole at the opposite extremity into a long tube (27 feet long nearly), the contents of which form a *resonance chamber*, which is naturally only able to resound to certain simple and compound tones. The puffs of the lips are not sufficiently rapid generally, on account of their want of elasticity, to produce the tones of the long tube itself, but they are able to set the air within it in motion, and the action of this confined air is powerful enough to make the lips vibrate properly. The tube can only give certain tones, dependent on the force of the impulse given by the lips; but by introducing the hand and arm at the bell-like opening of the tube, the shape of the resonance chamber is altered, and new tones can be produced, not however so bright and distinct as the others. Now, in the human voice, a pair of elastic bands or chords, pressed closely together in the larynx, serve the purpose of the lips, and produce the puffs of air, which pass through the upper part of the cartilaginous box (often nearly closed by its lid, the epiglottis) into a resonance chamber answering to the tube of the horn,¹ which can have its shape marvellously altered by means of the muscles contracting the first part or pharynx, the action of the uvula in closing or opening the passages through the nose, and the action of the tongue and lips, which last much resembles that of the introduced hand and arm in the French horn.

There are, however, some essential points of dissimilarity between the two cases. Thus the resonant chambers in speech are small, and the resonance is not powerful enough to affect the vibrations of the vocal chords, so that the rapidity of the vibrations of these chords themselves determines the pitch and the full force of tone, while the resonant chambers can only vary the relative force of the different simple tones which compose the actual musical tone produced. It is entirely upon this variation of force that the different vowel effects depend, and, at the risk of being somewhat tedious, I shall venture to give some of the acoustical results, because they

¹ It is almost impossible in such a work as the present to avoid repetitions. Some of the present matter was anticipated on p. 161, where the

shape of the resonance tube is more fully described. It was found, however, insufficient for our present purpose merely to refer to that passage.

have not yet found their way into philological treatises, and are of the highest philological interest.

Suppose that the puffs of air produced by the vibrations of the vocal chords produce a musical note of the pitch known as B flat, on the second line of the bass staff. Then (in a way explained by Prof. Helmholtz by means of some of the most recent anatomical discoveries of the construction of the internal ear, and numerous experiments on so-called sympathetic vibration), the ear really hears not merely 1. that simple B flat, but the following among other tones in addition to it, namely, 2. the *b* flat next above it, 3. the *f'* above that, 4. the next *b'* flat, 5. the *d''* above that, 6. the octave *f''* above the former *f'*, 7. a note a little flatter than the next *a''* flat, 8. the *b''* flat above, 9. the next tone above *e'''*, 10. the octave *d'''* of No. 5, 11. a tone not in the scale, a good deal sharper than *e'''* flat, 12. the octave *f'''* of No. 6, 13. a tone not in the scale, somewhat flatter than *g'''*, 14. the octave of No. 7, a little flatter than *a'''* flat, 15. the major third *a'''* above *f'''*, 16. *b'''* flat, the octave of No. 8, and so on, up to 24 or more, sometimes, in the human voice, especially when strained, where the numbers of vibrations in a second necessary to produce the notes written, are in proportion to the simple numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., of their order. These are the tones naturally produced on the B flat French horn. The mode of marking musical pitch just used is adopted pretty generally. The capitals C, D, E, F, G, A, B, denote the octave from the lowest note of the violoncello upwards. The small letters *c, d, e, f, g, a, b*, the next higher octave, beginning on the second space of the bass staff. The once-accented letters *c', d', e', f', g', a', b'*, the next higher octave, beginning at the note on the first ledger line above the bass and below the treble staff. The other higher octaves begin at *c''* on the third space of the treble staff; *e'''* on the second ledger line above the treble; and then *e'''* is the octave to that again. The reader will therefore easily be able to write out the notes here referred to in ordinary musical notation. These are, in fact, the simple tones out of which the compound tone heard may be conceived as formed. But in ordinary speaking the vocal chords do not act so perfectly as in singing, and many very high and dissonant simple tones are also produced.

Now the effect of the differently-shaped resonance chambers formed by placing the organs in the proper positions for the different vowels is to make some of these louder and some weaker, and the joint result gives us the vowel sensation. The shape or materials of the resonance chamber are quite indifferent. Hence it may happen that two or three different positions of the mouth may produce the same resonance. If so, they will give the same vowel. This is extremely important, because it shews that a prescribed position for a vowel is not necessarily the *only* position, but merely a *known* position, which will produce the required effect. It may also happen, that if a notation indicates a vowel by giving the form of its resonance chamber, two different symbols, though shewing different forms of that chamber, may denote the same vowel, because these different resonance chambers have the same resonance.

The resonance of a mass of air depends upon many conditions which are ill understood, and can be calculated only in a few cases. Generally it is determined by experiment. Prof. Helmholtz, Dr. Donders, and Dr. Merkel, with others, have thus endeavoured to determine the resonance of the air in the mouth for the vowels which they themselves utter. If we really knew those resonances accurately, the vowels would be determined. But this is far from being the case. We must indeed consider that these gentlemen pronounce the vowels which they write with the same letters, in appreciably different manners, as the results at which they have arrived are materially different. Prof. Helmholtz, however, has practically applied his result to the artificial generation of vowels. By holding a reed pipe tuned to the *b* flat just mentioned against a resonance box tuned to the same pitch, the result was a very fair (uu); changing the resonance box to one tuned an octave higher, to *b'* flat, the result was (oo); changing to a box tuned another octave higher, to *b''* flat, the result was "a close A," perhaps (aah), while a box tuned a major third higher, to *d''*, gave "a clear A," perhaps (aa). He also obtained various grades of (ee, æe, ee, ii), by using as resonance boxes glass spheres, into whose external opening glass tubes, from two to four inches long, were inserted, thus

giving a "double resonance." This is a rough imitation of what really takes place in speaking. His previous experiments lead him to believe that, for his own North German pronunciation of the vowels, there are single resonances, namely *f* for (uu), *b'* flat for (oo), *b''* flat for (aa), and double resonances (the lower for the back part of the mouth and the throat, and the higher for the narrow passage between the tongue and hard palate), namely, *d''* and *g'''* for (EE), *f'* and *b'''* flat for (ee), *f* and *d'''* for (ii), *f'* and *c''* sharp for (ææ), and *f* and *g'''* for (yy).

But Prof. Helmholtz went further,

and producing the series of tones just described on a series of tuning forks, which were kept in motion by electricity, and placed before resonance boxes in such a way that he had complete command over the intensity of the resonance, he actually made them utter vowels. Let *p*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, have their usual musical sense of *piano*, *mezzoforte*, *forte*, *fortissimo*, and indicate the loudness of the notes under which they are placed. The notes are exactly one octave higher than those formerly described. The vowels corresponded to the different intensities of the tones of the forks thus:

FORKS	<i>b</i> flat	<i>b'</i> flat	<i>f''</i>	<i>b''</i> flat	<i>d'''</i>	<i>f'''</i>	<i>a'''</i> flat	<i>b'''</i> flat
VOWELS								
(uu)	<i>f</i>							
(oo)	<i>mf</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>					
(aa)	<i>mf</i>	<i>mf</i>	<i>mf</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>			
(EE)	<i>mf</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>		
(ee)	<i>mf</i>	<i>mf</i>				<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>

The vowel (ee) was not well produced, because it was not possible to make the small forks corresponding to the very high notes *f'''*, *a'''* flat, *b'''* flat, sound strongly enough, and still higher forks were wanted. For the same reason (ii) could not be got out at all. It would have required a much higher series of forks. The table shews at once that (uu) belongs to the low, (aa) to the middle, and (ii) to the high parts of the scale. The reader should, however, carefully remember that this table gives the relative loudness of the component simple tones *only* when the vowels are sung to the pitch *b* flat, and that if this pitch is altered the distribution of the loudness would be changed, the resonance chamber remaining unaltered. It is merely by the *natural recognition* of the effects of resonant chambers of nearly the same pitch, reinforcing the component simple tones of the sound which lie in their neighbourhood, that vowels are really characterised. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the vagueness with which they are habitually distinguished.

If this reinforcement of certain tones

by the vowels exists in nature, the reinforced tones will excite some of the strings of a piano more than others. Hence the following striking and fundamental experiment, which every one should try, as it not only artificially generates vowels, but actually exhibits the process by which vowels are heard in the labyrinth of the ear, where an apparatus exists wonderfully resembling a microscopical pianoforte, with two or three thousand wires. Raise the dampers of a piano, and call out a vowel sharply and clearly on to the sounding-board or wires, pause a moment, and, after a slight silence giving the effect of "hanging fire," the vowel will be re-echoed. Re-damp, raise dampers, call another vowel, pause, and hear the echo. Change the vowel at pleasure, the echo changes. The experiment succeeds best when the pitch of one of the notes of the piano is taken, but the pitch may be the same for all the vowels. The echo is distinct enough for a room full of people to hear at once. The vowel is unmistakable; but, on account of the method of tuning pianos, not quite true.

A vowel then is a *quality of tone*, that is, the effect of increasing certain of the partial simple tones of which the compound tone uttered consists; and this augmentation depends on the pitch of the

note or notes to which the air inclosed in the mouth when the vowel is spoken will best resound. We cannot therefore be surprised at finding that vowel quality alters sensibly with the pitch or height at which the vowel is uttered. Thus on singing (ii). first to a high and then to a low pitch, the vowel quality will be found to alter considerably in the direction of (ii), and as we descend very low, it assumes a peculiarly gruff character, which only habit would make us still recognise as (ii). In fact, the vowel differs sensibly from pitch to pitch of the speaker's voice, which also varies with age and sex, and other causes, so that what we call our vowels are not individuals, scarcely species, but rather genera, existing roughly in the speaker's intention, but at present mainly artificially constituted by the habits of writing and reading. When, therefore, these habits are of no avail, as in scientifically examining unknown languages and dialects, the listener fails to detect the genus which probably the speaker feels, and hence introduces distinctions which the latter repudiates. Also the habits of different sets of speakers become so fixed and are so different in themselves, that those of one set have possibly many vowels not corresponding to those of the other, and hence they either cannot appreciate them at all, or merely introduce approximations which are misleading. This is one secret of "foreign accents." We have agreed to consider certain vowel qualities as standards from which to reckon departures. But we are really not able to reproduce those standards, except by such an apparatus as Helmholtz contrived, and even then so much depends upon subjective appreciation, which is materially influenced by the non-human method of production, that real standards may be said not to exist. And we are still worse off in ability to measure the departures from the standard as shewn by the metaphorical terms we employ to express our feelings. Practically in each country we fall back upon "received pronunciation," and how much that differs from person to person, how little therefore it approaches to an accurate standard, has already been shewn in § 1 of this chapter.

A careful description of the positions of the tongue and lips in producing vowels is of great assistance (25, *a*), and practically is sufficient, when reduced to a diagrammatic form (p. 14), to teach deaf and dumb children to pronounce with perfect intelligibility, as I have witnessed in children taught by Mr. Graham Bell and Miss Hull (1121, *e*). Hence the real importance of basing the description of vowels upon the positions of the organ most generally used in producing them. This is Mr. Bell's plan. The diagrams on p. 14 are rough, and curiously enough do not shew the closure of the nasal passage by the action of the uvula, so that the figures really represent nasalised vowels. They give only

9 positions, manifestly inadequate. But each can be much varied. Thus, taking (*e*) as a basis, the tongue may be a little higher (*e'*), or lower (*e₁*), and in any of the three cases the point of least passage may be advanced (*e₂*), or retracted (*e₃*), thus giving 9 (*e*, *e'*, *e₁*, *e₂*, *e₃*, *e₁'*, *e₂'*, *e₃'*, *e₁'*). Again, the cavity behind the least passage may be entirely widened (*e*), or widened only in front of the arches of the soft palate (*e²*), or only behind it (*e₂*), or more in front than behind (*e²*), or more behind than in front (*e₂*). Supposing then that the cavity had not been particularly widened before or in the primary positions, each one of the preceding 9 forms gives six (*e*, *e²*, *e₂*, *e*, *e²*, *e₂*), produced 6 times 9,

or 54 forms for each one of the original 9, and hence 9 times 54 or 486 forms altogether. Now on each of these, 5 different kinds of "rounding" may act, that is, contractions of the aperture of the mouth as for (A, o, u), or contraction of the arches of the palate, thus (e_A, e_o, e_u, e^A), for 'some of which distinct signs are provided, thus ($e_o = \alpha, e_o = \alpha'$), or pouting the lips. This adds 5 times as many forms, giving 6 times 486 or 2916 shapes of the resonance cavity for the nine original positions, and these are far from all the different shapes of the resonance cavity producible without the aid of the nose. For example, the contraction of the arches of the palate may be itself of various degrees, and may be combined with each of the contractions of the aperture of the mouth, which may or may not be pouted. But if we merely add two kinds of nasality, the French and Gaelic, as (e_A, e_i), we get twice as many additional forms, or, including the unnasalised, 3 times 2916, or 8748 forms, and these, as we have seen, are by no means all; but all these are easily written in palaeotype by the methods already described.

Of course these positions do not tell the result, but they tell how to get at the result, and in this way, as Mr. Bell expresses it, they produce *Visible Speech*, and his is the only system which does this systematically,—in the forms, as well as the conventional meanings, of his symbols. To discover the results, we must make experiments on ourselves—taking care to be out of earshot of others, because of the unearthly sounds we shall produce. It is best to take a good breath, and hold a familiar vowel,

such as (ii, aa, uu) at the most comfortable pitch as long as possible unchanged. Begin with (ii), keeping lips very wide open. Next, keeping the position unchanged, *try* to change the vowel-sound by intention, and *try* to detect that you have not preserved your position when the vowel changes. Next begin (ii), and gradually, during one breath, alter the tongue, keeping the lips open. Next begin (ii), keep tongue fixed, and alter lips gradually, closing to perfect closure, reopening with side openings, pouted lips, varying lips. The variations of vowel are wonderful. Do the same with (aa), and produce (oo) by rounding lips only. Next take (uu), observe the great difference of effect by moving the tongue only, and the effect of keeping the tongue still and opening the lips. Steady practice of the nature indicated will give not only great command of sounds, but great appreciation of those *dialectal changes* and *affections* of vowel-sounds with which we have to deal. These are things impossible to appreciate on paper only. But it is a great advantage to the investigator that he has his own vocal organs always ready for experiment, and if he does not take advantage of this, he has no one but himself to blame for want of understanding. If children, actually deaf from birth, can be got to produce excellent imitations of the peculiar English vowels, distinguishing readily (i) from (î), and (a) from (æ), as I have myself heard, there is no reason why those who can hear should not by similar training obtain much better results. All children should be taught to speak.

Now (ii) represents the effect produced with open lips,¹ the middle of the tongue high, the pharynx narrow. It is a thin bad quality of tone for the singer, impossible on low notes, that is, its natural pitch, or the pitch mostly favoured by the shape of its resonance chamber, is so antagonistic to low notes, that its character is disguised, its purity "muddled," as it were, by lowering the pitch. This "muddying" is literally the German "trübung," and may be termed "obscuration."

¹ Lepsius (*Standard Alphabet*, 2nd ed. p. 54) says with "broad lips," meaning with a long transverse aperture. This is not necessary. The corners of the lips should be kept apart, and the middle of the lips may be as widely separated as we please, and the wider the separation the clearer the (i).

Still, in quietly uttering the series of vowels (i, e, a, o, u) before a glass, it will be seen that for (i) the lips form a narrowish horizontal slit, which opens wider for (e), and becomes comparatively vertical for (a), the corners being apart in all; then the corners come together for (o) and most for (u).

Again (uu) represents the effect produced with lips so nearly closed as to leave only a small central aperture, the back (not middle) of the tongue high, nearly as high as for (k), and the pharynx narrow. It is a hollow round sound, extremely simple in character, that is, being almost a simple tone, and hence penetrating, but its pitch is naturally low, and it is impossible to sing without "muddiness" at high pitches.

These are evidently extreme positions. But (aa) is produced with lips moderately open, distinctly *not* rounded by closing the outer corners of the lips, a tolerably flat tongue, with the back not nearly so high as for (uu), and the pharynx open. It has a very complicated composition out of partial tones, and a pitch of moderate height, so that it accommodates itself even to high or low notes without much "muddying." Obscuration is most felt on the low tones which err on the side of (uu); the upper ones err on the side of (ii), and make the vowel too "thin."¹

These three vowels (i, a, u) exist in perfection in the Italian, and possibly Castilian. They do not exist in great perfection in English. There, (ii) is frequently obscured, or has its quality deteriorated, by widening of the pharynx, descending to (iɪ), or, by slightly lowering the tongue, to (ee¹, ee¹). The (uu) is better, but also inclines often to (uu), not, however, reaching (uuh). The (aa) rises to (aah), which is a bright sound, though inclining to the roughness of (æ), or else sinks to (aa), which is much duller, and has almost the effect of rounding. These are the tendencies in the cultivated received pronunciation. In the dialects we shall find both (ii) sinking and (aa) rising to (ee), and (aa) also sinking to (aa, ʌ), and even (oo, oo); while (uu) approaches (oo) by a peculiar alteration of the lips, or arches of the palate, without the tongue, giving (uu_o) or (uu¹). These alterations correspond to the effects of Grimm's *weakening*, but weakening is hardly an appropriate term. If we consider the nature of the alterations, they are found to consist in modifying the resonance chamber, and hence changing its vowel effect, by raising or lowering parts of the tongue, by opening or still further closing and "rounding" the lips, and by widening the pharynx. To none of these can the term "weakening" well apply. But the (ii) sounds have a thin whistling effect, the (ee) sounds a rattling reediness, the (aa) sounds an open sonorousness, the (oo) sounds a round fullness, the (uu) sounds a hollow roundness, and we may consider that (ii) or (aa) *degrades* in passing to (ee), and (oo) in passing to (uu). The sounds (aa, oo), which differ only in the position of the lips, are the best sounds we have, and the passage of one into the other is on a level. It has been very frequently made in our dialects.

A slight alteration, however, materially affects the quality of the resonance. The qualities of the vowels (æ ʌ æ ɔ) are rough.

¹ To understand the effect of vowel quality in music, sing a simple stave, as the first part of *God save the Queen*, first with the vowel (i) only, then with

(a) only, then with (u) only, and first at an easy pitch, then as high, and lastly as low as the voice will permit, with long sustained tones.

That is, the resonance cavities, which are not well adapted for selecting good sets of simple tones, allow component tones to co-exist which more or less *beat* or grate,¹ and the general effect is dull and unsonorous. Yet (æ ɶ œ) are merely (u o ʌ) with the lips open, and (ə) is (ah) with the pharynx narrowed. Of these (æ) does not seem to occur even dialectally in English, but (œ), I think, does. Both (ɶ, ə) are frequent, and must be considered as obscurations of vowels for which the positions are nearly the same, such as (aa oo oo, ah, e ɛ æ). If Mr. Bell is right, (v, œ) also frequently occur in the same capacity. Here (v) is (u) with open lips, and (œ) is merely (ə) with a lower tongue. All the flat-tongued mixed vowels (y, ə, œ) have an obscure disagreeable quality of tone, but they are easy to produce in a lazy manner, and hence are very frequent in dialectal English. The qualities of (v, ɶ, ə, œ), however, are so much alike, that I feel no certainty in separating them from one another and from (ə). I follow my authorities in each case, but consider their conclusions to be provisional, and that the whole question awaits future judgment. These obscurations mainly occur during remission of accent or emphasis, and consequently they present themselves in far the greater number of English syllables. But the change of sonorous vowels occurs also in accented syllables.

Thus in dialects accented (i, i, e, e¹) are all likely to be mixed together by the hearer, the real sound perhaps being something different from all, or even varying through all in different speakers or the same speaker at different times. Unaccented, they fall into (y, ə).

Again, (e, ɛ, æ) are far from being well separated in accented syllables. No certainty can generally be felt respecting (e, ɛ), and few care to distinguish (ɛ, æ). When unaccented, all become (ə).

Again, (a, ah, æ, ɛ), on the one hand, and (a, ʌ, ʌ, ə, o), on the other, pass into one another when accented. Unaccented, all become (ə). And not unfrequently, when accented, they approach (ɶ).

But (o, u) more frequently interchange with (ɶ), the former directly, the latter perhaps through (v), its delabialised form, or through (u_o) or (u⁴), which strangely vary as (o, ɶ).

When one of the former in the group (i, i, e, e¹), or in the group (e, ɛ, ɛ, æ), is replaced by one of the latter, the action is often called *thickening* or *broadening*, the pitch of the resonance chamber being lowered. The converse action, going from one of the latter to one of the former, is called *thinning* or *narrowing*, the pitch of the resonance chamber being raised. In the first case the vowel is *strengthened*, in the latter *weakened*. But when any vowel of the first set falls into (y), or either set into (e, v), it is *obscured*.

¹ There are probably always many kinds of resonance, and when the cavities are unfavourably constituted, there are reinforcements not only of dissonant or beating higher components, but there are also sounds produced by friction, and divided streams

of air, and eddies, all of which will beat, and produce *noises* which mingle with the true vowel quality. Such *noises* are never absent from speech, and distinguish it from song. It is one of the great problems of the singer to eliminate them altogether.

When one of the former is replaced by one of the latter in (a, ah, æ, e), it is said to be *thinned* or *narrowed*; and when one of the latter is replaced by one of the former, it is said to be *broadened*, *widened*, *thickened*, *flattened*, etc. And the same terms are used when one of the former falls into one of the latter in (a, a, A) or (a, o, o). The effect of the "rounding" or shading by the lips is always to produce a sensation of *thickness*, because it disqualifies the mass of air within the mouth from resounding to the component simple tones of a higher pitch, and hence removes the brightness and fullness of the tone, and gives it a dull hollow character, which this term is meant to express.

The passage in the direction (o, o, u) is also one of thickening, and (u_o) or (u^t) is felt to be very thick indeed. When we come to (u), the tone feels lighter again. This arises from the disappearance of most of the component simple tones. The sound (A_u), or a vowel produced by keeping the lips in the (u) position, and lowering the tongue to the (A) position, is the dullest possible (u). It is recognised by Helmholtz as the true type of (u), because it leaves the mouth nearly like a sphere with a very small external aperture, and is the real extreme vowel. It possibly occurs dialectally, as do also, I think, (o_u , u_1), and various other modifications of (u).

Any approach to (v, æ, œ, o, œ) from any quarter is recognised as obscuration. This, as already mentioned, apparently depends on a want of adaptation of the resonance chamber to qualities of tone which are free from beats.

It is thus seen that the effects described by all manner of theoretical terms depend upon the physiological action of the relative loudness of component simple tones, and the scientific study of the relations of vowel qualities is, like music in general, reduced to an investigation of the effects of altering the intensities of these same components. This it is beyond our present purpose to do more than indicate. But we see generally that thinness or hollowness depends upon a bad filling up of the compound tone; the thin tones wanting force in the lower, and the hollow tones in the higher components. Thick tones seem to have several lower components strongly developed (as in the sesquialtera stop on the organ), and the upper comparatively weak. The obscure rough tones arise from beating components due to imperfection of resonance.

In (u_o) and (A_u) we seemed to have reached the acme of thickness, in (u) the components were almost reduced to the lowest simple tone, but, in consequence, the tone was not thin. If, however, the position of the tongue be slightly changed, so that it glides from the (u) to the (i) position, the lips remaining unchanged, a peculiar mixture of the hollowness of (u) and thinness of (i) results, the German (ɪ), or, with wider pharynx, the French (y). Whether these sounds occur in our dialects or not is disputed. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte inclines to (ɪ₁) or (ɪ'), which has not quite so high a position of the tongue as (y). In either case the result is that of *weakening* (u), although, for reasons which will appear in the next sub-number iv, I feel doubtful as to whether the replacing of (u)

by (y) or (y₁), which occurs in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Scotland, is really due to this desire of thinning or weakening. In precisely the same way (o), by a still slighter alteration of the tongue to the (e) position, produces (ə), which, on widening the pharynx, gives (œ). As (e) replaces (i) in Scotch, one is not surprised to hear (ə) in place of (y) or (y₁), and Mr. Murray recognises (ə), or the French *eu* in *peu*, in his own dialect, rather than (y₁), which lies between *eu* in *peu* and *u* in *pu*. In point of fact this (ə) is a "weakened" (u) reduced to (o). The lips are opener, and the middle of the tongue is higher; but the quality of the tone is not only thinner, it is obscurer. That is, it approaches to that of (ə). When we get to (œ), this approach is still nearer, and few Englishmen, without study, distinguish (ə, ə) and (æ, œ), and many mix them all up together. In precisely the same way, Frenchmen and Germans hear (ə, æ) as (ə, œ). The (œ) is a still nearer approach. Yet in (ə, æ, œ) there is no rounding of the lips. This is an example of how very closely approximating sounds can be produced by very different forms of the resonance chamber. The (œ) is supposed by Mr. Baird to occur in Devonshire, where it appears in the diphthong (œ'y₁), an alteration of (ou), where first the (u) is "thinned" into (y₁), and then (o) is by "attraction"—in fact by transmutation, owing to the preparation for (y₁)—thinned or obscured, in fact palatalised, into (œ). It is possible that some speakers say (əə'y) or (œə'y), rather than (œ'y₁). The diphthongs are probably due to different appreciations of intentionally the same sounds, as heard from different individuals and by different observers.

Finding such hovering sounds, we can no longer be surprised at an original distribution into three (i, a, u), in Sanscrit, at a subsequent development into five (i, e, a, o, u) in the same language, which became *eight* in Greek (i, e, e, a, o, o, u, y). The separation of (e, e) and (o, o) is, however, too fine for this stage, which practically reduces to *six*, (i, e, a, o, u, y), and this becomes *seven* by the addition of (œ), which must be held to include (ə) on the one hand, and (ə) on the other. The vowel scale (I, E, A, O, U, Y, (E)) practically includes all the "classes" of unnasalised sounds which are recognised, each clearly distinct from the other, and indicated, for convenience, by capitals. They form the "natural" classification, as distinct from any artificial one. But on going into details, we find many sounds which we cannot satisfactorily fit into any class, and other "transitional" sounds which lead the way from class to class. Thus let (i) be developed and distinguished from (i). These two stages are by no means coexistent; for example, (i) has long been developed in English, but phonologists have only quite recently distinguished it from (i), Dr. Thomas Young having been one of the first to do so (106, *d*). Then (i) at once leads on to (e), and the passage is rendered easier by the development and distinction of (e), thus (i, i, e, e). By a similar process (E) generated from (e), and first (ah) and then (æ) generated from (a), give the transition (e, e, æ, ah, a). Again, (a) develops first (a), and then (A), in the direction of (o); for although the change from (a) to (o) is most

easy and rapid, yet when we come to hear the intermediate sounds, we recognise the bridge as being (a, a, A, ə, o), the (ə) being on the one hand confused with (A), which is again confused with (a), and on the other with (o). The next bridge is (o, o, u, u). Then begins the shift of the tongue through the first series (i, e, a), and we have the bridge (y, ə, æ, æh). We have here very nearly reached (æ), whence (æ, ə, y) lead up again to (i) through (i). Thus we obtain a much extended vowel-scale, which may be grouped under the former seven heads, thus:

I	E	A	O	U	Y	Æ
i	y, e	æ	ah	a	a, A	ə
o	o	u	u	y	ə	æ
æh	æ	æh	æ	æh	æ	æh

This only gives 24 vowels out of our 36. The peculiar (u_o) or (u⁵), which would lie thus (o u_o u) or (o u⁵ u), and (y₁) lying thus (y y₁ ə), with several un-English varieties, are also omitted. Many of the rest cannot be placed exactly linearly.

No linear form of expressing relationships of natural phenomena ever succeeds. The above line does not shew the relation of (I) to (Y), or of (Æ) to (E) and (O), and in fact, if (ə) belongs to the family (Æ), of (Æ) to (A). This is partially accomplished by a triangular arrangement, much used, and very attractive, thus:

		A		
	E	Æ	O	
I		Y		U

We must remember, however, that the (A, E, I) and (A, O, U) limbs of this triangle are essentially distinct in mode of formation and effect, that the “means” (E, O) are really not on a level in respect either of quality or physiological position, and that the “extremes” (I, U) are still more diverse. Also the central stem, (Æ, Y), although necessarily attractive to Germans on account of their *umlaut*, is not a real mean between the limbs, as its situation would imply. Generally (Y) has the tongue position of (I) and lip position of (U), and (Æ) the tongue position of (E) and the lip position of (O), but (U, O) have tongue positions, and (I, U) lip positions, of their own; and, taking resonance, we do not find the resonances of (Y, Æ) compounded of the resonances of (I, U) and (E, O) respectively. Hence such an arrangement as

I	E	A	O	U	Y	Æ
	Y	Æ				

has even more significance.

The triangle has been greatly developed by various writers. Lepsius begins by comparing the vowel families to colours, but does not hit on exactly the same relations as Grimm (1269, *c*), for, like the blind man who imagined *scarlet* to be like the sound of a trumpet, he makes (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 47)

	A						
E	Æ	O	analogous		red		
I	Y	U	to	yellow	orange	brown	violet
					green		blue

which, as before, misses the actual analogies between musical pitch and optical colour. The “indistinct vowel-sound from which, according to the opinion of some scholars, the other vowels, as it

were, issued and grew into individuality," which should be the undifferentiated voice ('h), he compares to *grey*, "which also does not belong to the series of individual colours;" does *brown*?

This triangle Lepsius develops by separating (E) into (e, æ, æ), (O) into (o, o, A), and (Æ) into (ə, æ, æ), as I presume I may interpret his examples, because he distinguishes the last (æ) from the "indistinct vowel," in which he seems to mix up ('h, v, ə). He thus gives, as "the complete pyramid of the European vowels,"

		a		
		æ	æ	A
	e	æ		o
	e	ə		o
i		y		u

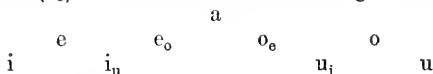
but he is very anxious to omit "the second row," and consequently proposes to identify the vowels in 1) English *past*, *heart* (aa), French *mâle* (aa), German *that* (aa, aa); 2) English *hat* (æ), French *mal* (a, ah), German *hat* (a, a); 3) English *hut*, *fur* (ə, æ), French *heurter* (æ, æh), German *hörner* (æ); 4) English *naught*, *war* (A), French *cor* (o), *what*, *hot* (ə), French *vote* (o, o, oh), German *sonde* (o, o). Of course such identifications do not represent national habits. Lepsius's English vowels are given by the words 1 *past*, 2 *heart*, 3 *hat*, 4 *head*, 5 *hate*, 6 *swear*, 7 *heat*, 8 *hit*, 9 *year*, 10 *hut*, 11 *fur*, 12 *naught*, 13 *hot*, 14 *war*, 15 *note*, 16 *borne*, 17 *hoot*, 18 *hood*, 19 *moor*, which, judging from the values assigned to his symbols by German examples, and using ('r) for 'vocal r,' seem to be considered as, 1 aa, aa, 2 a'r, 3 æ, 4 e, E, 5 ee, 6 e'r, 7 ii, 8 i, 9 i'r, 10 æ, 11 æ'r, 12 AA, 13 A, 14 A'r, 15 oo, 16 o'r, 17 uu, 18 u, 19 u'r. Hence omitting the ('r), and disregarding quantity, and the confusions (a a, e E), Lepsius admits only (a æ e e i, æ æ, A o u) as English vowels, disregarding (i, ə, u), and recognising (æ).

But even this triangle does not suffice for the Slavonic and Wallachian relations, where two vowels are met with which Lepsius describes thus, in our notation for *tongue* and *lip* position, taking the lip positions of (i, e, a) as three unrounded degrees of opening (1280, d'). In the first place his u is (A_u), "the tongue drawn back in itself, so that in the forepart of the mouth a cavity is left," which agrees with Helmholtz's u (1283, b), and may perhaps be considered as the German u, related to (bh) in the same way as the English u, with the *back of the tongue raised*, is related to (w). The *tongue*-position for Lepsius's u is therefore that for our (A),¹ the *lip*-position being the same as for our (u), and this is the meaning of

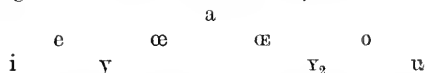
¹ This retraction of the tongue for (A) I frequently found useful when desiring to examine the throat of a child, who, when he opens his mouth, usually stuffs his tongue uncomfortably in the way, from not knowing what to do with it, and is always annoyed by having it held down by a spoon or paper knife, which he naturally struggles against. I used to say, "Open your

mouth, and say (AA) as long as you can." The tongue disappeared immediately, and the examination was conducted without difficulty. "Parents and guardians will please to notice"!! and also to notice that they must shade their own mouth and nose when examining, so as to avoid the dangerous miasma almost always exhaled from a diseased throat.

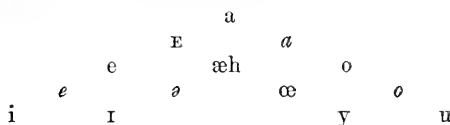
(A_u). Then he makes (y)=(i_u), but makes the Russian и or Polish y =(A_i), or=(u_i) taking the u he describes,¹ and (æ)=(e_o), but the Wallachian ă , etc.=(o_e). He would therefore arrange his triangle thus:



which is very pretty, if correct. But Prince L. L. Bonaparte, as will be presently seen, identifies the Wallachian sound with (æ)=(A_a), being delabialised (A), which would have the tongue lower and the lips opener than (o_e), the real representative of (æ). Between (æ , æ) the difference is not really very great, yet, if I am right in my appreciation of the Forest of Dean sound of ur as (ææ), it is very sensible. The Russian sound has been hitherto treated in this work as (r), and the Prince, being familiar with this sound before he heard the Welsh u , which seems to = (y), felt the connection to be so great, that he at first confused them, and afterwards connected them, as Bell did (y , r). But he recognises a *guttural* character about the Russian sound, which is absent in the Welsh. For a long time I have entertained the same opinion, and hence, on the principle of (1100, d' . 1107, e), I represent it by (r_2), thereby maintaining an elevation of the flat tongue and a widening of the pharynx behind the arches of the palate, which gives my sensations when attempting to reproduce the sound. In this case, however, the prettiness of Lepsius's triangle is somewhat deteriorated, and it becomes:



Brücke,² unable to accommodate all the vowels which he recognises in one triangle, or as he, with most Germans, terms it "pyramid," constructs *four* such. The first seems to be:



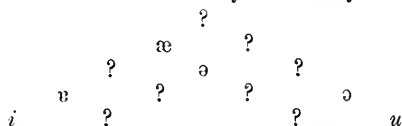
in which, instead of a central stem, there is a central triangle. These are considered to be all the "perfectly formed" vowels, and Englishmen will notice that some of their most familiar vowels (i æ a o u) are absent. These are partly provided for in another scheme of "imperfectly formed" vowels,—the "imperfection" existing, of course, only physiologically in Dr. Brücke's own at-

¹ Lepsius gives *two* accounts, first, "the *lips* take the broad," meaning horizontally transverse, "position of the *i*, and the *tongue* is withdrawn as in the *u*," this, with his value of u , gives (A_i), as in the text. But he afterwards says that in forming this vowel "the middle tongue is lifted up to the palatal [coronal] point in the middle of the hard roof of the palate; from this point it slopes down almost

perpendicularly, so as to leave a cavity between this point and the teeth." This is not quite the same, because for (A) the tongue is simply laid down and back in the lower jaw, but the second description implies some connection between the tip of the tongue and the coronal point of the palate.

² See p. 16 of his tract: *Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transcription*, Wien, 1863, pp. 65.

tempts at pronouncing them. Each one of the above vowels has its "imperfect" form, giving the following pyramid, where (?) represents a sign used by Dr. Brücke, of which he gives no explanation beyond such as is furnished by its locality:



The other two pyramids are merely the nasals formed by adding (Δ) to these signs. The relations between the ordinary vowels, where all nasal resonance is cut off by closing the entrance to the nose with the uvula, and the nasal vowels, where this entrance is opened, are not so completely understood as could be desired. The forms (a_Δ, aa_Δ) indicate that the tongue and lips are in the position for (a), but that the uvula is very differently situated, and this, even if the entrance to the nose were cut off by other means, would essentially modify (a) by the opening out of the upper portion of the pharynx, introducing a new resonance chamber, and by the flapping about of the soft uvula. How far the resonance can be affected by stiffening the uvula, or making the entrance to the upper part of the pharynx more or less open, or by some internal action on the membranes of the nasal passages, is not known, has in fact scarcely been studied at all. The two kinds of "nasality" indicated by affixing (.) or (Δ) to an ordinary vowel-symbol, and the choice of that vowel, are altogether uncertain, as indeed is shewn by the various opinions expressed regarding such well-known sounds as the French nasals.

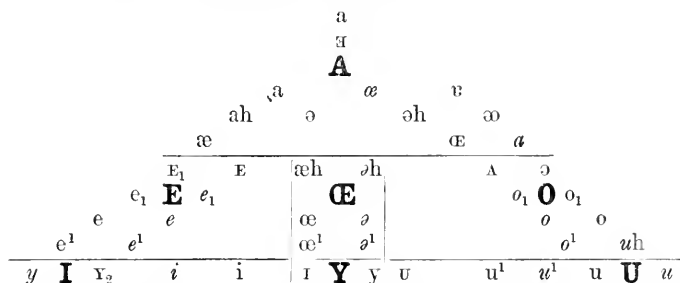
Prof. Haldeman (*op. cit.* 1186, *d.*, art. 369) endeavours to combine all these vowel-sounds in a single triangle with a central core. See his English vowels, *suprà* pp. 1189-93. The ? in this triangle marks doubtful identification with his vowel-symbols, but a brief key is added.

				A	
	Fr. âme	a	ə	urn	
	awe	Δ		ʌ	Suabian ?
	odd	ə		æ	add
	Italian o			e ₁	Coptic ?
	Fr. o ₁	?	œ	Fr. e ₁	Suabian ?
	owe	o		ɛ	there
	obey	o ¹	?	ə	Fr. e
					ebb
					e ¹ Gudjarat'hi ?
	Italian uh			ɪ	Germ.
	'w			?	Alsatian
					'j
Swedish	υ			υ	Swedish u
fool	u				e ¹ Fr. é ?
				ɣ ₂	Russian
					i p'in
pull	u			y	Fr. u
				y	Welsh u
					i machine

Prof. Whitney, as will be seen in the latter part of No. 7, makes the

triangular arrangement with central stem an instrument for shewing the relations between vowels and consonants.

The conception of a *double* triangle has been united with that of a central stem by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. Omitting the nasals, and some other signs, such as (oh oh u₁ 'w 'j i'), which tend somewhat to obscure the general symmetry, as the complete form will be given on p. 1298, the following is in principle the Prince's double triangle, in palaeotypic characters.



On comparing these arrangements with Bell's (p. 15), it will be seen that the inner triangle corresponds generally to 'primary' and the outer to 'wide' forms, and that in the central stem, the right-hand column is 'primary,' and the left-hand 'wide,' while the only 'rounded' forms are all those in the classes (O, U, Y, Œ). But to carry out this last restriction, apparently, the forms (ɔ, œ, ɶ, ʊ, əh, ə, œ), which have to me all more or less a tinge of the (Œ) quality, and which are practically constantly confounded together and with those here assigned to the (Œ) family, are given to the (A) family. The great peculiarity of this triangle, however, consists in not terminating the (A E I) and (A O U) limbs by the typically closest positions of the series. It will be seen that the first terminates with (y ɣ₂), and that the series then extends along the base, through (i i), where the closest position is reached, to the labialised central core (ɾ), where the palato-labial series commences. And the second limb terminates with (u u), which again are not so close as (u¹ u¹), and these go on to (ʊ), which is almost *on* the central core, and leads up to (y), where the labial series is palatalised, and the palato-labial series commences on this side, and so on to (ɾ). Hence the base of the triangle would probably be best represented by two curves sweeping from **I** to **Y**, and from **U** to **Y**, where they unite, and proceed in a vertical line through **Œ** to **A**, and then (i, u¹) would be outside, and (i, u¹, ʊ) just inside, so that the 'wide' and 'primary' vowels would be kept distinct. By drawing these lines on the printed scheme, together with the limbs **A E I**, **A O U**, a better conception of this extremely ingenious arrangement will be obtained.

This double triangle, with central stem and curved base, exhibits the relation of vowel gradations in a very convenient form, and may help many readers to a better conception of certain "intermediate" forms, than any long physiological description of the forms of resonance chamber by which they are produced. The

identifications of the Prince's symbols with palaeotype are practically his own, with the exception of (E_1), which is a theoretical intermediate form, for which he has given no key-word, but see (1108, *a*). That the forms with ($'_1$) precisely represent the same as are produced by the physiological actions these signs were introduced to symbolise (1107, *a'*), may be sometimes doubtful. Nevertheless, for a study of vowel relations, this triangle, here printed from the Prince's unpublished papers, is of more material value than any of the other triangular arrangements which have been cited above, though they all serve more or less accurately to shew the subjective relations of the vowels by which the changes have been generally estimated. But the real causes of the changes are certainly to be sought in the relations of position of tongue, lips and pharynx, and the more or less careless habits of speakers in assuming definite relations, dependent upon the ease with which approximations to definite position, and hence quality of tone, are appreciated. This readiness of appreciation, or perhaps of confusion under one conceived genus, is due, probably, to the necessarily wide varieties in the qualities of tone usually identified by the speaker himself, which arise from difference of pitch, already mentioned, and emotional modifications. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that what one nation, or tribe, or clique, is in the habit of confusing, another is in the habit of distinguishing. To an Englishman it is indifferent how he modifies his pitch in speaking, to a Chinese such modifications are all important.

All such changes from a vowel in one part of the scale, to another not far remote on either side, may be called *gradations* (1281, *d*), and we may say that a vowel thus replaced is *gradated*, a general term, avoiding the usual metaphors of weakening, strengthening, etc., or even *degradation*.

It must not, however, be supposed that dialectal speakers are indifferent to their vowel qualities. Each speaker is tolerably clear about the matter, till he is questioned, and then, like the educated speaker, he becomes bewildered or doubtful. Also, in using his words in different collocations, he unconsciously uses different sounds. Also, when the listener attempts to give him back his sound, almost certainly incorrectly, the native speaker is apt to acknowledge as identical what are really different, or to find immense differences where the listener felt hardly an appreciable distinction. Again, dialectal speakers vary greatly from one another, when the finer forms of elements are considered. The investigator generally knows but few. Hence he is apt to be deceived. Are we to suppose that the great varieties of Early English spelling are due simply and always to carelessness or ignorance? My dialectal experience leads me to think that much may be due to difficulties of appreciation and varieties of pronunciation, and that some of the best spelling, by the most careful men, such as Orrmin and Dan Michel, even when consistent (which, as we know, is not always the case), may give sharp *subjective* distinctions, and may contain *accommodations* to alphabetic resources, which are not correct as real representatives of the language spoken. My own personal experience of phonetic

writers, during many years, leads me to a similar conclusion. For older hired scribes, who wrote before the inauguration of a mechanical system of spelling, to settle all questions by an iron rule, and while letters really represented sounds to an appreciable extent, another cause may have acted. They wrote much from dictation, or when they wrote from 'copy,' they transferred the word into sound in their heads, and they were so slow in forming the letters that they laboured an analysis of the sound as they went on. This naturally varied as they used the word after intervals or in different connections. It does so with every one; this is the mere outcome of experience. But with the old scribe the result was a corresponding alteration of spelling. The word was considered in isolation, hence its rhythmical or rhyming qualities did not enter into consideration. The analysis was uncertain, hence it altered. It was tintured by the local habits of the scribe, with whom, therefore, the spelling changed also in generic character. The point least thought of was the general habit of pronunciation, because it was really unknown, and there was no early standard. It seems to me that very much of the varieties of our early MSS. can be thus accounted for, and some puzzling, but not frequent, groups of letters satisfactorily explained.

The net result then for our dialectal examples is that only class changes can be tolerably well ascertained, such as (I) into (E), (A) into (E), (A) into (O), (E) into (A), (O) into (A) or (U), (U) into (O) or (Y), and all into (Æ), including (ə). Unmistakable instances of all these will be found, but whether they are due to the feelings of weakening, thickening, narrowing, broadening, obscuration, or to physiological relations of the parts of speech, or, as I am often inclined to think, to hereditary and imperfect imitations of fashions for some unknown reasons assumed as models, does not seem to be determinable with our present very limited stock of knowledge. Alterations stated to occur *within* classes, orthoepical distinctions of (i, i), of (e, e) or (e, E), of (ah, a, a), of (A, ə, o), of (o, o), of (u, u, u), of (y, ə), of (ə, æ), of (æ, æ, v, ə), are all extremely doubtful. When exhibited in phonetic writing, they must be taken on the word of the investigator as the best distinctions he was able to make at the time, to be corrected when his "personal equation" is known. Experience, gathered from myself and others, has convinced me that opinions alter *widely*, and within short intervals, while listening to repeated utterances of the same speaker, as to the precise shade of sound heard. Hence I consider that it would be premature to draw absolute conclusions from them. We know in France and Germany that much confusion as to (ə, æ) prevails. The French distinguish (E, e) sharply, and so do the Italians. The French also distinguish (o, o), but the Italians have (o, uh) in their place.¹ All this is easy when we have written documents and much

¹ Prince L. L. Bonaparte does not make precisely these distinctions. He gives what is here marked (E, e) in French as (e₁, e), and what is marked

(o, o) in French and (o, uh) in Italian as (o₁, o) in both. It is certainly sufficient for intelligibility to make the distinctions (e, e; o, o) in both, and

discussion. Both fail for our dialects, where a strict consideration of sound is quite in its infancy.

most probably individuals in different localities, even of the highest education, differ materially as to the precise distinction they make, and believe most firmly that their own habits are universally adopted by received speakers.

Since the above note was in type, I have had a curious confirmation of the correctness of this conjecture. Mr. Henry Sweet informed me (6th Feb., 1874), on his return from Holland, where he had had an opportunity of examining the pronunciation of Dr. Donders, Prof. Land, and Prof. Kern, to whom I have had occasion to allude at length (1102, *c*. 1109, *d'* to 1110, *c*. 1114, *b*), that they have each different pronunciations, and that each considers his own not only the *correct*, but the *general* pronunciation. The following notes, with which he has furnished me, are interesting, not only in this respect, but in reference to the passages just cited. The letters D, L, denote Donders and Land, and when they are not used, the pronunciation is general.

a = (æ, a); (æ) [or, as Mr. Sweet's pronunciation sounded to me, (a)] before (l), otherwise (a).

aa = (aa), as in Danish, *maan* (m.aa).

e = (e'), *bed* (bet), sometimes (æ), *gebed* (ghəbē't), D only.

ee = (ee) L, (ééi) D; *been* (beēn) L, (beēn) D, the diphthong quite distinct.

-eer = (eer) L, (eē) D; *meer* (meer) L, (meē) D, so that L follows English use.

e unaccented = (ə), *de goede man* (də ghurə man). The *d* between two vowels often becomes (w) or (j); *Leyden* is (LEəjə), the first (e) running on to the (j) as a diphthong, the final *n* being dropped as usual. This final *-e* is always pronounced when written, except in *een*, *één*, *een man*, *éene vrouw*, *éene vrouw*, (ən-man, ən-vrou, een vrōn).

i = (e') or (e'), Scotch *i*, unaccented often (ə), *twintig* (tbhe'n'tak'h).

ie = (i) short, except before *r*, *niet* (nit), *bier* (biir).

o, from original *o*, = (o) L, (o) D; *slot* (slot) L, (slot) D.

o, from original *u*, = (Ao) L, Danish *aa*, (o) D; *bok* (bAk) L, (bok) D.

oo = (oo) L, (óou) D, *boom* (boont) L, (bóum) D.

oor = (oor) L, (oor) D, *boor* (boor) L, (boor) D.

u = (o, œ, əh), *duin* = (dɔn, dœn, d.əh).

uu = (i), *minuut* (min't), *zuur* (zɪr).

eu = (əə) L, (ə'ɪ) D, *neus* = (nəs) L, (nə'ɪs) D.

eur = (œœr) L, (əɹ) D, *deur* = (dœœr) L, (dɹ) D.

aai = (aai).

ei, *ij* = (E'ɪ). Prof. Kern, a Gelderlander, makes *ei* = (E'ɪ) and *ij* = (ah'ɪ) [see Dr. Gehle's pronunciation (295, *c*)]. L artificially distinguishes (ei) as (E'ɪ) and *ij* as (e'ɪ), probably learned in Friesland; in ordinary speech he makes both (E'ɪ).

au, *ou* = (ə'u) L, (óu) D, *blauw* (blə'u) L, (blóu) D, *koud* (kə'ut) L, (kóut) D.

ui = (ə'h'w, əh'ɪ), *huis* (həh'wɪs), *lui* (ləh'ɪ), final. The (əh) is slightly more guttural than in the English *err*. [Dr. Gehle said (nhə'ɪs), at least such was his intention, compare the Devonshire diphthong below, No. 10, subdialect 41; Mr. Hoets, from the Cape of Good Hope, was satisfied with (ə'ɪ), as in French *œil*.]

w = (bh), *v* = (v), *f* = (f), *wat vat fat* (bhat vat fat); *w* and *v* are always distinct, *v* is often whispered ('v), and appears sometimes to be made voiceless (f), so that it is confused with *f* (in Amsterdam). Land's *sluiscousant* or explosive (w) [at which Donders was equally surprised with myself (1103, *b*)] is made by drawing the under lip over the upper teeth so as to cover the interstices without touching the upper lip at all; if the upper lip is touched, the effect is too near to (b). It is peculiar to Land, who, however, hears it always both in Dutch and German. [Neither L nor D hear North German *w* as (v), although identified with (v) by Lepsius and Brücke. Neither Mr. Sweet nor myself have heard (v) from any German. Prince L. L. Bonaparte has recently heard an old Dutch retainer call *v* ('v) and *w* (bhə).]

z is often whispered ('z).

r is strongly trilled, either with point of tongue (r) or uvula (r').

g is pronounced quite soft (ɫgh) by good speakers, the trilled (grh) is vulgar.

l is more guttural than palatal, like the English and Scotch *l* [i.e. more near to (lw) than (lj), or rather (lj) than (lj)].

The kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte enables me to furnish one of the most remarkable examples of vowel appreciation and classification which has ever been published. The Prince, during last winter, as the outcome of his phonetic studies pursued during many years, with unprecedented facilities for hearing varieties of pronunciation, drew up a scheme of vowel and consonant classification. To the vowel scheme he appended a list of all the vowel-sounds which, so far as he could appreciate, existed in each of forty-five European languages. At my request, and purposely for the present work, he verified his appreciation by giving in each language a word containing that vowel-sound, together with its meaning, serving to identify it. He has thus constructed the most extensive series of *key-words* ever attempted, and has furnished a means of arriving within comparatively narrow limits at the meaning of the palaeotypic symbols. Of course there will be no absolute identity. First there is his own personal equation in observing, next there is that of another observer, and these may cause so great a divarication that the identification may be disputed in many cases. I have found several in which I do not appreciate the distinctions of sound in precisely the same way as he does. Still the limits of difference are in no case very great, and their very existence is important in relation to the gradation of vowels when appreciated qualitatively.

In order to make this remarkable work more valuable for philological purposes, I have arranged it as follows. First, on p. 1298, I give the Prince's complete triangle, of which there is an extract on p. 1289. As it was impossible to use the Prince's own symbols, many of which have never been cut as types, I have confined myself to giving the *numbers* in his list. Hence, whatever may be thought of the palaeotypic equivalents afterwards added, each vowel can be immediately identified as B 1, B 2, etc., B indicating *Bonapartean*, and thus referred to in any English or foreign treatise. For typographical reasons I have, as before, omitted the sloping lines of his triangle. These may be readily supplied thus: by drawing lines from **A** at the top, through **E** to **I**, through **O** to **U**, and through **Œ** to **Y**. The first two lines separate the primary and wide vowels. The two uprights between the two horizontal lines should be parallel to the other two, and point to 35 on the left, and 62 on the right. The vertical lines inclosing 67, **Y**, (65, 66) and the horizontal lines, are correct. The capital letters **I**, **E**, **A**, **O**, **U**, **Y**, **Œ**, indicate the classes, the limits of which are clearly marked by these lines.

Next follows a linear list of the 75 sounds entered as vowels in the above triangle, in order of their numbers, with their palaeotypic equivalents. Except for 5, 9, 12, 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 47, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 73, 74, 75, these equivalents were furnished by the Prince himself, and hence indicate his own appreciation of my characters. Of these 5 is determined by the Danish example after Mr. Sweet to be (a). Then 22 is the (e₁) already mentioned (1290, a). Number 36 is only exemplified by an indeterminate unaccented Scotch vowel, scarcely distinguishable from (i); but, as

Mr. Murray considers it nearer to (i), the Prince has made it intermediate to (i, i), and I have used (i¹) as the symbol, where the greater closeness (1107, *b*), indicated by (i¹), refers rather to the width of the opening of the pharynx than to the height of the tongue. Number 56 is identified by a Swedish sound, which seems to be best indicated by (u₁). The English and Icelandic examples of 61 sufficiently identify it with ('w). Perhaps 62, which is only identified in Swedish, is not quite properly represented by (u¹), but its position in the triangle leads me to that symbol. A similar doubt hangs over 63, (u¹), identified only in Lap and Norwegian. As to 74 and 75, the systematic character of the Prince's symbols leads me to think that (æ¹, ø¹) are probably correct, especially as the latter is also identified with the Scotch *ui* in *guid*. Here (ø¹) is the sound I have hitherto written (y₁). With regard to the other numbers not identified with palaeotype by the Prince himself, they are all nasals or semi-nasals, formed on bases already identified, and hence have been written by adding (Λ) or (,) to the palaeotypic equivalents of those bases. These additional symbols have been all approved by the Prince, but some doubt necessarily remains as to the correctness of the physiological identification, in which, however, he is not much interested, and very probably some will have to be altered hereafter. Thus (25 *e*₁, 46 *o*₁, 55 *o*¹) were identified by the Prince with sounds which Mr. Sweet writes (E, A_o, o_u) respectively; see the Danish vowels, language 40, below. It is almost impossible that ears attuned naturally to English and foreign sounds respectively should agree on such minute points.

The numbers in the first column in this list refer to the numbers of languages in the list beginning on p. 1300, in which the sound has been identified with that used in a given word. Taking the identifications to be tolerably correct, these numbers give a very remarkable result. At the end is given after the sign (=) the number of the languages in which each vowel-sound has been identified. Collecting these results, and considering 'l, 'r, as two additional vowels, we find in

Languages.	the vowels	Languages.	the vowels
0	15 <i>æ</i> , 17 'h, 19 øh, 22 E ₁ , 24 e ₁ , 42 øh, 44 øh, 45 o ₁ , 53 øh, 73 æΛ = 10 vowels.	8	69 øh = 1 vowel.
1	2 a ₁ , 5 a, 6 ah, 9 æΛ, 10 v, 11 æ, 12 æ ₁ , 13 ø, 14 i, 21 æ, 36 i ¹ , 38 i ₁ , 59 u ₁ , 62 u ¹ , 64 v, 68 æh, 70 øΛ, 'l = 18 vowels.	10	8 æ = 1 vowel.
2	4 æ, 26 e ₁ , 30 eΛ, 33 y, 40 'j, 41 ø, 52 øΛ, 56 u ₁ , 61 'w, 63 u ¹ , 66 yΛ = 11 vowels.	11	35 i, 43 A = 2 vowels.
3	47 o ₁ , 50 øh, 67 i, 74 æ ¹ , 'r = 5 vowels.	12	72 ø = 1 vowel.
4	20 a, 39 iΛ, 60 uΛ, 75 ø ¹ = 4 vowels.	13	71 æ = 1 vowel.
5	3 aΛ, 23 E, 48 o ₁ Λ, 54 uh = 4 vowels.	14	16 'h = 1 vowel.
6	27 e ₁ Λ, 55 o ¹ , 57 u = 2 vowels.	15	49 o = 1 vowel.
7	7 ø, 31 e ¹ , 32 e ¹ , 34 y ₂ = 4 vowels.	20	65 y = 1 vowel.
		21	51 o = 1 vowel.
		24	29 e = 1 vowel.
		25	28 e = 1 vowel.
		27	46 o ₁ = 1 vowel.
		33	25 e ₁ = 1 vowel.
		41	18 'h = 1 vowel.
		42	58 u = 1 vowel.
		43	1 a = 1 vowel.
		44	37 i = 1 vowel.

It appears then that 60 out of the 77 vowels, including ('l, 'r), recognised by the Prince, occur each in less than 9 languages, and only each of 17 occur in 10 or more languages. These 17 are consequently those to which attention must be chiefly directed. In order of the number of languages in which they occur, shewn by the figures placed after the letters, they are—

37 i, 44	28 e, 25	71 æ, 13
1 a, 43	29 e, 24	72 æ, 12
58 u, 42	51 o, 21	35 i, } 11
18 'h, 41	65 y, 20	43 A, } 11
25 e ₁ , 33	49 o, 15	8 æ, 10
46 o ₁ , 27	16 'h 14	

From these we may reject (18 'h) as not being generally considered a vowel at all, because not "voiced,"¹ and (16 'h) as undifferentiated voice, which is therefore not usually put among the vowels. It would be in accordance with the habits of many phonologists to consider (4 æ, 7 æ, 10 æ, 11 æ, 13 æ) and (16 'h) as all forms of the same vowel, which, to agree with Rapp and English phonologists, may be looked upon as (æ). Giving then to (æ) all the different languages now credited with those vowels just named, it occurs, under some more or less distinct form, in 20 languages. The appreciation of so many vowel-sounds as (e₁) instead of (E) has put (E) out of and (e₁) into this series. The Prince has not found (E, e₁) simultaneously, except in 12. Ostiac, and 26. Rhetian; in the first he has not given an example, but in the second he tells me that he has heard the extraordinary series (8 æ, 23 E, 25 e₁, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), where 4 means are interposed between (æ, i).² It is of course possible that other observers might note the sounds rather as (8 æ, 22 E₁, 23 E, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), or even as (8 æ, 23 E, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e¹, 35 i), or might consider the sounds here separated as (23 E, 25 e₁) to be the same. The recognition of all the terms in such a series is so difficult, that (e₁) may be considered as the Prince's appreciation of what other observers class as (E); thus in 40. Danish, he appreciates Mr. Sweet's (E) as (e₁). If we do not count these two languages twice, (E, e₁) together appear in 35 languages. Again, as regards (o, o₁), it will be seen that the Prince has not found them both in any language but 21. Italian, and (39). Norwegian after Aasen. As regards Italian, it is only quite recently that the Prince has considered the sounds (28 e, 49 o) to have been used in unaccented syllables, having formerly supposed the sounds to be

¹ The Russians reckon their Ѣ as a vowel, and the Prince identifies this with (18 'h). He also considers a peculiar kind of after-sound in the Wallachian final (n, m) to be the same, see language 27, below. To me it sounded, when he pronounced it, more like ('h), coming immediately after a

nasal, and very short, as (vin;'h). The (16 'h) when final, he usually pronounces more strongly than is customary with careful English speakers.

² See also *Ascoli's Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, Rome, 1873, which, in a remarkable paper on these dialects, also recognises four means.

(29 *e*, 51 *o*) in such cases, and he has also quite recently considered the 'open' Italian *e*, *o*, in accented syllables to be (*e*₁, *o*₁), instead of (*e*, *o*) as he formerly thought them to be (1180, *b*), that is, he did not formerly consider the difference sufficiently marked to require independent symbols. The separation of (*o*₁, *o*) under these circumstances is somewhat doubtful. In the Norwegian, the example for (*o*₁) is *maane*, which is (*ā*_o), according to Mr. Sweet. Altogether, therefore, we may consider that (*o*₁, *o*) are fine distinctions of sounds usually confused as (*o*), and for our present purpose so confuse them. Hence, adding together the numbers of languages for (*o*₁ and *o*), taking care not to count these two twice over, and crediting them all to 49 *o*, its number becomes 42.

The scale of importance of the 15 vowels thus distinguished above all others, where (18 'h) is omitted, (4 *ā*, 7 *æ*, 10 *ε*, 11 *æ*, 13 *œ*, 16 'h) are all confounded as (*ə*), (*e*₁, *ε*) as (*ε*), and (*o*₁, *o*) as (*o*), is therefore as follows, the numbers before the vowel being the Bonapartean, and those after the vowel the numbers of European languages out of 45 in which they occur, which are slightly different from those in the last table (1295, *a*).

37 i	44	28 e	25	71 æ	13
1 a	43	29 ε	24	72 ə	12
58 u	42 }	51 o	21	35 i	11 }
49 o	42 }	7 ə	20 }	43 ā	11 }
23 ε	35	65 y	20 }	8 æ	10

and there is little doubt that with these 15 vowels, forming the series

I E A O U Y Œ
i i, e e E, æ ā, ā o o, u, y ə, œ ə

and supplemented by their nasal forms where necessary, all the principal languages of the world could be written with an accuracy far surpassing any that has yet been exhibited. Different nations would necessarily demand varieties for their peculiar differentiations, and phonetic inquiries into gradations of sound would require the minutest symbolisation; but no foreigner is likely to appreciate a language with more real accuracy, until he has undergone severe phonetic discipline. The 7 classes of vowels are thus divided into 15 genera, of which the numerous species are exhibited in the list of Vowel Identifications, pp. 1300-1307.

In this last list the languages are arranged according to the Prince's own systematic classification, the whole of the vowel-sounds known to occur in any language are given in the order of the Bonapartean vowels, with the corresponding palaeotype, and an example is given to each, in the ordinary orthography of the language, with a translation. After the name of each language is given the number of vowels with which it is thus accredited, assuming (16 'h, 18 'h) and ('r, 'l) to be vowels. If we reject these, the numbers of vowels, except in languages 19. Modern Greek, 21. Italian, and 22. Spanish, will have to be diminished by 1, 2, or even 3, as in 47. Bohemian. The following will be the numbers of the vowels after these rejections:

Vowels	occur in languages.	Vowels	occur in languages.
5	3 = 19 Modern Greek, 22 Spanish, 43 Illyrian.	11	2 = 2 Finnish, 26 Rhetian, Oberland dialect.
6	1 = 52 Lettish.	12	7 = 1 Basque, 10 Hungarian, 12 Ostiak, dialect of Surgut, 17 Albanian, Guègue dialect, 35 Dutch, 36 Modern Friesian, Western dialect, (37) Scotch.
7	5 = 6 Permian, 9 Morduin, 11 Vogul, 14 Welsh, 45 Bulgarian.	13	4 = 3 Estonian, 5 Lap, dialect of Finmark, 34 Low German, dialect of Holstein, 38 Icelandic.
8	7 = 15 Cornish, extinct, 25 Roman, Catalan, 27 Wallachian, 42 Russian, 44 New Slovenian, Wendish, 47 Bohemian, 50 Lithuanian.	14	1 = 49 Cassubian.
9	3 = 4 Livonian, extinct dialect of Salis, 8 Tsheremissian, on the right bank of the Volga, 21 Italian.	16	4 = 16 Breton, 24 French, (39) Norwegian of Aasen, 40 Danish, after Sweet.
10	4 = 7 Votjak, 33 High German, 46 Polish, 48 Lusatian.	17	1 = 39 Swedish.
		19	2 = 23 Portuguese, 37 English.
		21	1 = 13 Gaelic.

The vowels selected by those languages that have the same number are by no means identical; thus Portuguese and English, which have each 19 vowels in this estimation, have only 6 in common, namely (1 a, 8 æ, 37 i, 51 o, 57 u, 58 u). This may serve partly to explain the difficulty felt in acquiring the pronunciation of foreign languages. It also by no means follows that the languages most generally esteemed for their sonorousness, or their cultivation, have the greatest number of vowels. Thus 22. Spanish has only 5, 14. Welsh only 7, 21. Italian only 9, 33. High German only 10, 37. English, taking the received dialect, after Smart, and admitting (ʃ, 'w) to be vowels distinct from (i, u), is put down at 19, which, on removing these, reduces to 17, as in 39. Swedish. But if we include all the dialects, the previous enumeration (1262, c) gives, independently of length and doubtful nasalities, and the numerous fractures, and inserting (i', æ) = Glossic [i, ua], which were accidentally omitted, the following 30 vowels from the Prince's list, (1 a, 4 æ, 6 ah, 7 ə, 8 æ, 10 u, 13 æ, 20 a, 21 æ, 23 e, 24 e, 25 e, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e', 33 y, 35 i, 36 i', 37 i, 41 ə, 43 a, 49 o, 51 o, 54 uh, 57 u, 58 u, 65 y, 71 æ, 72 ə, 75 a'), to which (o_w, u_w) or (u⁴) have probably to be added, and other vowels may yet be recognised, for example (42 oh, 50 oh), in Bell's unaccented syllables (1160, a).

It is obvious that the 5 vowel signs of the Roman Alphabet a, e, i, o, u, are quite insufficient for intelligibly writing any one of these languages, except 19. Modern Greek, 22. Spanish, and 43. Illyrian, and would be insufficient to write even the dialects of these. What is the proper notation for all these languages is an inquiry not here raised. The notation here employed, whether palaeotypic or glossic, is merely a makeshift, to give a means of writing all these languages so that they could be printed with ordinary types,—an end hitherto unattained, if indeed ever attempted. The "missionary alphabet" of Max Müller¹ is the nearest approach to this, but it is extremely defective in vowel signs, and requires several (4 or 5) special types. Merkel's² is a mere make-

¹ The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of the Three Families of Language, Semitic,

Arian, and Turanian, 2nd ed. with an appendix on the Missionary Alphabet, etc., London, 1855. ² Laetick, 1866.

8 æ	5 12 13 23 25 26 35 37 (37)
	42 = 10
9 æ _Δ	23 = 1
10 e	37 = 1
11 æ	13 = 1
12 æ _Δ	13 = 1
13 æ	37 = 1
14 i	37 = 1
15 æ	= 0
16 h	16 17 23 24 25 26 33 34 35 36
	37 (37) 49 52 = 14
17 e _h	= 0
18 h	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
	14 15 16 17 24 25 26 27 33
	34 35 36 37 (37) 38 (39) 39
	40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
	50 52 = 41
19 əh	= 0
20 a	24 34 36 (37) = 4
21 æ	27 = 1

E

22 E ₁	= 0
23 E	2 5 8 12 26 = 5
24 e ₁	= 0
25 e ₁	3 4 5 7 9 10 11 12 13 16 21 23
	24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36
	(37) 38 (39) 39 40 44 45 46
	47 48 49 50 52 = 33
26 e ₁	13 16 = 2
27 e _{1Δ}	1 17 23 24 46 49 = 6
28 e	1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 14 15 17
	19 21 22 24 26 34 37 (39)
	39 40 43 45 = 25
29 e	2 3 10 12 13 16 21 23 24 25
	26 33 34 35 36 38 (39) 42
	44 47 48 49 50 52 = 24
30 e _Δ	16 23 = 2
31 e ^l	16 23 35 36 (37) 46 48 = 7
32 e ^l	3 4 5 27 (37) (39) 40 = 7

I

33 y	12 14 = 2
34 y ₂	6 7 9 13 27 42 46 = 7
35 i	5 13 15 26 37 38 (39) 39 40
	49 50 = 11
36 i ^l	(37) = 1
37 i	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
	14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24
	25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37
	(37) 38 (39) 39 40 42 43 44
	45 46 47 48 50 52 = 44
38 i	13 = 1
39 i _Δ	1 16 17 23 = 4
40 j	37 38 = 2

O

41 o	37 40 = 2
42 əh	= 0

43 A	10 12 13 15 34 36 37 42 44 48
	49 = 11
44 əh	= 0
45 o ₁	= 0
46 o ₁	2 3 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 15 16 21
	23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36
	38 (39) 39 40 47 49 = 27
47 o ₁	13 46 49 = 3
48 o _{1Δ}	1 16 17 23 24 = 5
49 o	1 4 11 14 17 19 21 22 37
	(37) (39) 43 45 50 52 = 15
50 əh	3 7 8 = 3
51 o	3 10 13 15 16 21 23 24 25 33
	34 35 37 38 39 42 44 46 47
	48 49 = 21
52 o _Δ	23 49 = 2
53 əh	= 0
54 əh	10 23 46 48 49 = 5
55 o ^l	3 5 (37) (39) 40 = 5

U

56 u ₁	2 39 = 2
57 u	17 23 37 38 (39) 50 = 6
58 u	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
	14 15 16 19 21 22 23 24 25
	26 27 33 34 35 36 37 (37)
	38 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
	49 50 52 = 42
59 u ₁	13 = 1
60 u _Δ	1 17 23 49 = 4
61 'w	37 38 = 2
62 u ^l	39 = 1
63 u ^l	5 (39) = 2
64 u	39 = 1

Y

65 y	1 2 3 4 7 8 10 11 12 16 17 24
	33 34 35 36 (39) 39 40 49
	= 20
66 y _Δ	1 17 = 2
67 i	40 47 48 = 3

Æ

68 æh	5 = 1
69 əh	2 14 16 24 34 35 39 40 = 8
70 əh _Δ	24 = 1
71 æ	3 4 6 7 10 12 26 33 34 38 (39)
	39 40 = 13
72 ə	2 10 13 16 24 33 34 35 36
	(39) 39 40 = 12
73 ə _Δ	= 0
74 æ ^l	6 8 13 = 3
75 ə ^l	(37) 38 (39) 39 = 4

Murmurs.

'l	47 = 1
'r	43 44 47 = 3

PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL IDENTIFICATIONS IN 45 EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

See (p. 1293). These languages are arranged in the order of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's revised classification, as given in French in a footnote to Mr. Patterson's account of Hungarian in my Presidential Address to the Philological Society for 1873 (Transactions for 1873-4, Part II., p. 217). The classification is here incidentally repeated and translated. The different observations as they occur, unless inclosed in [], are taken from the Prince's classification or MSS. All the vowel-sounds in each language, so far as known to the Prince, are given for each language separately. Occasionally, when differences of opinion exist, the list thus formed is eclectic, and gives his own individual judgment. The left hand numbers in each list are those in the triangular and linear arrangements. Then come the forms in palaeotype, followed by a word containing the vowel, in its original spelling; if the word has more than one vowel-sign, a subsequent number, 1, 2, 3, etc., shews whether the first, second, or third, etc., vowel is intended; by this means the usual printed form of the word is preserved. When this is not sufficient, the vowel not being expressed, the place of its insertion is marked by (), or the full pronunciation of the word is given. When two adjacent vowel-signs form a digraph to represent the vowel-sound, their numbers are bracketed thus [1, 2]. Finally, the meaning of the word is given in English, and in italic letters, except, of course, for the English language itself.

Morphological Classification of European Languages.

CLASS I.

A. BASQUE STEM.

1. BASQUE. 13 vowels.

N.B.--The letters S, R, after a word, indicate the Souletin dialect, and the Roncalais sub-dialect, respectively.

- 1 a ura, 2, *the water*
- 3 aa āhālke, 1, 2, S, *shame*
- 27 e₁A mēhē, S, 1, 2, *thin*
- 28 e ille, 2, *hair*
- 37 i begi, 2, *eye*
- 39 ia mīhī, S, 1, 2, *tongue*
- 48 o₁A ōrzi, 1, R, *to bury*
- 49 o bero, 2, *hot*
- 58 u sagn, 2, *mouse*
- 60 ua ūhūū, S, 1, 2, *thief*
- 65 y sü, S, *fire*
- 66 ya sühīa, 1, S, *the son-in-law*
- 18 'h bat(), *one*

B. ALTAIC STEM.

a. Uralian Family.

a. Tshudic Sub-family.

i. Finnish Branch.

2. FINNISH. 12 vowels.

- 1 a maa [1, 2], *earth*
- 23 E pää [1, 2], *head*
- 28 e reki, 1, *sledge*
- 29 e niemi, 2, *promontory*
- 37 i iili [1, 2], *luch*
- 46 o₁ toveri, 1, *companion*
- 56 u₁ Suomi, 2, *Finland*
- 58 u puu [1, 2], *tree*

(2. Finnish, continued.)

- 65 y syys [1, 2], *autumn*
- 69 əh köyhä, 1, *poor*
- 72 ə työ, 2, *labour*
- 18 'h estet(), *impediment*

3. ESTHONIAN. 14 vowels.

- 1 a ma, *I*
- 25 e₁ kazi, 1, *hand*
- 28 e eme, 1, *before*
- 29 e enne, 2, *before*
- 32 e¹ k()ēl' [pronounced (ke¹eelj)], *tongue*
- 37 i ilm, *world*
- 46 o₁ tolmu, 1, *dust*
- 50 oh wōlg, *debt*
- 51 o pō(j)l' [pronounced (po¹oolj)], *half*
- 55 o¹ tolmu, 2, *dust*
- 58 u Jumal, 1, *God*
- 65 y üks, *one*
- 71 əv ö, *night*
- 18 'h lüht(), *light*

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Salis, still spoken at the beginning of the XIXth century. 10 vowels.

- 1 a kaks, *two*
- 25 e₁ mad, *our*
- 28 e bet, *but*
- 32 e¹ ()ēzgyrd [pronounced (e¹ez-gyr(d))], *nigh*
- 37 i iza, 1, *father*
- 49 o koda, 1, *house*
- 58 u k'ulk, *side*
- 65 y siina, 1, *name*
- 71 ə loud, 1, *to find*
- 18 'h piutt(), *to take*

II. Lap Branch.

5. LAP, dialect of Finmark. 14 vowels.

1 a	hallo, 1, <i>pleasure</i>
7 o	lâkkâ, 1, 2, <i>near</i>
8 æ	bârdne, 1, <i>son</i>
23 e	ælla, 1, <i>he lives</i>
25 e ₁	ædne, 1, <i>mother</i>
32 e ¹	jurdêlêt, 2, 3, <i>to think</i>
35 i	sivvo, 1, <i>diligence</i>
37 i	sivo, 1, <i>beaten way on the snow</i>
46 o ₁	dolla, 1, <i>fire</i>
55 o ¹	gonagas, 1, <i>king</i>
58 u	ruðak, 1, <i>money</i>
63 u ¹	jukkim, 1, <i>I parted</i>
68 æh	buörre, 2, <i>good</i>
18 'h	lokkat(), <i>to read</i>

b. Permian Sub-Family.

6. PERMIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a	ma, <i>honey</i>
28 e	Jen, <i>God</i>
34 y ₂	kyk, <i>two</i>
37 i	bi, <i>fire</i>
46 o ₁	zon, <i>son</i>
58 u	jur, <i>head</i>
74 æ ¹	ötyk, 1, <i>one</i>
18 'h	mört(), <i>man</i>

7. VOTIAK. 11 vowels.

1 a	zarni, 1, <i>gold</i>
25 e ₁	nił'äti, 2, <i>fourth</i>
28 e	pel, <i>ear</i>
34 y ₂	ym, <i>mouth</i>
37 i	in, <i>heaven</i>
46 o ₁	vor, <i>thief</i>
50 oh	ös, <i>door</i>
58 u	jurt, <i>house</i>
65 y	üi, 1, <i>night</i>
71 æ	tödy, 1, <i>white</i>
18 'h	berkut(), <i>eagle</i>

c. Volgaic Sub-Family.

i. Tsheremissian Branch.

8. TSHEREMISSIONIAN, dialect of the right bank of the Volga. 10 vowels.

1 a	mam, <i>but</i>
23 e	erga, 2, <i>son</i>
28 e	edem, 1, 2, <i>man</i>
37 i	vid, <i>water</i>
46 o ₁	kokta, 2, <i>two</i>
50 oh	töre, 1, <i>peace</i>
58 u	Juma, 1, <i>God</i>
65 y	kü, <i>stone</i>
74 æ ¹	nör, <i>field</i>
18 'h	olat(), <i>they are</i>

II. Morduin Branch.

9. MORDUIN, dialect Ersä. 8 vowels.

1 a	ava, 1, 2, <i>woman</i>
25 e ₁	käd, <i>hand</i>
28 e	lem, <i>name</i>
34 y ₂	syrne, 1, <i>gold</i>
37 i	ki, <i>who</i>
46 o ₁	ou, <i>dream</i>
58 u	ukska, 1, <i>wasp</i>
18 'h	kot(), <i>weaving</i>

d. Ugrian Sub-Family.

i. Hungarian Branch.

10. HUNGARIAN or Magyar. 13 vowels

1 a	kár, <i>to injure</i>
25 e ₁	nyelv, <i>tongue</i>
28 e	veres, 1, <i>read</i>
29 e	szél, <i>wind</i>
37 i	hid, <i>bridge</i>
43 a	kar, <i>arm</i>
51 o	pók, <i>spider</i>
54 uh	nol, <i>where</i>
58 u	tudom, 1, <i>I know it</i>
65 y	fű, <i>grass</i>
71 æ	ökör, 1, 2, <i>ox</i>
72 ə	fő, <i>head</i>
18 'h	atyát(), <i>father, in acc.</i>

ii. Vogul Branch.

11. VOGUL, dialect of the Konda. 8 vowels.

1 a	katš, <i>brother</i>
25 e ₁	ät, <i>hair</i>
28 e	ne, <i>wife</i>
37 i	ini, 1, 2, <i>thorn</i>
49 o	chotel, <i>day</i>
58 u	chulp, <i>net</i>
65 y	püv, <i>son</i>
18 'h	kat(), <i>hand</i>

III. Ostiac Branch.

12. OSTIAC, dialect of Surgut. 13 vowels.

1 a	ârex, 1, <i>song</i>
8 æ	âdhlai, 2, <i>morning</i>
23 e	[known to exist, but no example known]
25 e ₁	pet, <i>nest</i>
29 e	péthlei, 1, <i>cloud</i>
33 y	jig, <i>father</i>
37 i	jipel, 1, <i>shade</i>
43 a	pas, <i>glove</i>
46 o ₁	nok, <i>above</i>
58 u	sugas, 1, 2, <i>autumn</i>
65 y	mül, <i>cap</i>
71 æ	kör, <i>oven</i>
18 'h	küt(), <i>six</i>

N.B.—Finnish, Esthonian, and Livonian, differ from Lap nearly as Greek from Latin. Similarly for Tsheremissian in relation to Morduin, and for Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostiac among one another.

- β. *Samoyedic Family* } with their
 γ. *Tartaric Family* } sub-families
 δ. *Tungusic Family* } and
 ε. *Mongolic Family* } branches.

C. DRAVIDIAN STEM, etc.

D. WESTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.

E. EASTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.

F. G. H., etc., etc. OTHER STEMS differing greatly from each other, but belonging to this first class.

CLASS II.

A. INDO-GERMANIC STEM.

[N.B.—The dead languages are placed, and their names printed in italic capitals, but no pronunciation is given.]

a. *Celtic Family.*

i. Gaelic Branch.

13. GAELIC. 22 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, M, indicate Scotch and Manx Gaelic respectively.

- 1 a adhare, 1 [pronounced (aiærk)],
 horn
 2 a_i math, S, *good*
 7 ə déanta, 3, *done*
 8 æ glas, *green*
 11 œ laogh [1, 2], S, *calf*
 12 œ_i maodal [1, 2], S, *tripe*
 25 e₁ féar [1, 2], *grass*
 26 e_{1i} freumh [1, 2], S, *root*
 29 e céim [1, 2], *step*
 34 x₂ daor [1, 2], *dear*
 35 i mil, *honey*
 37 i rí, *king*
 38 i_i sinnsreadh [letters 2, 3, 4], S,
 ancestors
 43 A árd, *high*
 46 o₁ son, S, *sake*
 47 o_{1i} didomhnaich, 2, S, *sunday*
 51 o ór, *gold*
 58 u eúl, *back*
 59 u_i déanadh [3 last letters], *doing*
 72 ə leigh, 1, M, *law*
 74 α⁻¹ keayn [letters 2, 3, 4], M, *sea*
 18 'h mallacht(), *curse*

ii. Breton Branch.

a. Welsh.

14. WELSH. 8 vowels.

- 1 a bardd, *bard*
 28 e nerth, *strength*
 33 y dyn, *man*
 37 i gwin, *wine*
 49 o môr, *sea*
 58 u cwmwl [letters 2 and 4], *cloud*
 68 əh dynion, 1, *men*
 18 'h bôt(), *round body*

b. Cornish.

15. CORNISH, as spoken in the XVIIIth century, now extinct. 9 vowels.

- 1 a hâv, *summer*
 28 e pedn, *head*
 35 i guydn [letter 3], *white*
 37 i piji, 1, *prayer*
 43 A bôz, *to be*
 46 o₁ kylobman, 2, *pigeon*
 51 o mor, *sea*
 58 u gubar, 1, *wage*
 18 'h bohojok(), *poor man*

c. Breton.

16. BRETON. 18 vowels

N.B.—The letter V indicates the dialect of Vannes.

- 1 a mât, *good*
 3 aA hañ [letters 2 and 3], *summer*
 25 e₁ dervez, 1, 2, *day*
 26 e_{1i} keñta [letters 2 and 3], *first*
 29 e éva, 1, *to drink*
 30 eA éñv [letters 1 and 2], *heaven*
 31 e¹ mané, 2, V, *mountain*
 37 i tî, *house*
 39 iA iñtañv [letters 1 and 2], *widower*
 46 o₁ tomm, *hot*
 48 o_{1A} moñt [letters 2 and 3], *to go*
 51 o gôlô, 1, 2, *cover*
 58 u gouzout [1, 2], [3, 4], *to know*
 65 y dû, *black*
 69 əh eunn [1, 2], *a*
 72 ə keùneùd [1, 2], [3, 4], *firewood*
 16 'h câret, 2, V, *loved*
 18 'h kaout(), *to have*

β. *Greco-Latin Family.*

i. Albanian Branch.

17. ALBANIAN, Guègue dialect. 14 vowels.

- 1 a amē, 1, *mother*
 3 aA bāni, 1, *he did*
 27 e_{1A} l'ēng, 1, *let*
 28 e et, *thirst*

(17. *Albanian*, continued.)

- 37 i bir, *son*
 39 ia vīne, 1, *they come*
 48 o₁Δ ðōng, 1, *they do*
 49 o zot, *lord*
 57 u burre, 1, *husband*
 60 uA ã, *hunger*
 65 y krūpe, 1, *salt*
 66 yA hūni, 1, *he entered*
 16 'h nde, *in*
 18 'h dielit(), *of the sun*

ii. Greek Branch.

18. *ANCIENT GREEK*, dead.19. *MODERN GREEK*. 5 vowels.

- 1 a φεγγάρι, 2, *moon*
 28 e νεφέλη, 1, 2, *cloud*
 37 i ψωμί, 2, *bread*
 49 o χρόνος, 1, 2, *year*
 58 u πουλί [1, 2], *bird*

iii. Latin Branch.

a. Latin.

20. *LATIN*, dead.

b. Italian.

21. *ITALIAN*. 9 vowels.

- 1 a gatto, 1, *cat*
 25 e₁ sella, 1, *saddle*
 28 e sellaio, 1, *saddler*
 29 e stella, 1, *star*
 37 i fine, 1, *end*
 46 o₁ bosco, 1, *wood of trees*
 49 o boschetto, 1, *grove*
 51 o bocca, 1, *mouth*
 58 u buco, 1, *hole*

22. *SPANISH*. 5 vowels.

- 1 a madre, 1, *mother*
 28 e mujer, 2, *woman*
 37 i hijo, 1, *son*
 49 o plomo, 1, 2, *lead* n.
 58 u luna, 1, *moon*

23. *PORTUGUESE*. 20 vowels.

- 1 a más, *bad*, fem. pl.
 3 aA lã, *wool*
 8 æ mas, *but*
 9 æA cama, 1, *bed*
 25 e₁ sé, *see* n.
 27 e₁Δ sempre [letters 2, 3], *always*
 29 e sê, *be*, imperat. sing.
 30 eA senha, 1, *sign*
 31 e¹ cear, 1, *to sup*
 37 i vício, 1, 2, *vice*
 39 ia sim [letters 2, 3], *yes*

(23. *Portuguese*, continued.)

- 46 o₁ avó, 2, *grandmother*
 48 o₁Δ som [letters 2, 3], *sound* n.
 51 o avô, 2, *grandfather*
 52 oA sonho, 1, *dream*
 54 uh o, *the*
 57 u soar, 1, *to sound*
 58 u túmulo, 1, 2, *tomb*
 60 uA um [both letters], *one*
 16 'h se, *if*

e. French.

24. *FRENCH*. 18 vowels.

- 1 a chat, *cat*
 3 aA dent [letters 2, 3], *tooth*
 20 a diable, 2, *devil*
 25 e₁ père, *father*
 27 e₁Δ vin [letters 2, 3], *wine*
 28 e musette, 2, *bagpipe*
 29 e dé, *die*, n.
 37 i if, *yew-tree*
 46 o₁ botte, *boot*
 48 o₁Δ bon [letters 2, 3], *good*
 51 o beau, *beautiful*
 58 u poule, *hen*
 65 y lune, *moon*
 69 øh veuf [1, 2], *widower*
 70 øhA un [both letters], *one*
 72 ø feu [2, 3], *fire*
 16 'h cheval, 1, *horse*
 18 'h fat(), *foppish*

25. *ROMAN*, Catalan. 10 vowels.

- 1 a casa, 1, *house*
 8 æ casa, 2, *house*
 25 e₁ net, *nephew*
 29 e nèt, *clean*
 37 i cosí, 2, *cousin*, male
 46 o₁ dona, 1, *woman*
 51 o mòlt, *much*
 58 u jutge, 1, *judge* n.
 16 'h pare, 2, *father*
 18 'h foch(), *fire*

26. *RHETIAN*, Oberland dialect. 13 vowels.

- 1 a bab, *father*
 8 æ essan, 2, *we are*
 23 e ärr, *field*
 25 e₁ pumèr, 2, *tree*
 28 e valèr, 2, *to be worth*
 29 e vénder, 1, *to sell*
 35 i figl, *son*
 37 i masira, 2, *measure*
 46 o₁ bov, *ox*
 58 u bun, *good*
 71 œ oegl [1, 2], *eye*
 16 'h lader, 2, *thief*
 18 'h uffont(), *child*

d. Wallachian.

27. WALLACHIAN. 9 vowels.

[There are three orthographies in use, Cyrillic, Mixed, and Roman or etymological. The words are here given in the most esteemed form of the last, and the pronunciation of each word has been added in full.]

1	a	acü, 1, (ak'), <i>needle</i>
21	æ	tatä, 2, (ta,tæ), <i>father</i>
25	e ₁	versü, 1, (ve ₁ rs), <i>verse</i>
32	e ¹	bine, 1, (be ¹ ne ₁), <i>well adv.</i>
34	r ₂	păine [1, 2], (p _r ₂ ne ₁), <i>bread</i>
37	i	vinü, 1, (vi,n'), <i>wine</i>
46	o ₁	omü, 1, (o ₁ m'), <i>man</i>
58	u	ulmü, 1, (u ₁ lm'), <i>elm</i>
18	h	bărbatü, 3, (bærba,t'), <i>husband</i>

γ. Germano-Scandinavian Family.

1. German Group.

a. Extinct.

28	GOTHIC	dead
29	OLD HIGH GERMAN	dead
30	OLD LOW GERMAN	dead
31	ANGLO-SAXON	dead
32	FRIESIAN	dead

b. German.

33. HIGH GERMAN. 12 vowels.

1	a	mann, <i>man</i>
25	e ₁	fett, <i>fat</i>
29	e	ehre, 1, <i>honour</i>
37	i	milch, <i>milk</i>
46	o ₁	Gott, <i>God</i>
51	o	ohne, 1, <i>without</i>
58	u	buch, <i>book</i>
65	y	brüder, 1, <i>brothers</i>
71	œ	böcke, 1, <i>roe-bucks</i>
72	ə	könig, 1, <i>king</i>
16	'h	mutter, 2, <i>mother</i>
18	'h	gut(), <i>good</i>

34. LOW GERMAN, dialect of Holstein. 15 vowels.

1	a	dat, <i>the</i>
20	a	maken, 1, <i>to make</i>
25	e ₁	het, <i>he has</i>
29	e	leed [1, 2], <i>song</i>
37	i	wien [1, 2], <i>wine</i>
43	ä	wo, <i>how</i>
46	o ₁	kopp, <i>head</i>
51	o	moder, 1, <i>mother</i>
58	u	kuss, <i>kiss</i>
65	y	küssen, 1, <i>to kiss</i>
69	əh	aver, 1, <i>over</i>
71	œ	döchter, <i>daughter</i>
72	ə	könig, <i>king</i>
16	'h	hütten, 2, <i>huts</i>
18	'h	hart(), <i>heart</i>

35. DUTCH. 14 vowels.

1	a	vlag, <i>flag</i>
8	æ	kerk, <i>church</i>
25	e ₁	bel, <i>bell</i>
29	e	nemen, 1, <i>to take</i>
31	e ¹	ik, <i>I</i>
37	i	titel, 1, <i>title</i>
46	o ₁	top, <i>top</i>
51	o	komen, 1, <i>to come</i>
58	u	zoet [1, 2], <i>sweet</i>
65	y	u, <i>you</i>
69	əh	durven, 1, <i>to dare</i>
72	ə	beuk [1, 2], <i>beech</i>
16	'h	bode, 2, <i>messenger</i>
18	'h	kat(), <i>cat</i>

36. MODERN FRIESIAN, western dialect. 14 vowels.

1	a	makke, 1, <i>made</i>
20	ä	äld, <i>old</i>
25	e ₁	sette, 1, <i>to set</i>
29	e	leech [1, 2], <i>low</i>
31	e ¹	stik, <i>piece</i>
37	i	wit, <i>white</i>
43	ä	moarn [1, 2], <i>morning</i>
46	o ₁	lot, <i>lot</i>
51	o	doge, 1, <i>to be worth</i>
58	u	hûs, <i>house</i> } indifferently
65	y	hûs, <i>house</i> } (u, y)
72	ə	guds, <i>horse</i>
16	'h	mûsen, 2, <i>to mouse</i>
18	'h	doopt(), <i>baptized</i>

c. English.

37. ENGLISH [see remarks on Smart (1199, a')]. 21 vowels.

1	a	father, 1
4	æ	the book, 1
6	ah	ass
7	ə	character, 2
8	æ	man
10	e	pollute, 1
13	œ	bird
14	ɪ	ea()r
28	e	bed
35	i	milk
37	i	bee
40	'j	ga()te, pronounced (gee'jt)
41	ə	God
43	ä	all
49	o	more, 1
51	o	omit, 1
57	u	book [1, 2]
58	u	pool [1, 2]
61	'w	ho()me, pronounced (rhoo'wem)
16	'h	open, 2
18	'h	bit()

(37). SCOTCH, Southern dialect. 14 vowels.

4	æ	to turn, 2
8	æ	men
20	a	man
25	e ₁	way
31	e ¹	siller, 1, <i>silver</i>
32	e ¹	there, pronounced (dhee'r)
36	i ¹	fishes, 2
37	i	to leave [2, 3]
49	o	God
55	o ¹	folk, pronounced (foo'k)
58	u	house [1, 2]
75	a ¹	guid [1, 2], good
16	'h	gaed, pronounced (gee'd), <i>went</i>
18	'h	that()

II. Scandinavian Group.

a. Icelandic.

38. ICELANDIC. 14 vowels.

1	a	maður, 1, <i>man</i>
25	e ₁	hestur, 1, <i>horse</i>
29	e	bein, 1, <i>bone</i>
35	i	vita, 1, <i>to know</i>
37	i	rikur, 1, <i>rich</i>
40	'j	bein, 2, <i>bone</i>
46	o ₁	opinn, 1, <i>open part</i> .
51	o	góður, pronounced (goo'wdhur), <i>good</i>
57	u	hún, <i>she</i>
58	u	úngur, 1, <i>young</i>
61	'w	góður, [see 51]
71	æ	smjör, <i>butter</i>
75	a ¹	sumar, 1, <i>summer</i>
18	'h	lopt(), <i>air</i>

b. Modern Scandinavian.

(39). NORWEGIAN. The literary 'conventional dialect of Aasen,' which, though founded on the various Norwegian dialects, and used in some printed works, is, nevertheless, the creation of an individual author. 17 vowels.

1	a	hat, <i>hatred</i>
25	e ₁	klæde, 1, <i>to clothe</i>
28	e	lesa, 1, <i>to read</i>
29	e	kne, <i>knee</i>
32	e ¹	time, 1, <i>hour</i>
35	i	skir, <i>to clean</i>
37	i	liva, 1, <i>to live</i>
46	o ₁	maane [1, 2], <i>moon</i>
49	o	skot, <i>shoot n.</i>
55	o ¹	stor, <i>great</i>
57	u	sumar, 1, <i>summer</i>
63	u ¹	hus, <i>house</i>
65	y	by, <i>town</i>

(39). Norwegian, continued.)

71	æ	dökk, <i>dark</i>
72	ə	lök, <i>brook</i>
75	a ¹	stytt, 1, <i>to shorten</i>
18	'h	hatt(), <i>hat</i>

39. SWEDISH. 18 vowels.

1	a	all, <i>all</i>
7	ə	saker, 2, <i>things</i>
25	e ₁	ära, 1, <i>glory</i>
28	e	meja, 1, <i>to mow</i>
29	e	leda, 1, <i>to lead</i>
35	i	vinna, 1, <i>to win</i>
37	i	vin, <i>wine</i>
46	o ₁	sofva, 1, <i>to sleep</i>
51	o	kol, <i>cole</i>
56	u ₁	stor, <i>great</i>
62	u ¹	skuld, <i>cause</i>
64	u	hus, <i>house</i>
65	y	fyra, 1, <i>four</i>
69	əh	först, <i>firstly</i>
71	æ	kött, <i>meat</i>
72	ə	dö, <i>to die</i>
75	e ¹	syster, 1, <i>sister</i>
18	'h	hatt(), <i>hat</i> .

40. DANISH, according to Mr. Henry Sweet. [Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1873-4, p. 103.] 17 vowels.

N.B. These do not always correspond with those assigned by the Danish Grammarians.

5	a	mand, <i>man</i>
7	ə	maue, 1, <i>to conjure</i>
25	e ₁	hest, <i>horse</i> [Mr. Sweet writes (E)]
28	e	læse, 1, <i>to read</i>
32	e ¹	een [1, 2], <i>one</i>
35	i	spille, 1, <i>to play</i>
37	i	hvid, <i>white</i>
41	ə	folk, <i>people</i>
46	o ₁	maane [1, 2], <i>moon</i> [Mr. Sweet writes (A _o)]
55	o ¹	stor, <i>great</i> [Mr. Sweet writes (o _u)]
58	u	ugle, 1, <i>owl</i>
65	y	skylle, 1, <i>to rinse</i>
67	ɪ	nyde, 1, <i>to enjoy</i>
69	əh	størst, <i>greatest</i> } [latest ortho-
71	æ	dør, <i>door</i> } graphy ö for ø]
72	ə	han døer, 3, <i>he does</i>
18	'h	hat(), <i>hat</i>

δ. Slavo-Lettish Family.

1. Slavonic Branch.

a. Slave.

41. OLD SLAVE, dead.

42. RUSSIAN. 9 vowels.

[The pronunciation of each word is added.]

- 1 a ПАКА, 1, 2, (pa'ka), *stick*
 8 æ МЯСО, (m'iesA), *'meat*
 29 e ДЕРЕВО, 1, 2, (de'revA), *tree*
 34 x₂ МЫ, (m'x₂), *we*
 37 i МІРЪ, (mir), *world*
 43 A ХУДО, 2, (khu'dA), *ill adv.*
 51 o ВОЛНА, 1, (vo'l'na), *wool*
 58 u МУЖЪ, (muzh), *man*
 18 'h ХВОСТЪ, 2, (khvos't'), *tail*

43. ILLYRIAN. 7 vowels.

- 1 a brada, 1, 2, *beard*
 28 e peta, 1, *heel*
 37 i riba, 1, *fish*
 49 o noga, 1, *foot*
 58 u ruka, 1, *hand*
 18 'h vrat(), *neck*
 'r prst, *finger*

44. NEW SLOVENIAN, Wendish. 10 vowels.

- 1 a dati, 1, *to give*
 7 ə dober, 2, *good*
 25 e₁ jê, *he is*
 29 e jê, *he eats*
 37 i mir, *peace*
 43 A bôb, *bean*
 51 o zôb, *tooth*
 58 u ura, 1, *hour*
 18 'h brât(), *brother*
 'r hrt, *greyhound*.

45. BULGARIAN. 8 vowels.

- 1 a bába, 1, *grandmother*
 7 ə dùp, *oak*
 25 e₁ bánè, 2, *bath*
 28 e déte, 1, *child*
 37 i zímù, 1, *winter*
 49 o zlató, 2, *gold*
 58 u kúkù, 1, *hook*
 18 'h brat(), *brother*

b. Polish.

46. POLISH. 11 vowels.

- 1 a sam, *alone*
 25 e₁ teraz, 1, *now*
 27 e_{1A} będę, *I shall be*

(46. Polish, continued.)

- 31 e¹ ehléb, *bread*
 34 x₂ byli, 1, *they have been*
 37 i pili, 1, 2, *they have drunk*
 47 o₁ jada, 2, *they go away*
 51 o pogoda, 1, 2, *fine weather*
 54 uh Bóg, *God*
 58 u cud, *miracle*
 18 'h grzmot(), *thunder*

47. BOHEMIAN. 11 vowels.

- 1 a skála, 1, *rock*
 25 e₁ led, *ice*
 29 e mléko, 1, *milk*
 37 i víra, 1, *faith*
 46 o₁ zvon, *bell*
 51 o ó, o
 58 u duch, *spirit*
 67 i kdy, *when*
 18 'h kohout(), *cock*
 'l vlk, *wolf*
 'r prst, *finger*

48. LUSATIAN, Sorbian, Wendish. 11 vowels.

- 1 a trawa, 1, 2, *grass*
 25 e₁ jehó, 1, *of him*
 29 e zemja, 1, *earth*
 31 e¹ wěra, 1, *faith*
 37 i figa, 1, *fig*
 43 A wono, 1, *thing*
 51 o woko, 1, 2, *eye*
 54 uh dwór, *court*
 58 u huba, 1, *lip*
 67 i zyma, 1, *cold n.*
 18 'h dórth(), *mouthful*

49. CASSUBIAN, a still-existing dialect of the extinct *POLABIC*. 16 vowels.

- 1 a gadac, 1, 2, *to talk*
 25 e₁ mech, *moss*
 27 e₁ geba, *mouth*
 29 e zřè, *evil*
 35 i łacinski, 2, 3, *Latin*
 43 A jôd, *venom*
 46 o₁ pômóc, 1, 2, *aid*
 47 o₁ kąt, *corner*
 51 o dobri, 1, *good*
 52 oA dom, *house*
 54 uh Bóg, *God*
 58 u szum, *rush*
 60 uA kunszt, *art*
 65 y hysop, 1, *hyssop*
 16 'h nêkac, 1, *to bear down*
 18 'h czart(), *devil*

II. Lettish Branch.

a. Lithuanian.

50. LITHUANIAN. 9 vowels.

- 1 a bálkis, 1, *beam*
- 25 e₁ vèžti, 1, *to drive*
- 29 e dèzė', 1, 2, *box case*
- 35 i kirvis, 1, 2, *axe*
- 37 i yrà, 1, *he is*
- 49 o momà, 1, *mother*
- 57 u neszù, 2, *I bear*
- 58 u pùlti, 1, *to fall*
- 18 'h kû-met(), *at which time*

b. Prussian.

51 PRUSSIAN, dead.

c. Lettish.

52. LETTISH. 8 vowels.

- 1 a gars, *spirit*

(52. Lettish, continued.)

- 25 e₁ mettu, 1, *I throw*
- 29 e séja, 1, *seed*
- 37 i bitte, 1, *bee*
- 49 o lōki, pronounced (luoaki), only the (o) is referred to, *leeks*
- 58 u blussa, *flea*
- 16 'h mēle, 2, *tongue*
- 18 'h tizzēt(), *to believe*

B. SEMITIC STEM,

admitting, as I do, the correctness of Ascoli's opinion as to the connection of the Indo-European and Semitic stems, although it is disputed by the majority of modern linguists.—L.L.B.

iv. On Vowel Fractures and Junctures.

The word *fracture* here introduced is of course imitated from Grimm's *brechung*, but it does not in any respect imply his theory of length (1265, *b.* 1270, *b.*). By *Fracture* will be meant the replacement of one vowel by two, more or less closely connected by a glide. By *Juncture* will be meant, conversely, the replacement of two vowels, generally gliding on to one another, by a single vowel, either one of the two original, or some sound developed in the glide which originally joined them. As to the comparative lengths of the one and the two elements, no theory is started. As to the absolute monosyllabic character of the fractures, no assumption is made. As a general rule, the speaker feels the fracture as monosyllabic, he actually often feels it as containing only one vowel; so that it is only with difficulty, after much hesitation, and frequently unwillingly after strenuous denial, that he comes to recognise the fractured character. It requires generally a fresh ear or a tutored ear to recognise them at all. The fresh ear, if not tutored, is apt only to recognise some peculiarity, without stating its nature, and when it attempts to state it, is often ludicrously incorrect. These statements are the result of experience, not theory. The knowledge of fractures is rather new to myself. There were many ways of speech to which I was well accustomed, without having the least idea that they belonged to this class. Dialectal fractures I scarcely appreciated at all, except as sporadic curiosities, till quite recently; yet they are most conspicuous characters of our northern and south-western dialects. And extending my view from English to other European languages, I seem to see them largely developed even in written tongues, while the unwritten dialects abound in them. It is therefore necessary to form some classification, pointing out their typical characters. But this must be taken as provisional, requiring probably years of research into living uses, to verify, correct, and replace. If philology is worth anything, the labour of investigating

fractures, and their corresponding junctures, will not be thrown away, for they are vital points in the consideration of vowel relations. It would be quite premature to propound any theory for their origin. The phenomena themselves are not sufficiently known and grouped, and the circumstances under which they arise, although attempted in certain cases to be determined by Grimm, are far too vaguely felt, or too loosely stated, or too imperfectly ascertained, to render a general theory possible. The diversity of local habits, and even of habits within the same district, as to words used on different occasions, either of collocation of words, or of relations of the speaker to the listener, throws great difficulties in the way of any physiological or even subjective theory. Our present business is, therefore, simply to propose a rough classification of the phenomena, to assist in grouping. The subsequent dialectal examples will furnish numerous instances.

Fractures may be divided into two classes, according as the adventitious vowel is *pre-fixed* (*Prefractures*) or *suf-fixed* (*Suffractures*). The original vowel may be *gradated* (1290, *c*) in any way at the same time.

Prefractures are *weak* or *apertive* when the *prefixed* vowel has a greater closure formed by the tongue or lips than the original vowel, so that the result is a progressive opening. Its types are (íá, úá, íú), with the first element under the stress, but varying as (iá, uá, úí). It is the first form (íá, úá) which is so conspicuous and remarkable in our northern dialects. The second, which often develops from the first, as (iá, uá), has a wide range in the literary languages of Europe.

Prefractures are *strong* or *clausive* when the *original* vowel has the greater closure, so that the result is a progressive closing. Its types are (ái, áu, úí), and do not, at least commonly, vary as (aí, aú),¹ although (uí) is not uncommon.

Suffractures take either of the above forms, that is, may be either *apertive* or *clausive*, or may be simply *continuant* or *laxative*, the opening of the mouth continuing much the same throughout, or merely relaxing into some of the easy positions, giving obscure resonance, such as (ə). The first element is, however, the original, or one of its gradations, and the second the adventitious. In the types, then, the first element is marked long, as (éí, óu, áá). The two first types have crept into received English pronunciation. They are largely developed in Icelandic. They probably were so in old Norman, and have doubtless influenced our Early English forms. The last type (áá) is widely developed in our dialects.

Omissive suffractures arise from the suppression of a consonant, or

¹ Here (aí, aú) must not be confused with Grimm's Gothic "broken vowels" *ai, au*, where "*i* and *u*, losing their purity, pass over into a mixed sound" (D.G. I³, 50), supposed to be different from the usual Gothic *ai, au*, which he writes *ái, áu*, and takes as (*ái, áu*), see

table in (561, *b*). My use of the acute accent in the notation of diphthongs (419, *c*) was suggested by Grimm's, but in palaeotype (*ai, au*) are real diphthongs, and not any "mixed sound," whatever Grimm may have conceived that expression to imply.

its gradual change into (i, u, ə). The types are (ái, áu, áə), and they have been largely developed in the received dialect, or its early forms, by the suppression of *g* and *r*, and sometimes *l*.

False fractures are such as have been simply developed recently by mere imitation, or false analogy. They take any of the above forms. Thus the Londoner's (naa'ə) for *gnaw* comes from the analogy of his omissive fracture (maa'ə, maa') for *more*, replacing (moo'), and similar words.

Junctures arise from the substitution of a practically intermediate sound for a fracture of any sort, or from the suppression of an element, thus (ái, áu) may give (e, o) as intermediates, or (a) by suppression; both cases occur.

The most important point to be determined in examining a fracture relates to the original vowel, and, as that vowel is frequently gradated even to obscurity, it is frequently not recognisable without comparison of the forms of a word in various dialects. When the original vowel reaches obscurity, it is necessarily disguised in ordinary alphabetic writing, and will appear under one of the forms *e, a, o, u*, quite independently of any variety of sound, according to the fancy of the writer at the moment, partly swayed perhaps by etymological considerations.¹ I am not inclined to give medieval writers credit for greater exactness than their modern followers, especially when they had absolutely no sign for an obscure vowel. I do not see why an Anglosaxon scribe in the xth century should not have used *ea, eo*, precisely as I find modern dialectal writers actually employ them, so far as the second element is concerned. If they had been able to write (eə) in both cases, they would probably often have done so. Not having this power, however, the signs remain ambiguous, and either (éə) may have been meant, or really (éa, éo).

It was in the Cumberland dialect that the *apertive prefractures* first presented themselves to me in recognisable purity. It was impossible to hear (fías, díal, líat) for *face, dale, late*, and (bríad, stían) for *broad, stone*, with a perfectly distinct (a), and to observe *fool, look* vary from (f'íul, líuk), through (f'íəl, líək), to (fíə'l, líə'k), without recognising that the original (a, u) had been introduced by an adventitious (i), which, usurping the accent, occasionally obscured the other vowel. The subsequent comparison of three Yorkshire forms of speech with the Scotch led me to formulate the process thus. *Speakers in different districts have a tendency to introduce an opener vowel by a closer.* The tendency varies very much, even in contiguous districts, even in different speakers within the same district, even in the same speaker on different occasions. The introducing vowel generally usurps the stress, and thus obscures the original vowel, but this obscurity does not always follow, and the stress sometimes passes to the original vowel, or its gradated representative, shewing that this was a subsequent process, as the gradation, especially when amounting to obscurity, was more likely to occur

¹ Compare the "etymological" ä ǣ ǣ graphy, in the examples, p. 1304, ö ǔ of the Roman Wallachian ortho- language 27.

without than with the stress. The original vowel being of the (e) class, the introducing vowel was of the (i) class; but when the original vowel was (a), the introducing vowel was either (i) or (e). The North Mid and Mid Yorkshire forms of speech, hereafter adduced, are distinguished by this difference. The introducing vowel might also be (u) in this case, but this is not so frequent for an original (a) as for an original (o). The types (ie, ía, éa, úo) are the most general. But as long as the stress remains on the first element, the second is very difficult to hold distinctly, and rapidly passes over into (o); thus the forms (íə, éə, úə) are the most frequent forms of the preceding types. When this stage is reached, the tendency seems to be to drive the obscuration further, by shortening the second element, till it becomes a mere voice-glide, connected so closely with the preceding vowel as to seem rather to generate a new sound than to remain a mere appendage. Thus arise the *close fractures* (i', i', e', e', u', u'), of which (i', u') are of constant occurrence in Scotch, where they have been written by Mr. Murray, in his historical orthography (*op. cit.* p. 103), as *ea, uo*, the very signs adopted by medieval writers for related phenomena. The following are Mr. Murray's remarks on these two fractures. "This, the *ea, eae*, in *leade, breae*, is a very difficult sound to analyse. When pronounced leisurely, however, the main element will generally be recognised as the long of the English *i*, heard in singing *bit* to a long note *bi-i-i-t*, this sound gliding or opening at the end into the *e* in *yet*, Scotch *y* in *byt*, or perhaps the mid-mixed vowel (ə) in the second syllable of *real*, which occupies a mid position between the Scotch *y* in *myll* (mel) and *u* in *mull* (mæl). I often hear the identical sound in English, when the word *real* (rii'əl) is carelessly pronounced, as (riəl, ri'l). When rapidly pronounced, the glide is scarcely heard, and the two sounds seem to mix into an impure *ee* (i) or close *ai* (e)." (*ibid.* p. 105.) Mr. Murray's (i) is rather deeper than mine, and sounds to me generally like (i₁) or (e'), so that his (i') approximates closely to an (e), but a remarkably altered (e). As respects *uo*, Mr. Murray says: "This vowel bears precisely the same relation to *oo* (u) and *o* (o) that *ea* does to *ee* (i) and *ai* (e). When pronounced leisurely, the main element will be heard to be the same as the English 'wide' *oo* (u) in *book, poor*, but this sound opens and glides towards the *u* in *gun* (ʌ). When rapidly pronounced, however, the effect of the glide is scarcely felt, and we seem to hear only a very close *o*, almost falling into *oo* (u), and nearly, if not quite, identical with the Italian *o chiuso*, representing a short Latin *u*, as *dolce, rompe, somma*." (*ib.* p. 111.) These introductions of (e, a, o) by (i, e, u) consequently lead directly to the substitution of (i) for (e) or (a), (e) for (a), and (u) for (o). In fact, an unpractised ear receives (i', e', u') for (ii, ee, uu).¹ *Stone*, ags. (staan), which is (stían) in Cumberland, becomes (sti'n) in Teviotdale, and we hear of (steen) in "general Scotch," and (stiin) in Aberdeen.

The most remarkable of these prefractures is (íu), where (u) is a

¹ German *lieben* and such words have (ii) for (i'), see Grimm (I³, 227).

gradation of (o). In Cumberland I was for a long time puzzled with what appeared from description to be a peculiar (y, u) sound. Subsequent hearing shewed me that it varied as (iu, io, iə'), and was in fact a real prefracture of (u). In Norfolk the custom varies, (iu, iú, iy, y, y₁, ə) being used as substitutes for (nu); this is even the case in a few words in Kent. In Devonshire, while (y, y₁, ə) are generally acknowledged, see p. 636, note, yet the fracture (mʰən, mʰ'n) may be noticed. The sounds (y, y₁, ə) as used in these dialects could not be a Norman introduction, as they occur in words where Normans have (uu). They are not a necessity of Scotch pronunciation, for the Scotch retain the (uu) sound where it was received from Anglosaxon and French. Hence I am led to consider this (y, y₁, ə) as in all cases a *juncture* arising from the *fracture* (iu, io) differently developed in different districts, according to a native custom of pronunciation, and to be in no respects a foreign importation. That the real French (y) which was introduced in French words, as *nature*, followed the course of the native fracture, is very probable, and this may account for the simultaneous existence of (iu, y) in the mouths of Wilkins and Wallis, just as we have seen they long afterwards co-existed sporadically.¹ It is also possible that the puzzling use of *u* in the XIIIth century (424, *b*), which finally introduced *ou* for (uu), may have been due to a similar prefracture. Even the short *u*, which interchanges with *i*, *e* (300, *a*), may be due to a very close (i', e') form of this fracture. The consideration of fracture at any rate introduces a new consideration depending upon a native existing habit, with whose various forms the old orthography was powerless to deal. For example, the open (éə) could not be orthographically distinguished from the close (e'), except by leaving the former as *ea* or *eo*,² and the latter as *e*. This may account for the remarkable treatment of *eo*, *e*, by Orrmin (487, *ed*). The hesitation of that writer brought to light by the condition of his manuscript is quite familiar to all those who try to fix a speech on paper. The analysis of fractures is always especially difficult, and the Latin alphabet had made no provision for it. With regard to the particular tendency to interpose (i) before (u), I have been lately struck with its comparative frequency in educated pronunciation, where the speaker would probably have been much offended had any such tendency been hinted at. The (i) is generally (i), and very light, and sometimes varies with (y). Thus I have heard *room* vary as (rum, r*l*iúm, r*l*yúm), so that there would be clearly very little difficulty in reaching (rym, ry₁m, rəm).

When the original element is retained distinctly, the position of

¹ The real French (y) in France itself is derived from an original Latin (u), and the process of derivation may have been precisely the same, from (iu). We find numerous proofs of the existence of the types (ia, úa) in French, so that this hypothesis has an historic foundation.

² The Anglosaxon fractures *ea*, *eo*—to which perhaps the confusion of *ea*, *ae*, with each other and with *a*, will allow us to add *ae*, too cursorily treated on p. 511—will be reconsidered in Chap. XII. Among dialectal writers I have found the utmost confusion in respect to *ea*, *ae*, in the forms (i', e').

the stress is very uncertain. Hence (ia, ua) are as apt to become (iá, uá) as (ía, úa). They are, as it were, in a state of unstable equilibrium. This I state from my own personal feelings in listening to Cumberland sounds. But the choice once made has a considerable effect on subsequent development, and either position of the stress may be originally developed. Initially, that is with no preceding consonant, the stress falls on the second element or original vowel, and then, in accordance with present English habits, the introducing (i, u) become the consonants (j, w). But that this was the Anglosaxon custom there is considerable reason to doubt (p. 511), either as to the position of the stress on the second element, or as to the consonantal development of the first element.¹ At present, even in Scotland, we have (JEN, JE'b'l, JEK, JET) for *one, able, oak, oat* (Murray, p. 105), all being cases of (iá) in the gradated form (ie'). Mr. Murray even writes (HJEM) where I seemed to hear him say (nhiém).² In general I think that the jerk or aspiration acting on the initial (i) or (u) saves it from becoming (j), but that is a matter of theory, very difficult to decide practically. We have also in Scotch (wǽrtshet, wǽrpi lif, wǽpen) for *orchard, orpine, open*. And similarly to the (HJ), Mr. Murray writes (Hwǽl), where I suspect (nhuǽl), for *hole*, etc., which is consistent with his secondary historical form *huöle*, etc. (*ibid.* p. 112.) The greater number of dialectal writers use *y, w*, in these cases, even after a consonant, as *Jwohn* in Cumberland, implying (Dzhwon), which is to me a very difficult combination; but I seem to hear (dzhuón), which is easy enough. Even in this word I doubted the stress, and thought at first that it lay on the introducing vowel, thus (dzhuón). This is mentioned first to shew the vowel character of the first element, and secondly the instability of the position of stress. There was no approach, however, to (dzhuón), compare the English pronunciation of *Juan* (dzhuu.jen). In our received pronunciation we have the fracture (uá) in *one* (wón). The oldest form of this fracture which I have been able to cite is Jones's (wæn), at the close of the xviith century, *suprà* p. 1012, for which a little later, in the xviiith century, we have (wón, wan, wón), see (1079, *a*), while at the present day both (wón) and (wón, wæn) are heard (1091, *d'*. 1097, *a*). The fractural character and its recent development are therefore well established.

These prefractures often re-act powerfully on the preceding consonant. Where the aspirate exists we ought to have (jh, wh), but these do not seem to be developed. More frequently the aspirate is lost, and (iá, uá) are treated as initials, thus (jep, jed, wæm) occur for (nhiép, nhiéd, nhuám), *heap, head, home*, in Shropshire. When there is a preceding (t, d), the fracture is apt to

¹ We have here the same controversy as on pp. 1092-3. With regard to Salesbury's *vvyth* (762, *b*. 763, *c*), I was much struck by hearing Dr. Benjamin Davies (769, *c*) read the Welsh *wyth* = 8, distinctly as (úyth), without

a trace of (wyth), on 6 Feb. 1874; yet I have not noticed this peculiarity in his pronunciation of English *with*.

² Sometimes the word comes to me as (HJhié'm), sometimes as (JHJEM), and may possibly vary as (JHJEM).

change it to (tsh, dzh), as (tshem, dzhel) for (tiém, diél) *team, deal*, also in Shropshire. This happens in the received pronunciation. The terminations, *-ture, -dure*, once (-tyyr, -dyyr), as imported words, split into two directions. In the xviith century the remission of accent introduced the ready gradations (-tuɪ, -duɪ), whence (-təɪ, -dəɪ), which became the rule in the xviiith century. But orthography having crystallised, the final *-e* reminded readers, and especially teachers, that *u* must be "long." Now the old (yy) seems never to have died out, but the modern (iú) may not so much be a fracture evolved from it as a false orthographic fracture, not however without opposition, see Webster (1070, *b'*). Once introduced, however, (-tiúɪ, -diúɪ) passed easily through (-tió'ɪ, -dió'r) into (-tshəɪ, -dzhəɪ), precisely in the same way as in Shropshire. And the alteration of even accented (siú, tiú, diú) to (shu, tshu, dzhu) is of the same kind. This became strongly developed among the Irish in the xviiith century. See the words beginning with (*su-, tu-*) in the vocabulary, *suprà* pp. 1081-2.

In the Romance languages the weak (i, u) prefractures play a great part. Thus in French, (shaɒ) *champ* is (kiám-pum) altered, and (rwa) older (rœ') is (ruee-gem), for (ree-gem), Latin *regem*. We have this even initial as in Italian (uó'vuh) *uovo*, Spanish (ué'vo) *huevo*, Latin (oo-vum, uó-vum), Lat. *ovum*. In Slavonic the (i) introductions are constant. The fusions of the introduced (i, u) with the consonants as (j, w), which is a preparation for subsequent gradations, need only be mentioned. The especial tendency of (k, g) to (ki-, gi-), producing (kj, gj), and thence (.sh zh, t.sh d.zh, sh zh, s z) on the one hand, and (ku-, gu-), producing (kw-, gw-), and thence (w, wh, bh), and conversely, on the other, are well known. It is evident that the tendency towards (ki-, gi-) must have been felt very strongly by a man who could say, like Walker, "When the *a* is pronounced short, as in the first syllable of *candle, gander*, etc., the interposition of the *e* (i) is very perceptible, for though we can pronounce *guard* and *cart* without interposing the *e*, it is impossible to pronounce *garrison* and *carriage* in the same manner." (Dictionary, Principles, art. 92. See *suprà* 206, *c.*) It is curious that under these two words in his dictionary he gives no notice of introduced (i), and does not refer to this dictum in his principles.

The *clausive prefractures*, (ái áu), have long been recognized. The *guṇa* of the Sanscritists brought them prominently forward, and the later Sanscrit pronunciation developed the conception of the corresponding junctures (*ee, oo*), or (*ee, oo*), the exact vowel being at present doubtful, but the latter were always to my mind most probable, see also Mr. Gupta's unmistakable pronunciation, (1137, *a*). But *guṇa* was a grammatical or accentual, at any rate not a clearly dialectal, transformation of (i, u), and we were so little prepared to accept such a transformation in English during the xvth century, that perhaps no theories propounded in this book were more counter to general feeling than that the original sounds of English *i, ou*, were (*ii, uu*). Yet the change is

precisely of the same nature as that of (a, o) into (ía, úo), and the changes follow an analogous course in both English and German, where a similar feeling was generated at the same time. In the next chapter I shall be able to produce new evidence, through the kindness of Mr. Murray, for the original (ii) value of English *ī*. But the dialectal treatment distinctly points to the same conclusion. The change of (i, u) to (ái, áu), in various gradations, is a mere fracture, exactly comparable to the apertive prefractures. Where long *ī* was gradated, or shortened, the tendency to fracture did not act. But when (ái, áu) were once established, the second element became often obscured, and we find dialectally (áo) or (a') for both, so that both sink into simple juncture (aa). The pronoun *I*, originally short, as in (itsh) *ich*, was treated as long (ii), and fractured to (ái), which is constantly (aa) dialectally, and similarly *while* is (waal) in Leeds, and *five* is (fa'v) in Mid-Lothian. The word *house* is retained without fracture in the Scotch (ñhus), and generally becomes (núus) in some gradated form, but in Leeds sinks to (aas), while in the North of Yorkshire it fractures differently, and gives (ii's) from (ius), the old (*uus*) remaining as a refined form. This is a remarkable illustration of the comparatively recent development of fracture in both forms, furnishing an explanation of such apparent anomalies as the "change" of received (ñháus) into (iis, aas, uus), as they would be naturally but incorrectly conceived by those who only recognise received pronunciation. The Yorkshire lists of words will supply numerous instances. A remarkable confirmation of this view is afforded by the treatment of the high German *ei*, *au*, which 500 years ago were (ii, uu), as is undisputed in Germany, in the Bavarian dialects (Schmeller, *Mundarten Bayerns*, art. 236-245, 157-163, see *ai*, *ei*, in No. 8 of this section). Many of these dialects retain the old (ii, uu) untouched, and in the refined pronunciation of almost all, the modern literary (ái, áu) are heard, with various gradated forms, as (ái, é'i, é'i; óu), which are also common in English, but the mere obscuration (áo) does not seem to have been observed in this particular case.

These clausive prefractures are very widely developed in high and low German, but have not penetrated into Scandinavian, and are generally unknown in Romance. A curious example near Cherbourg is however given (460, *d'*). The prefracture (uí), in the form (ué), subsequently gradated to (uá), is originally rather a clausive prefracture than an apertive, as it now appears, and in that form is frequent. The Spanish (ué) form is perhaps to be considered as originally a suffrature (úe), a gradation of (óe) from Latin (o). When a dialect has once seized a sound, the distinction of prefracture and suffrature, which is merely one of origin, becomes lost, and the phonetic development proceeds according to the usual habits of the dialect.

Suffratures, however, play an important part in the development of new sounds. They consist essentially in vanishes, which seem to arise from the inconvenience experienced by the organs of speech in prolonging any sounds. The tongue taught to rise from its

position of rest for (e) rises further to (i); the lips closing for (o) close further for (u); and hence arise (éi, óu), of which, however, at least at first, the suffractal character is shewn by the complete subordination of the suffixed to the original element, so that (ééi, óóu) are the original types, which only gradually reduce to (éi, óu) when they become readily confounded with the clausic prefractures (ái, áu). The development of (éi) from (e), which has taken place in almost received speech, at any rate in the speech received by Mr. Melville Bell, plays a great part in our Yorkshire dialects, and it is possible that some of the difficulties in older rhymes *e*, *ei*, as in *Havelok*, *suprà* p. 473, may be solved on the supposition of double forms (ee, éi), such as the following tables will shew to actually exist in kindred dialects. It must be also remembered that suffratures of the type (éi, óu) are largely developed in Icelandic. Corresponding to this (éi, óu) type, is the (áo) form, which slightly elevates the tongue, but rather brings the organs to a state of repose. Now this (ó) had no alphabetic symbol but (e), or in Scotch *i*, which has the sound of (e), and represented apparently (ó) as well. The combinations *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, would then represent (áo, éó, óó), and readily became forms for long (a, e, o). See (410, *é*. 637, *é*. 1085, *e*, and *Murray*, p. 52). But the suffratures (éó, óó) have another tendency. The neutral position of the (ó) allows either an (u) or an (i) position to be readily assumed, and hence we obtain the suffratures (éo éu éy, ói óe óy), and the three last may also appear as (úi úe úy). Now this would give the developments (éo éu), gradating to (ío íu), which would connect (e) with well-known diphthongs in a simple manner. The suffrature (ói), as in (góid) *good*, really occurs frequently in Yorkshire, but I cannot recall an example of (úi).¹ The types (ii' ee' aa' oo' uu') are frequent. These are all simple suffratures, arising merely from the feeling of the speaker, precisely as the prefractures arose, and, like them, co-exist not unfrequently with non-fractured forms.

Omissive suffratures, arising from the suppression of *r*, are common in the received dialect, as (ii' ee' oo' uu'), see (1099, *a'*). In the corresponding (aa', AA'), the suffrature reduces to the juncture (aa, AA). Even in (ee', oo') the suffrature is very close, and is barely recognised, so that (oo') often falls into the juncture (AA), or else (ee', oo') are reduced to two syllables, as (eejə, oojə), to "make the *r* distinct," by substituting a clear ungliding (ə) for a trill. This suppression is carried out thoroughly in the south-western dialects, and more or less pervades the northern, exclusive of the Scotch, where the trill never fails. The treatment of *r* in the Bavarian dialects is very similar (Schmeller, arts. 621-637, and under *r* in No. 8 of this section), by the introduction of an (ə) before the trill when preserved, causing suffratures; by its general omission before consonants, and in final syllables when not before vowels; and even by its euphonic insertion, of which Schmeller gives

¹ In the Forest of Dean I have heard the suffrature (úi) as in (náim) for *name*, compare (253, *e*), remember-

ing Gower's probable extraction (726, *b*), and that S. Western English is spoken in Gowerland.

numerous instances. Such instances shew that, in order to get at the laws of phonetic change, a comparative study of dialectal usages will be necessary, and that we must not be in a hurry to generalise. These considerations have induced me to give an abstract of Schmeller's observations, which are unfortunately but little known to English philologists, in No. 8 of this section.

In the early English we recognised a suppression of (g), or rather its mutation into (i, u), generating diphthongs, which did not form a part of the older language (213, *a*). These diphthongs are real suffratures (ái, áu), and hence different in origin from the prefratures (ái, áu), or the suffratural (éi, óu), already considered. But once received, they are treated phonetically in the same way, for the organs of speech deal with existent sounds, which, when identical, affect them identically, independently of origin. The case of speaker and hearer is in this case identical. There is no intuitive historical appreciation. The history has to be discovered by slow degrees. Those who stamp their own provisional, and hence generally incorrect, notions of the history of a word upon its visible form, by the adoption of a so-called historical or etymological spelling, which designedly misleads as to the real constitution of the word, its audible sound, and very often indeed undesignedly misleads as to its descent, are throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of philological investigation. The blunders and contrivances of the early scribes are more instructive than the systematic orthographies of later theorists. The (ái, áu), as derived from *ag*, *ah*, should then appear not only in their original form, but as (áo, aa), as well as in junctures (aa, ee, AA), and this is found to be the case. The (áu) form, however, comes from *ag*, through the (*gwh*, *wh*, *w*) transformations of *g*, and hence we must expect it to follow the same fortunes as suppressed *w*. Thus *cnáwian* gives (naa', naa', naa, naa), as well as (nóou, nóo, nóo'w); *dohtor* appears as (dóu.təɹ, də'u.təɹ, dáu.təɹ, daa.təɹ, deetəɹ); *weg* assumes the forms (wái, waa', waa, wii', wee', wee, wee', wéi, wéi, wéi).

Suffratures appear in the received dialect by the obscuration of a following vowel, which ceases to form a distinctly separate syllable. The terminations *-ea*, *-eal*, *-ial*, *-ual*, constantly lead to these suffratures, which are sometimes so close that the fractural nature is difficult to discern. Thus *idea*, *ratafia*, through (ó'idii', rætəfií'), lead to (ó'idii', rætəfií'), of which the first is considered ludicrous, the second is received. *Real* (rii'l) is constantly miscalled (riil),¹ and *really*, which is pronounced as *rearly* formed from *rear*, that is (rii'li), rhyming to *nearly*, is miscalled (rii'li). A comparison of the following words will bring out the fractures really heard in ordinary speech. Many persons are apt to make the second words, which have no fracture, and are printed in roman letters, identical or rhyming with the first, which have a more or less distinct frac-

¹ Thus (ri'l), having a well-known S.E. Yorkshire fracture, "genteel" speakers in Hull are horrified, and say (riil), as I have been told by Rev.

Henry Ward, who is well acquainted with the district, and to whom I owe the specimens of S.E. Yorkshire in Nos. 11 and 12, variety 15f.

ture, that is, which are always intended to be dissyllabic, and are printed in italics.

Ideal deal, *real* reel, *really* mealy, *dial* crocodile, *vial* vile, *denial* Nile, *trial* rile, *diet* indite, *quiet* quite, *riot* rite, *triad* tried, *dyad* died, *Dryad* dried, *diamond*, *dire* moaned, *die* moaned, *bias* bice, *lias* lice.

The termination *-ual* is rather (*-u'l*, *-iú'l*) than the theoretical (*-ú'el*, *-iú'el*) in *gradual*, *individual*, *manual*, *continual*, *annual*, *casual*, *visual*, *usual*, *actual*, *effectual*, *intellectual*, *punctual*, *perpetual*, *habitual*, *ritual*, *spiritual*, *virtual*, *mutual*. In some of the commonest of these words, especially when *-ly* is subjoined, the fracture reduces to a juncture, as (*-al*, *-əl*, *-l*); thus *actually*, *individually*, *mutually*, *punctually*, *usually*, are constantly called (*æ'ktsh'li*, *indiv'ɪdʒh'li*, *miú'tsh'li*, *pə'ktsh'li*, *juu'zh'li*), in place of the more theoretical and not unfrequent (*æ'ktiú'li*, *jiúu'zhiú'li*), etc. It is by a consideration of such words that those who use received pronunciation may attain a proper conception of such close fractures as (*i'*, *u'*). See (1310, *c*).

v. *Bearings of Modern Dialectal Vowel Relations on the Investigation of Older Pronunciation.*

The illiterate peasant, speaking a language entirely imitative, unfixed by any theoretic orthography, untrammelled by any pedant's fancies, is the modern representative of our older population, which, confined to small districts by feudal superiors, the custom of villanage, and the difficulty of travelling, and entirely untaught, kept up their language by the mere necessity of talking, with no conception of a literature, or prevision of the importance which would be subsequently attributed to their natural utterances. The priests and scholars who, desirous of communicating with them, attempted to reduce their utterances to writing, on the model of the literatures, Latin, Norman, and Saxon, with which they were more or less acquainted, for the purpose of instructing them ecclesiastically, or, as in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, delighting them with literature, in some degree resembled those country clergymen and literary men who have attempted to collect and fix our present dialects by writing. The strictly dialectal writing of past ages must be judged of as that of to-day, by taking the normal alphabet (which was then Latin, with Norman proclivities), and supposing that the writer endeavoured, with insufficient knowledge and insufficient means, and hence with a vacillating pen, but with a good conscience, to record what he heard. Hence it is necessary to compare the spelling actually used by good dialectal writers with the sounds actually heard by good phonetic observers. This I am not able to do as accurately as I could wish, because I have very seldom been able to compare the sounds heard with the words written in the district for which they were written. But I am able to approximate with sufficient closeness to bring out the principle, and make it intelligible. As our studies of the older English dialects, as such, are as yet quite in their infancy, though taken up by good heads and hard workers, the importance of these considerations is manifest.

Next, by a comparison of different dialects as really spoken, we have to discover, so far as possible, the dialectal treatment of sounds originally more closely related. It would be rash to assume that they were originally the same as now, because the Saxon and Danish tribes which came to our shores of course already spoke dialectally, and present habits are the result of a fusion, subject to many influences through many generations. The general character of such treatment has just been roughly sketched. We are as yet far from having data to complete the picture, and the imperfect materials whence the sketch was drawn will be found below. But enough exists to shew that received English, as a spoken language, is only one dialectal form among several, although it has been more controlled than the others, through having become the dialect of the court, of government, of established priesthood, of law, of the schoolmaster, of the higher social ranks, and of literature. All these influences have often been brought to bear upon it with the iron hand of a prejudice, which, unillumined by any sound philology, regarded all other dialects as barbarous, and proceeded to deck out its victim according to fancied notions of propriety. But they cannot disguise its dialectal character, and hence cannot prevent our seeking in a comparison of the living dialects a confirmation of the results obtained by an examination of traditional literature.

One result of this is that the primitive character of the sounds represented by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, cannot be mistaken. The present forms are clearly seen to be either gradations of these, as in *a*, *e*, *o*, or fractures, as in *i*, *u*.

A. The dialects point to an original (a) for *a*, both long and short. This is shewn by the existence of the (a) sound almost universally in the dialects, by its occasional gradations into (ah, æ, e) or (A, ɔ, o), and by its prefractures into (ia, i', éa, e'), and its suffratures into (áa, ái). The hypothesis of (a) explains all these cases satisfactorily; the hypothesis (ee'j, æ) would lead to endless difficulties.

E. An original (e) for modern *e*, *ea*, is likewise a necessity of the constant existence of long (ee), with its possible variety (ee), and occasional gradation (ii), a gradation occurring in cases where it does not occur in the received dialect, as in (wií', dhií', griit, briik) for *where*, *there*, *great*, *break*; and of its frequent prefracture into (ií') or suffracture into (éi), which remarkable form is probably more properly connected with (e) than with (i) in numerous instances. The variations of the short sound, generally (e, ɛ), but gradating into (æ), or even (a) before *r*, on the one hand, and (i) on the other, point the same way. As no one could think of (i) as the original short sound of *e*, so the conception of (ii) becomes impossible for the original long sound. The possibility of an original distinction such as (e, e) or (e, ɛ), both long and short, but principally long, though not apparent, is possible. We require, however, much more accurate and extensive observations than we yet possess before we can take any point so delicate into consideration. As far as my kind helpers go, I find a difficulty in getting the (ee, ee, ɛ) recognised at all at first, as distinct from (ee, e). Most dialectal observers have

been educated to consider (*ee*) as the long and (*e*) as the short sound. Many do not hear a difference of vowel quality in *whale where, ale air*; many are not aware of the *é fermé* and *è ouvert* of the French, the *e chiuso* and *e aperto* of the Italians. The triple distinctions (*e*, *e*, *ē*) require an educated ear. I have found some who at first heard (*ee*, *e*) always, come round to (*ee*, *e*) always, which may be equally incorrect. Again, the sound recognised as (*ee*) in Scotland, is so much deeper than my usual (*ee*), that I should at first hearing put it at (*ee*), though not (*ēē*). It is possible that many (*ēē*) sounds occur which have not been noticed. At present, therefore, with our imperfect means for taking observations, we can only say that dialectal studies do no more than point to *e* having belonged to the (*e*) group of sounds. In the next chapter we shall see reason for supposing that the old difference was not sufficient to prevent inter-rhyming, but that is hardly a satisfactory criterion, for though it applies in French, it would entirely fail both in modern German and in Italian. To suppose that an original Gothic *i*, *e*, should be the parent of two (*e*) sounds (*e*, *ē*), is very seducing, especially when put beside the Italian practice. In old high German the rhymes separate the sounds strictly, as in modern French (Grimm, D.G. I³, 74), but this only refers to the *short* vowels, whereas Englishmen feel the difference especially in *long* vowels. As to old Saxon and Anglosaxon, Grimm (I³, 233, 333) confesses to great difficulties in finding any distinctions, and remarks that the middle low German and ags. dialects seem to neglect the difference more than the high German (*ib.* 233). As regards middle high German, he observes (*ib.* 139) that, in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, the difference of the two sounds, *e* broad (*e*, *ē*, *æ*), and *ē* narrow (*e*, *i*), was very strictly observed, although with exceptions there given; but in the XIVth century *e*, *ē*, began to rhyme more freely, which Grimm laments. But coming to his own day, he says (*ib.* 220) that the difference *e*, *ē*, remains in pronunciation, "at least in the principal cases: *legen* ponere sounds to us quite different from *gelegen* positus, *regen* movere different from *regen* pluvia: but our present poets are so hard of hearing, or so accommodating, that they rhyme both vowels together." Now Schmitthenner (Dictionary) writes *régen* for both the last words, but Hilpert (German Dict.) distinguishes *rēgen* to move, with the close sound, from *rēgen* rain, with the open sound. The distinction depends on locality. Grimm was born and lived chiefly in the Electorate of Hessen Cassel. Now Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 85), after dividing the custom of modern German pronunciation into *three* systems, of which the six characteristics are, 1) the treatment of *e*, 2) of the diphthongs, 3) of the relations between long and short accented vowels, 4) of *g*, 5) of *s*, and 6) of *ng*, locates the first system, which he calls the "orthographical," in the north-west, embracing Cassel, and says that all *ā* which evidently come from *a*, and all *ē* which come from *i*, are thrown together as *ä*, and such *é* as thence appear to be radical remain. Here *ä*, *é*=(*ēē*, *ee*) or (*ee*, *ee*), use varying. The separation is not quite that of Grimm, which was of course influenced by

his studies. Here are the words in Rapp's example (*ib.* 87), the derivations go. gothic, ohg. old high german, etc., are from Schmitt-henner :

ä = (EE).

é = (ee).

seele, goth. saivala
erden, go. airpa
er, ohg. ar, ir, ur
vergebens (geben, ohg. *këpan*)
anbete, ohg. anapëton
verklärter (from *klar*, from lat. *clarus*)
der, ohg. der
beben, ohg. pipën
leben, ohg. lëpën

ewig, ohg. êwa
gegen, ohg. kakan
dem, ohg. dem
edel, ohg. adal

The same so-called "historical *ä*" is found in the second or "historical" system stretching over the North of Germany to Russia, and in some isolated spots in the middle provinces, on the lower Rhine, by Fulda, etc.; and in the whole South-west of Germany. The following are additional words from Rapp's example to this system (*ib.* 89):

ä = (EE).

é = (ee).

wer, ohg. huër
nebel, ohg. nëpal
sehen, ohg. sëhan
schwert, ohg. suërt
säbel, french sabre
drehen, ohg. drähan
weht, ohg. wahan or wejan
schr, ohg. sërö
nährt, go. nasjan, ohg. nerjan
fehlte, ohg. vëlahan
thräne, ohg. trahin
erzähle, ohg. zellan

entgeht, (gehen, ohg. kân, kankan)
wenig, ohg. wënac
elend, ohg. elilenti

It is evident that though these systems distinguish *e*, *ë*, in one sense, they confuse *e* from *a* and *e* from *i* altogether, and that they are not even consistent in so doing. It is a relief to Englishmen, then, who wish to pronounce German intelligibly, to learn that the third or "practical" system, which extends over the whole middle part of Germany, uses (ee) for all long and (e) for all short *e*, as in English. It is no wonder, therefore, that Modern German poets are so "hard of hearing." No one in Germany seems to hear as Grimm's theory requires. Whether anything will be hereafter discoverable in English dialects, it is difficult to say; at present I see nothing certain in the distinctions apparently made between (ee, ee). To my ears (ee) is more frequently used by English dialectal speakers than (ee), but my experience is limited. The distinctions between (e, e) are still more uncertain.

O. An original (o) is more difficult to determine. The sound (o) itself is decidedly heard in our dialects, but, owing to the habits of received English, hearers naturally confuse (aa, oo) and (o, o), and, when the long sound does not appear yet to have reached (aa), it is put down as (oo). The prefractures of (oo) would be (ío, ío, íu, íí'; éo, éo, éu, éé'), and (oo) would graduate so easily to (oo, uu, uu) that I can only express my general conviction and not any certainty.

That the (o) was not (uu) when long admits of no doubt, but that it may have been (*o*, *u*, *u*¹, *u*) when short, in various cases, at an early time, seems probable. It is more likely that the fracture (*u'*) is due to (*úo*) than to anything else, but of course (*úo*) is quite possible. Although *o* has a double source, from *a* and from *u*, yet there does not seem to be anything in the dialectal treatment to justify the assumption of (*o*, *o*), which is not even made by Grimm. The double sounds exist in Germany, but do not co-exist in the same system of pronunciation. Schmeller, however, has a few instances of (*o*) in Bavarian dialects (*ib.* art. 319, see art. 68, and see *o* in No. 8 below). The regular sounds seem to have been (*oo*, *o*) universally at an earlier period. It will be shewn in Chap. XII. that the rhyme usages of our older poets are not enough to separate them. It is only when we find *au* (*aa*) written for long *o* in our modern dialects that we can feel sure of a difference having been felt.

I. That long *i* was originally (*ii*, *ii'*) appears dialectally from the preservation of that sound in many words (291, *e*), and from its clausive prefracture (*ái*) in various forms, which sometimes becomes the juncture (*aa*) even when (*ii'*) exists in the same dialect. Long *i* might indeed be (*aa*) under these circumstances, but no one has probably ever imagined such a thing.

U. By the long *u* I mean the original sound, afterwards represented by *ou*. This appears to be (*uu*) by the preservation of that sound throughout the Northern dialects, and by its prefractures (*áu*, *íu*), degenerating into (*aa*, *ii'*). Of course it would be ridiculous to suppose that *u* was originally either of these latter sounds. The short *u* may have been the close fracture (*i'*, *e'*) when it interchanged with *i*, *e*, and finally necessitated the use of *ou* for (*uu*) as a mark of distinction. Owing probably to the existence of the sign *ou*, the prefracture was always assumed to be (*óu*, *á'u*, *ó'u*) by our older phonetic writers, and not (*áu*). Of course the labial (*u*) tends to work back on the prefixed (*a*) by transmutation, and thus labialise it into (*o*), so that the change of (*áu*) into (*óu*), or the original formation of (*óu*), is quite natural. In Devonshire, after *u* had been conceived as (*y*) in some form, the transmutation of (*o*) into (*œ*), producing the fracture (*œ'y*), was equally natural. The use of *u* in French words was a foreignism. In dialects this *u* is a fracture (*íu*, *íú*), and varies as such a fracture.

AI. AU. The combinations *ai*, *au*, seem by the dialects to be treated as (*ái*, *áu*), whether as prefractures of (*i*, *u*), or as suffratures of (*a*). The persistence of (*ái*), not merely in the South-Western dialects, but in the Eastern and South-Eastern, and the mode in which the (*ái*, *ee*, *ii*) sounds are mixed up together within the same dialect, seem to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis but an original (*ái*, *éi*). The forms of (*áu*) as (*aa*, *oo*, *oo*) tell a similar tale.

EW, OW, were also fractures (*éu*, *óu*), arising from the disappearance of *w*, or occasionally *g*. That *laugh*, when gradated from (*laawh*) to (*lowh*), and thence passing to (*low*, *lóu*), might have become (*lun*) or even (*lii*), would not be surprising, when we find a

bow appearing as (*bi'*, *buu*, *bóu*) within the same (North Yorkshire) dialect.

Double Forms. One of the most interesting points forced on our attention by dialects is the great variety of co-existing forms within the same or closely-connected districts, and also the fact that a word alters its sound according to its position in a sentence, and according to the meaning of the sentence. In old pronunciation we were continually puzzled by a similar variety of form, of which we have not many relics in received speech, as *either* (ií'dhəi, é'í'dhəi), so that it seemed like begging the question to assume it. But the present investigations make such assumption far less bold than the alternatives to which we should be otherwise forced.

E final. The controversy respecting final *e*, to which we shall have to recur in the next chapter, makes it important to discover any traces of its pronunciation. As yet none have been discovered. This refers to pure *-e*, and not to *-e* as the representative of *-en*. The pure *-e* seems to have altogether disappeared, but though *-e* as a form of *-en* does not appear to be known, *-en* itself is still preserved in the usages of several dialects. Now, as the absence of *-en* in some dialects is thus seen *not* to prove the original absence of *-en* in others, so the absence of *-e* in some dialects at an early period, as in the Northern Hampole, would not disprove its contemporary use in some other dialects, as in the court language of Chaucer and Gower. Just in the same way, the universal reduction of *-ed* to *-t*, *-d*, in speech, far more than 50 years ago, would not disprove the universal pronunciation of *-ed* as a distinct syllable by clergymen when reading lessons from the Authorised Version of the Bible in church, *within* the last 50 years, even in such cases as *crucified* and *buriéd*, as marked by Bishop Wilkins (998, *d*) more than 200 years ago, and by Gill, 250 years since, *suprà* pp. 855-857. Indeed some clergymen have not even yet given up a practice which had an air of solemnity resulting from archaism. It is a very familiar reminiscence to myself. The transmutation of *-ed* into *-t*, *-d*, sounded almost *heretical* when I first heard it.

We cannot be surprised at the absence of *-e*, which disappeared from our versification nearly 300 years ago. We should be more surprised at the preservation of *-en*, for we know that in most cases *-en* degenerated into *-e*, and then disappeared. The modern dialectal absence of any sound does not establish its original absence; but the dialectal presence of any sound either establishes its original presence, or the original presence of a sound from which it could be derived, according to the ordinary usages of speech. Now with regard to *-e*, there is no doubt whatever of its lively presence in high German at the present day. It is part and parcel of usual speech. It is not confined to poetry or music, as the French *-e*. It is really used on every prosaical occasion by every prosaical speaker. Three years' residence in Germany has brought this fact so many thousand times before my ears, that no doubt in the world can exist in my own mind. As all the world knows and admits the fact, it would seem superfluous to attest it so explicitly from personal

knowledge. But there are some deniers of English *-e*, who insist that people could not have used it, simply on account of the absurd waste of time and energy in pronouncing it. Hence it is necessary to establish the fact that another great nation does not find its use involve an absurdity. As, however, the modern English final *-a*, *-er*, are pronounced generally (*-v*) or (*-ə*), much as the final German *-e*, and as the old final English *-e*, if pronounced, was most probably so called (119, *b*), and as we should not find it either elegant or particularly time-saving and energy-sparing to omit this sound and say *pie'*, *Americ'*, *armad'*, *panace'*, *ide'*, *are'*, *naphth'*, *acaci'*, *cyclopædi'*, *umbrell'*, *vanill'*, *vill'*, *scroful'*, *uvul'*, *dram'*, *anathem'*, *enigm'*, *stigm'*, *dogm'*, *dilemm'*, *comm'*, *hyen'*, *duenn'*, *Chin'*, *er'*, *chimer'*, *oper'*, etc., or *peculi'*, *pill'*, *angul'*, *mast'*, *mist'*, *doct'*, etc., etc., etc., it is evident that such an argument is hardly worth consideration. To such vile uses we *may* come at last, but we have not yet reached Chinese monosyllabism, much as we may have spoiled our language by mere pruning. The reason, however, why I especially insist on the lively use of *-e* in high German is, that this *-e* has *disappeared in many high German dialects*, except as the representative of *-en*. The preservation of *-e* in any form, or even of *e* in the prefixed *be-*, *ge-*, is extremely *rare* in all the Bavarian dialects, although the sound of *-e* is used for *-en* in about half, the other half reducing *-en* to a vowelless *n*. See the instances in Schmeller (arts. 209–235, 572–592, and under *e* final in No. 8 below).¹ We have herein the positive proof that the dialectal disappearance of *-e* is compatible with the co-existence of its dialectal use, which may or may not be fixed by literature.² It is, therefore, a perfectly justifiable view to take, that final *-e* may have disappeared in some dialects in Early English and have existed in others. Moreover, this disappearance or use cannot be proved by manuscripts, because we find scribes who spoke different dialects transcribing the same original, and preserving their individual orthographic habits. It can only be established by habits of internal versification, not even by rhyme endings, and the inquiry into its use in the middle of lines is rendered wonderfully difficult by the uncertainty of readings, and the recklessness of scribes, so that single manuscripts are by no means conclusive. In the next chapter this point will be examined, with especial reference to Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.

¹ Remarking on this loss of flexional form, which in literary high German had been already reduced to *-e*, Schmeller says (on his p. 51) that "this does not prevent these same dialects from having more or less evidently preserved isolated remarkable forms belonging to the older or even oldest phases of the language, which, when literary speech was fixed, were not admitted, owing to the prevalence of certain views or fashions."

² Dutch is often quoted as a tongue allied to English in which final *e* is

lost. See Mr. Sweet's remark on the preservation of its sound in (1292, *e*). In *Johan Winkler's Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon* ('s Gravenhage, 1874), giving 186 versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into as many Low German dialects, final *e* seems to crop up somewhere in every example. At the same time it flits in and out, so that we may feel prepared for similar uncertainties in our own dialects, especially about the beginning of the xvth century. Even if poets were careful, copyists were not.

No. 7. DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS.

The relations of consonants in our dialects are altogether simpler than those of vowels, although they present some peculiar points of difficulty. The distinction of *voiced* and *voiceless* is very generally kept up. It is only in the southwest that (f, th, s, sh) become (v, dh, z, zh) with tolerable regularity. But the same dialects do not confuse (p, t, k) with (b, d, g). This is singularly in opposition to German habits, which are uncertain of the explodents, but certain of (s, z). The continuants (th, dh, zh) not occurring in German, and (bh), not (v), being used in middle Germany, which is most addicted to the interchange of (p b, t d), there is no opportunity of examining the continuants further. The (th, dh) are sometimes confused in the north of England. Thus *though* is (thoo) in Scotch, and the usual *the* (dhe) is voiceless and vowelless (th-) in South Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and elsewhere. This seems to confirm Mr. Sweet's view of an original (dh) which became (th) in isolated cases (p. 541, n. 2); thus both (dh) and (th) are found in South Derbyshire. In the North again a (z) appears where the received use is (s) in (prisái'z, dezembər, ɪnɪz) for *precise, december, us*, and other words, and a (v) for an (f) in (kaav) *calf*, etc., so that the confusion of hisses and buzzes is not exclusively southwestern.

The interchange of (b bh, g gh) is not to be looked for, as (bh, gh) do not occur, at least consciously, in our present dialects. The (d dh), which do occur, are not perfectly related, as (d) is not, at any rate generally, dental, although the fact of dentality may have been often overlooked. In the southwest (d) replaces (dh) initially, especially before (r), as (druu, drii) *through, three*, and occasionally elsewhere, as (dis'l) *thistle* in East Cornwall. I have not been able to ascertain if the (d) is then dental as (druu, drii). Medial substitutions of (dh) for (d) are not uncommon, and have even crept into older received orthography, as *burthen, murther, now burden, murder*. In Norfolk *three* becomes *tree*. This again raises the question as to whether (t d) in English were not originally dental (t d), as in Celtic, and on the continent generally.

This inquiry is, however, complicated by the acknowledged existence of (t d) in some northern dialects, but almost, if not absolutely, exclusively before (r) or the syllable (ər) or its substitutes. This dental, or something like it, is also found in Ireland in the same places (1239, a'). There are even phases of dialect which are distinguished by having the usual coronal (t d) in precisely the same situations as those in which related phases use the dental (t d), for example the Chapel and Taddington varieties of the Peak of Derbyshire, the first having (t d), the second (t d), and similarly in Yorkshire. This singular distinction entirely corresponds to the Sanscrit, which occasions such difficulty to Englishmen and Germans (p. 1096). The area and origin of the English coronal (t d) require strict examination, but so few Englishmen hear the distinctions (t t, d d) that the inquiry is beset with as much difficulty as that of the distinction between (v bh) in Germany. See Mr. C. C. Robinson's observations on Yorkshire usage in No. 11, below.

In connection with this must be noticed the occasional assimilation of (dh) to (t), after a following (s) or (t), as (nha'stə) for *hast thou?* and even of (th) in Derbyshire, as (i-stəndz et-'t-bak-v aar wAA), *he stands at the back of our wall*, where (et th-bak) would have been the regular form. In the example of W. Lincolnshire given below, it will be observed that *the*, which had the regular form (dh-) before vowels, varies as (th-), and even (t) and (d), according to the adjoining letters. This is similar to Orrmin's custom (490, *b*), and must not be confounded with the use of vowelless (t) for the article in Yorkshire and Cumberland. Is this last (t) the degeneration of (th), which is itself an altered (dh), or an independent formation? This is a matter of controversy. But that the (t) *may* be the degeneration of (th, dh) is certain, because in the Orkneys and Shetlands all (th, dh) have become (t, d) or (t, d), and in Kent and E. Sussex *th* in *the, this, them, those, there*, that is, (dh) in certain words, is always (d); while we have seen that neighbouring consonants in many places reduce the (th, dh) to (t, d). The pronunciation of this vowelless (t) when used as the article is most singular. To my ear it does not in native speech run on to the *following* vowel, but is, if possible, connected with the preceding word.¹ When it stands initially in a sentence, so that this connection is impossible, as when it precedes a voiced consonant, as (b, d, g), *t' dog*, or stands between two voiced consonants, as *in t' backhouse*, or stands between two similar consonants, as *at t' time, at t' door*, the method by which its effect is made evident—and it is always evident—seems to be mainly by a slight *implosion*, as ('t), see (1097, *é*). Both Mr. C. C. Robinson and Mr. Hallam, to whom this *t* is vernacular, accept this theory. There is, however, a certain holding, and a certain delay, in passing from the presumed implosion to the following consonant, giving a little catch or hesitation, so that it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Yet the existence of a distinct syllabic (t), which is certainly *not* ('ht, t'h, t†h), is a remarkable phenomenon, well deserving of most careful investigation. Our old 't for *it* is not comparable, for it always glides on to a preceding or succeeding letter. The Slavonic preposition (v) is a voiced consonant, and hence quite pronounceable. The manner in which the French *de, te, je, re-*, are spoken, when they seem to be entirely swallowed, and yet produce a most sensible effect to French ears, comes perhaps still nearer to it. To merely write (t), or the etymological *t', 't*, according to the difference of view as to the *the* or *et* *het* origin of this *t'*, is of course helpless. I have, however, generally adopted (t) in the following examples, and left the reader to glide it on to the preceding letter, or to make an implosion, as the case may be.

The interchange of (t, k) is well known among children, and some Polynesians could not get nearer than (Tu'te) for Captain Cook's name. The use of (tl, dl) for initial (kl, gl) is very general,

¹ Mr. Hallam felt the same difficulty in marking this (t) in the Chesterfield variety of Derbyshire. On referring

to his notes he finds the (t) grouped to the preceding vowel in nearly half the cases which he wrote from observation.

even among educated people,¹ and in some dialects my authorities adopt it regularly. Though (k) has generally disappeared before (n), Cumberland, as will be seen, retains traces of it, as (nhn-), and even (tn-), where the change is similar to that of (kl-) into (tl-), and may be regarded as a prospective transmutation, occasioned by preparing the organs for following (l), whereas in Italian, (l) sinks by retrospective transmutation to (i), making way for (k, g), as in *chiamo ghiaccio* (kiá'mah giá't,t,shuh). In (lök) for (löt) in Cumberland, the opposite tendency appears.

The effect of an unaccented (i)-sound, generally a fractural prefix, upon a preceding (k, g), frequently shews itself in the dialects, by generating (t,sh, d,zh). In Scotch (k, g) generally remain, but in English this is quite the exception. The same cause sometimes, but not always, makes (t, d) into (t,sh, d,zh), and (s) more generally into (sh). The (zh)-sound is not very frequent, it is generated in words, as *vision*, *azure*, which are not dialectal. As the *-ture*, *-sure*, endings do not generally develop a fracture, they more often remain as (-təɹ, -səɹ, -zəɹ), but being altogether strange are treated very irregularly; compare Yorkshire and Shropshire. Mr. Murray (*op. cit.* p. 85) informs us that in the central valley of Berwickshire initial *ch*, that is (t sh-), is pronounced as (sh-) simply. It would be worth while ascertaining distinctly whether this is (sh) or (,sh). It may be simply the latter, and hence the inhabitants of (Shi'r'set) *Chirnside* (56n48, 2w12) may be as much maligned as the inhabitants of Rome, for using (sh) in place of (tsh). But the intermediate sound is worth noting.²

The habits of speakers in different localities differ very much respecting ease and difficulty in consonantal combinations. The (-mr-) frequently develops (-mbr-), by dropping the nasality of (m) before releasing the lips, and thus we have our received *timber*, *chamber*, *number*. Our dialects, however, do not patronise this, and (ti'məɹ, tsha'məɹ, nə'məɹ) consequently occur. The name Hamilton is often (ɪhæ'mb'lten) in a Southern mouth, but the Scotch are content to call *Campbell* (kaʊ'm'l). Similarly (-nl-) often generates (-ndl-), but dialects generally content themselves with (-nl-), as (ɪha'n'l) *handle*. There is indeed a constant inclination to carry on the nasality of (m, n) until the contact is released, and thus substitute simple (m, n) for (mb, nd). The participles in *-ing* in the received dialect, which were originally in *-nd*, consequently appear

¹ When I was a boy at school, I suddenly became conscious that I pronounced the radical forms κλᾶω and τλᾶω in the same way. It cost me much trouble and years of practice to obtain (kl-) with ease and certainty, and the same for (gl-). As a consequence, my attention has been constantly drawn to this defect of speech in others. The Welsh (ll) heard at a distance from a crier shouting out *Llandudno* at Rhyl sounded to me much more like (tl)

than (thl), with which Englishmen generally confuse it.

² The demonstration of (,sh), see (1104, d'), makes it possible that the French may not have developed (t,sh) at first, as has been thought, but only (sh), and this may have generated (t,sh) in Norman mouths, whence its English form, but have reduced to (sh) in French. See (207, a). This is merely thrown out for consideration; indeed (kj) may have come first (1120, d').

as (-in) in most dialects. Of course this is not the reason why the gerund or verbal noun in *-ing* has also fallen into (-in) in most dialects. In Southern Scotch the distinction is made in the vowel, not the consonant, (-ən) participle, and (-in) gerund (*Murray*, p. 211), but the other dialects confuse the two cases. This may have been an assimilation. There is no powerlessness to pronounce (q), which some dialects even take as (qg) final, not (qk). Medially they seem as a rule to prefer (q) to the occasional (qg) of the received dialect, saying (fi'qər) rather than (fi'qgər). Before (th), the (q) sinks very generally to (n), in (lenth, strenth).

L and R are the two most vowel-like consonants, forming distinct syllables of themselves. In this respect they differ materially from (w, ʝ), which, if really prolonged, are almost as unvowel-like as (z), but in consequence, perhaps, naturally and easily gradate to (u, i). If R is untrilled, the resulting (r_o) instantly gradates to (ə), and thence to some other obscure vowel. L obstructs the cavity of the mouth by its central contact, much more than (r_o), but still it is very apt to gradate to (ə), and thence be entirely lost. Sometimes in Romance languages it passes rather into (i) or (u), according to the tendency of the people to raise the middle of the tongue, or somewhat round the lips to improve the resonance. In the dialects both *l*, *r*, are apt to disappear entirely after (aa, ʌʌ). Indeed, received pronunciation adopts the same habit in *balk*, etc. After (oo) the *l*, by prospective transmutation, inclines to (ul, u), and the diphthongs (oul, ou) result, the foundation of (ə'u, ɛ'u, áu), in *roll*, *shoulder*, etc., which were once received, but are now only dialectal, and not unfrequent in dialects. After the other vowels (l) does not seem to have the same tendency to disappear, though (uul, ul) degenerate to (uu).

LD final seems to be a distasteful combination, either *l* or *d* being frequently dropped. The *d*-closing of the passage by the sides left open for *l* requires an amount of pressure apparently inconsistent with the lazy ease of dialectal speech.

R is treated very variously. In Scotland it is a distinctly and rather harshly-trilled (.r), but how far dental I know not. Where Scotland breaks into England, just about Berwick, the uvular (r), which Southerners call the *burr*, and natives the (*krup*), begins, but marks out a very small district.¹ Coming more south, the initial

¹ "The northern limits of the *burr* (r) are very sharply defined, there being no transitional sound between it and the Scotch *r* (r). From Carham [55 n 39, 2 w 23, the extreme N.W. point of Northumberland] eastwards, the boundary follows the Tweed, which it leaves, however, to include the town and liberties of Berwick, which in this, as in other respects, now adheres to the Southern in preference to its own side of the Tweed. Along the line of the Cheviots, the Scotch *r* (r) has driven the *burr* (r) a few miles back, perhaps

because many of the farmers and shepherds are of Scottish origin. In the vale of the Reed [which runs into the Tyne, 55 n 19, 2 w 22] we suddenly enter the *crhoup* (*krup*) country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (otəhr-bəhrn) [55 n 15, 2 w 10]. In Cumberland, Westmorland, and the rest of the North Angle area, the *r* is now pronounced as in other parts of England." *Murray*, *op. cit.* pp. 86-7. There are apparently many varieties of the *burr*. The one I heard was (r), but extensive observation is necessary to determine this

trill is distinct, but not so powerful, and generally more or less of a trill exists, even when no vowel follows, but such trills seem never to be very marked. In S. Shields speech, remarkably similar to Southern Scotch in its general character, and close by the country of the burr, but where the burr is unknown, this final *r* seems entirely to disappear, or crops up as a faint (ə, ʊ, '), or perhaps a glottal (ɿ). But in Westmorland there is apparently an occasional, possibly dental (r). Whether this (r) appears generally after (t, d) is questionable. Mr. Hallam thinks the tongue in his *tr* is more advanced in the mouth than usual, and that he consequently really says (t, r). Mr. Robinson finds a dental (r) occasionally after (g) in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire this final *r* seems to be in a state of transition, sometimes appearing, often disappearing, and generally being rather permissive, as (ɿ), than obligatory, as (r). But there are times when the trill is indispensable. In Shropshire it is stated to be always felt, but to be slight. To speak of "feeling a letter" is sometimes misleading. A Spaniard once told me that his final *d* was rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener. If the speaker confines himself to putting his organs into the proper position to articulate, but neglects to issue breath, vocalised or not, he may *feel* his words, but the bystander will be none the wiser. Schmeller, speaking of the initial *ge-* reduced to *g*, and lost before a following explodent (*op. cit.* art. 485), says that "it is not heard independently (*für sich*), but that we recognise the preparation (*Ansatz*) made by the tongue to pronounce it, by the greater decision (*Entschiedenheit*) with which the initial sound strikes the ear." Thus *gebunden* becomes (.bʊnd'n), or perhaps (bʊnd'n). The case of *t' dog*, already referred to, may be the same, (.dɔg) rather than ('t dɔg), and this is one of the points to which attention should be directed. In the same way, while pronouncing a vowel, even (aa, ʌʌ, ɛɛ), the speaker may feel the tongue *rise* at the end. It *may* only take the position (ə), the tip *may* rise to (r_o), it *may* give the slightest quiver ([ɿr]), and all this *may* be *felt* by the speaker, but it would be difficult for the listener to hear. The habit of writing, and moreover the habit of *not* trilling final *r*, nay, the incapability of trilling it, which is often experienced by Englishmen, and, finally, the habit of assuming the long-vowel glide in (bœd) to be a representative of an existing *r*, because it is felt to be so different from the stopped-vowel glide in (bød, bœdd), see (1156, *d'*), are all so misleading to an English observer, that I frequently mistrust the accounts given to me, thinking them open to these sources of unconscious error. People seem to be afraid of admitting that *r* is not sounded. Critics and reviewers laugh to scorn such rhymes as *morn dawn* (575, *d.* 593, *e.* 1195, *b.* 1228, *b*), till the judg-

habit. Sometimes the sound seems to come up to (grh), sometimes to sink to (ɿ), and sometimes to reduce to (gh, g), or an hiatus of powerlessness. At other times the uvula is very sharply and brightly trilled. The sound seems also to differ in the pitch of the ac-

companying vowel. The subject is difficult, but the sound is so diffused, sporadically and unacknowledged, in England, France, and Germany, not to mention its acknowledged existence in Arabic, that it deserves attentive study by all philologists.

ment is confused, the nature of the trill is forgotten, the "something" usually uttered or positioned or imagined when *r* is seen on paper, is called an *r*, and final *r* is said to be distinctly pronounced, when it may be that a vowel is merely lengthened, or at most a suffraiture introduced. When any one writes *larf brort* to indicate (laaf braat), in which words no trilled (*r*) was ever pronounced,—and such spellings are very common among writers of dialectal specimens,—the whole question is reduced to chaos. A trill is a succession of beats,¹ that is, of sounds of very different intensities in rapid succession; it is of no consequence how the beat is produced, but, unless at least two maximum and one minimum, or two minimum and one maximum, degrees of intensity have been heard, unless a succession of "makes and breaks" has been at least indicated, there is no *trill* in any one of the forms (brh, w, r, r, r, grh, t), all of which probably occur at some place, or at some time in different places, or among defective speakers, in England. And other *r*'s may occur, as the Irish rolling (˘r), see (1232, *b*), a retracted (˙r), see (1098, *b'*), and an *r* made by a striking of the tongue against the teeth, gums, or roof of the mouth, for which (˙r) may be used, the difference between (˙r) and (˘r) being that between the actions of the clarinet and harmonium reeds. Anything, in short, which gives a final *roughness* (the characteristic sensation produced by rapid beats) will pass muster for an English *r*, and, what is more, be intelligible. See also (1194, *a'*).

But there are parts of England in which the disappearance of *r* is fairly acknowledged, namely in parts of the southwest.² The

¹ Donders (Spraakklinken, p. 19), referred to (1098, *e*), see also (1099, *e'*), gives some interesting drawings of the phonautographic curves produced by the trills (brh, r, r), showing how the trill shuts off and opens out the voice some 20 or 30 times in a second. The lip trill (brh) produced long silences, and rather faint intermediate sounds. A fine voice and weak (*r*) trill gives short weakenings of tone rather than complete silences interposed between bold sounds. A weak voice and strong (*r*) gave long silences and faint intermediate sounds. The same singer with a loud voice produced equally marked silences. A distinctly sounded tip tongue (*r*) gave sound and silence of nearly equal length, but made the sounds quite clear. The effect is nearly the same as when two tuning forks, sold as of the same pitch, but almost always slightly different, are struck and held over the same resonance chamber. The sound and silence follow one another with remarkable distinctness. It is not precisely that of a *shake* in music (It. *trillo*), but so like

it that I have known an excellent imitation of a shake produced on musical glasses by sounding two together which differed by half a note in pitch, and the *tremolo* stops on the harmonium and organ are produced in a similar manner. The exact cause of *tremulous* speech, as in emotion, or in that very disagreeable habit of *tremolo* singing, which may be noted as (*a*), etc., I am not yet able to assign. The bleating voice (˘a) is another species of trill, the *snarl* (˘a) another, "sonat hic de nāre canina litera," Pers 1, 109.

² The faith in a pronounced *r* dies hard. A great deal of difficulty is felt about Gloucester, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. To my own ears the real sound of vocal *r*, that is, *r* when not preceding a consonant, is in these districts really a vowel, and that vowel much resembles (α). But to say so seems to those who use the sound to imply that they do not pronounce *r* at all, whereas they know, truly enough, that they *do* make a great difference in speech according as *r* is or is not written, and hence they do pronounce

presumed transposition of *r* and the vowel, as *run urn*, *red urd*, reduces itself to the omission of *r* and obscuration of the following vowel with a long vowel-glide, as (*rən* *əən*, *red* *əd*). The rationale of this, and of all similar cases, being the inherent difficulty of trilling without some perceptible untrilled vowel preceding and following, just as for the Sanscrit *ri* (1146, *d'*), as explained by the old grammarians. How can we tell that there is an interruption, unless there is a thread to interrupt? And then how easy to snip off the interruption and lengthen the thread! Certainly (*əən*) is much easier than (*rən*), which readily becomes (*l* *ə.rən*, *əl* *rən*, *ər* *n*, *əən*). And thus the Scotch (*r*) finally disappears in Devonshire!

The *r* and *l* readily unite with a preceding consonant, but some forms are little found. Although (*bl*) is easy and common, (*vl*) is not found (it is common in Dutch), and (*wl*-) seems to have vanished, a faint reminiscence of (*w'l*-) existing in Scotch, with a problematic change to (*fl*-) in one word *flunkey*. No labial (*lw*-) in place of (*wl*-) has been reported. On the other hand, (*w'r*-) is said to occur in Scotch, degenerating to (*vr*-, *bhr*) in Aberdeen, and the labial (*rw*-) and also (*w'r*-) are reported from Cumberland. There is really no more difficulty in the combinations (*ml*-, *mr*-) or (*wl*-, *wr*-) than in (*bl*-, *br*-), but they are simply unusual. In every case there is a tendency to simultaneous instead of successive utterance, when the organs can readily be posed accordingly, and this is especially the case for the (*t*)-series, so that (*lw*-, *rw*-) are more likely to be heard than (*w'l*-, *w'r*-), which rather resemble the efforts of a foreigner to pronounce an unusual combination, as in (1136, *e*).

The interchange of *W* and *V* is usually marked as a cockneyism, when occurring initially. Its American existence has been already shewn (1067, *d*. 1220, *d'*). In Norfolk, the change of initial *V* to *W*, according to one authority (see No. 11, below), is regular, and in Essex and Kent it is frequent, but the change from *W* to *V* is not so well known. The medial and final interchange also occurs, as in the Scotch (*slə'u'en*) for *sloven*, and (*də'u*) for *dove*, and the Devonshire (*roov*) for *row*. The exact nature of the (*v*) in this case I have not been able to ascertain, because I have not examined 'un-corrupted' peasants. It would be interesting to know whether the change is from (*w*) to (*v*) direct, or through the mediation of (*bh*), as Dr. Beke asserts (1221, *d*). We have certainly a change of (*b*) to (*v*), or a sound which is taken to be (*v*), even if it were once (*bh*), in such words as (*maa'v'l*) for *marble*, which favours the original (*bh*) hypothesis; but this sound is such an incomprehensibility to most Englishmen, that it may be very long before anything satisfactory is discovered in this direction. For philological purposes, and for Latin and Italian¹ pronunciation, the fact that hearers

their own final *r*, and never having heard another they are utterly perplexed by being told that they utter a vowel and not a trill, and perplex me in turn by their observations. More of this hereafter when considering these

counties. The varieties of *r* are the most remarkable in English speech.

¹ In listening to a lecture delivered by Dr. Zerfli, on 15 March, 1874, in which the English pronunciation was generally very good, I noticed *vice*,

do generally assert an interchange of (w, v) is of real value, whatever be the means of transit. The fact also of the very different degrees of pressure of the under lip on the upper teeth, already alluded to (1102, *e.* 1103, *e*), should be borne in mind, to which must be added the possibility of making a considerable buzz when saying (bh), by merely constricting the lips without touching the teeth.

The ear readily confuses hisses and buzzes arising from different sources. Those due to the central obstruction by the teeth in the case of (f) and (th)¹ are closely allied. Hence we must not feel surprised at the Scotch (three) for *from*, or the Shropshire (thrōks, fī's'lz) for *frocks, thistles*.² The change of (s) to a sound closely resembling (th) in the lisp arises merely from a defective organism or an affected advance of the tongue; it is not dialectal.

The gutturals (kh kjh kwh) are only heard in Scotland, and the two latter are almost confined to the southern counties. Their voice forms have quite perished out. In the north of England no gutturals are now heard, though they existed in Dent within the memory of an aged man of science, Prof. Adam Sedgwick, whose death we have had to deplore since my quotations from his book were printed (*suprà*, pp. 289, n. 4; 311, n. 1). But though gone they have left an impression, partly as (i), partly as (o, u), and partly as (f), even in the received dialect (213, *a*). This (f) is still more developed dialectally, and sometimes interchanges with (th). The old interchange with (s) has not hitherto been confirmed dialectally (464, *c*). The appearance of (dhon, dhən) for *yon*, ags. *geond*, both in Scotch and Irish English (1242, *b'*), is very remarkable, and ought to point to a previous (gh) form, which properly generates (ɹ) initially, but it may be otherwise derived.³ A similar abnormal generation of (shuu, shii) from ags. *heó*, through (gheóo,

inwite, for rice, inwite, with what sounded to me (and I was sitting very near to him) as a distinct (w); it may have been prefractional (u-), but it was certainly not (v), and it did not recall (bh). He called the *Védas* (ver'daz).

¹ The air escapes through a narrow central chink, of which one edge is sharp. The resulting sound is peculiar, and, according to Dr. W. H. Stone (lecture on *Auscultation*, delivered 22 Feb., 1874), immediately produces the effect called ægophony (or bleating sound) in the lungs, when examined stethoscopically, while a person is pronouncing the letter. These teeth-hisses consequently require much more attentive analysis to distinguish them from the sounds through a narrow, but unobstructed, central aperture, as (ph, s, sh, kjh).

² Mr. Hallam has also heard (fī's'lz) in the Peak of Derbyshire and in North

East Cheshire. It is the only instance he can recollect of the change of (th) into (f) in the Peak.

³ As *z* in Scotch words remains as the representative of *ɹ*, that is ags. *g*, so *y* is the written form for *ɣ*, as we see by mutilating this letter to *ɣ*, which in MSS. interchanges with *y* very often. We constantly write *ye* for *ɣe*=the. So *yon* in Scotch (and the Belfast use is mere Scotch) may stand for *ɣon*, and this for the accusative case of the ags. demonstrative pronoun, so that *yon man* when called (dhon man) may be like *them men* used for *those men*. This is merely thrown out as an alternative suggestion. A counter misreading of *ɣ* for *y* was suggested (639, *d'*), and has been confirmed by an actual inspection of the MS. by Mr. Murray in 1871. Hence the use of *dotted y* in old MSS., to point out that it did not mean *ɣ*.

gjhoo, gjhéó, gjhe'), has been already suggested (489, *a*. 1142, *c'*). If this view be correct, the Lancashire (nhuu), the Leeds (shuu) and the received (shii) *she*, have the same ags. *heó* for their origin.

The aspirate, in the form (nh), seems to be invariably used where written in Scotland, and not to be introduced where not written, except in the predicative (nhæz) *us*. But we have scarcely passed the border before it darts in and out like sunlight on a cloudy day. Perhaps the intermediary is the simple jerk (n). But certainly in most of Yorkshire, in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the Midland counties, in Lincolnshire, in Essex, in Kent, and in the South-western counties, it is almost extinct. One might be inclined to think that it is only the classification of "dropping *aitches*" among social sins which keeps the aspirate alive in the received dialect. And even there (wh) has failed to make its mark. Although acknowledged and used among a large section of people, (wh) is almost solely an artificial sound in our language. Curiously enough, although it has nearly disappeared where written, it seems to reappear occasionally in some (u-) fractures, not merely as a remnant of *h*, as when ags. *hám* crops up as (whóo'm) *home*, but where there is no original *h*, as when ags. *áte* becomes (whóo'ts), *oats*. This is, however, not usual. The familiar dialectal writing *whoam*, *whoats*, of course proves nothing; but from Mr. C. C. Robinson, for Yorkshire, I heard a distinct (wh) in such words as he has so written below.

According to the same authority, there seems also to be in the very vulgar form of Leeds dialect an inserted (n) jerk after certain consonants, where (t, d) are lost in a permissive (a), see (1261, *d'*), and other curious phenomena occur, which will be detailed hereafter. This jerk (n) certainly often occurs after consonants in Irish, and requires careful investigation, in relation to the Indian post-aspirated consonants (1137, *e*), and their subsequent treatment in European languages.

Before (u, i), the consonantal (w, j) are very apt to disappear, and where that is the case, it may be rash to insist very strongly on the difference between these consonants, and the con-sonants, or prefraetural (u-, i-). Where however (wu-, ji-) occur, the consonantal change is effected.

The contributions made to consonantal philology by the observations on dialects are therefore not either numerous or novel. They are chiefly confirmatory. The great points of interest are, the co-existence and distinct appreciation of (t t, d d) in the same or adjacent dialects; the vowelless syllable (t) in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Derbyshire; the treatment of *r*; the confusion of (w, v); the passage of the guttural into (f, th, dh); and the flitting treatment of *h*, *wh*.

The real bearing of these changes upon general philology can be distinctly felt only when something like a general survey of consonants and their relation to vowels has been obtained. Curiously eclectic as we have found languages to be in the use of vowels (1297, *a*), this is still more the case in relation to consonants.

Even the great relations between voiced and voiceless consonants are very insufficiently carried out in individual languages, and much curious information would result from "consonant identifications" in the various languages of the world similar to those "vowel identifications" previously furnished (pp. 1300-7). In default of this, some systematic arrangement must be attempted. It seems to me that we have not yet a sufficient knowledge of the relations of consonants to each other and to vowels to do this satisfactorily. At any rate, I have not been able to form any system satisfactory to myself, which should embrace the extremely complicated phenomena with which I have become practically acquainted, while numerous others, apparently still more complicated, remain so vaguely described or so inaccessible as to elude me altogether. Much is mere conjecture. I prefer then not to present any systematic arrangement of my own, but to give such an account of different systems formed by others as will assist the reader in understanding the nature of the present changes.

The distinction between vowels and consonants is not in general well understood. The word 'consonant' is used in the vaguest possible manner, sometimes, as appears to me, merely to designate diphthongising vowels which have not the stress, as (i) in the fractures (iá, ái), or (', o), in (i', ío), called *y*, *r*, respectively. The controversy as to where *h* is or is not "a letter," a vowel, or a consonant, points to this. Hence the importance of first inquiring what are the classes of sounds which we have to consider. I cannot suppose that the following analysis is exhaustive; but it will at least answer the present purpose better than any other which I could cite. For many details see pp. 1128, sqq.

Analysis of Speech Sounds.

The sensation of sound is due, generally, to an undulatory motion of the atmosphere striking the drum-skin of the ear. This motion itself is often called sound. The classes of sounds here considered are those in which the undulatory motion is produced by a speaker, through his vocal organs.

1. *Air independent of respiration.* The air within the mouth, not drawn in or driven out, and hence at rest so far as respiration is concerned, may be set in motion by *clicks* or *smacks* (ʈh), or *cheek puffs* (Ξ), as in using the blowpipe [the symbol (Ξ) typifies, by the upper and lower lines, the two cheeks pressing out a stream of air, the central line, between them], or *implosions* (ʿh), see (1128, b. c). All of these help to form consonants. The *clicks* and *puffs* form Prof. Haldeman's "independent vowels" (*Anal. Orth.* art. 445-8).

2. *Air inspired.* The air drawn into the mouth may meet with obstacles, or

pass through channels, creating sound-waves, in a way not at all peculiar to speech, which the resonance chambers of the mouth, etc., may sufficiently reinforce to be audible (ʿi), as in chirps, inspired whistles, sobs, gasps, etc., see (1128, a), and may be nasal, as in snuffling (ʿi_n), or orinatal (ʿa) and fluttering (ʿi), as in snores (ʿiʿa), etc.

3. *Air expired.*

a. *Glottids* (1129, c'), including the bellows action of the lungs, continuous, varying in force, jerked (n), etc., and the motion of the vocal chords towards each other, or their retention in fixed positions, and the same for the *fissura laryngea* or cartilaginous glottis, and all modifications of expiration which take place within the larynx itself. These seem to have been first carefully considered and distinguished, as part of an alphabetic system, by Brücke (p. 10 of *op. cit.* on p. 1287, n. 2), and have already been dwelt upon at some length (1129, c'), but not exhaustively. Some

of these (*h*, *u**h*, *u**h*) have been usually considered as consonants.

b. Undifferentiated Glottal sounds, as *flatus* (*h*), *wheeze* (*h*), *whisper* (*h*), *buzz* (*h*), *bleat* (*h*), *voice* (*h*), *nasal voice* (*h*), *nasal bleat* (*h*). Of these (*h*, *h*), are usually taken as consonants (*h*, *g*).

c. Differentiated Glottal sounds.

i.). The differentiation takes place by the action of resonance chambers, as already explained (p. 1276), on its way to the external air *through* the open mouth, nose, or both, and meeting with more or less obstruction on the way.

When the resonance chambers are best suited to reinforce *voice*, the results are generally called *vowels*; when best suited for audible *flatus*, the results are called consonants. The vowel and consonant positions shade into each other insensibly, and *any* glottal sound may be modified by either set of positions. Between perfect vowel, as (*a*), and perfect hiss, as (*s*), there can be no mistake. The letters (*r*, *l*) and even (*z*) occasionally fulfil the linguistic function of vowels. The contacts between vowels and consonants are especially:

voiced (*i*, *j*, *g**h*) and flated (*i*, *j**h*, *k**h*, *k**h*, *k**h*, *k**h*); and also through (*k**h*) to (*sh*, *s*), etc.;

voiced (*u*, *w*, *v*) or (*u*, *v*, *g**u**h*, *g**u**h*, *g**u**h*), or (*A*_u, *b**h*, *b*); voiceless (*u*, *wh*, *f*), or (*u*, *wh*, *k**u**h*, *k**u**h*, *k**u**h*), or (*A*_u, *p**h*, *p**h*), according as we start with English (*u*) having the back of the tongue raised, or German (*A*_u) with the tongue depressed; also voiced (*y*, *w**j*, *b**h*, *b*) and voiceless (*y*, *w**j**h*, *p**h*, *p**h*);

voiced (*a*, *a*) lead to (*r*_e, *r*, *r*), and thence to (*l*, *l*), and so to (*d*) and the coronals and dentals, or through (*a*, *a*, *æ*) to lip, and even guttural consonants, etc., and when voiceless to (*h*, *u**h*), and thence either to (*kh*), etc., or to (*jh*, *sh*), etc.

ii.). *Glottal sounds* differentiated by passing *into* the closed mouth, so that they cannot be continued beyond a short time, because they condense the air too much, and when forced produce the *inflatus* of (1113, *b*). These are the *sonant consonants* (*b*, *d*, *g*), or (*b*, *d*, *g*), as distinguished from the imploded (*p*, *t*, *k*). They may also be *bleated*, as (*ε**b*, *ε**d*, *ε**g*).

d. Non-glottal sounds differentiated by resonance chambers, as in expired whistles, see also (2). When they reach the state of musical whistles, they cease to be real speech sounds.

e. All the above are distinguished by pitch, force, and length, and by continuous or discontinuous changes. The continued sounds, due to the maintenance of the same resonance chamber independently of pitch or force, and changing discontinuously, so far as the resonance is concerned, are the theorist's vowels and consonants, in this class; but even in these, pitch and force generally alter continuously. The changing or *gliding* sounds due to continuous change of form of resonance chamber are the most common in actual speech.

4. *Air checked.* The air passing through an opening is gradually totally shut off or obstructed, or a total obstruction is gradually removed. This may take place in the glottis (*;*), by closing the vocal chords or bringing down the epiglottis, or both, and in various ways in the mouth, producing the *mute* consonants (*p*, *t*, *k*), etc. These mutes make themselves felt solely by gliding differentiations of glottal sounds, due to continuous changes in the form of the resonance chamber passing from perfect silence for the mute, to perfect resonance for the vowel, and *vice versa* (1111, *ε'*).

Note on Symbolisation.

Palaeotype is meant to be a mere convenient system of notation without implying any system. Thus (*h*) has been used as a mere diacritic without any constant meaning, and sometimes as an occasional mere supporter of signs which would otherwise become confused, as (*h* *h* *h*), etc. On the other hand, some diacritics, as (*j* *v* *w**j*), have been used with tolerable consistency. Italics and small capital letters are used as convenience dictated and with no systematic feeling or intention.

Whether there appear to be any systematic character or not in the sign, my own wish is that each symbol should be regarded as one of Linnaeus's 'trivial names,' merely denotative, not connotative; shewing a fact, not suggesting a theory. My letter denotes a certain sound, or mode of utterance. How that sound or mode of utterance is to be systematically placed is a totally different question. My symbols lend themselves to any system, because they do not pretend to belong to a peculiar

system of their own. In this respect they differ essentially from Brücke's and Bell's, and even from Lepsius's and Prince L. L. Bonaparte's or the historical suggestions of Prof. Halde-

man. Palaeotype letters are then merely tools by which we may handle sounds on paper, pending our acquisition of sufficient knowledge to understand their systematic relations.

The classification of consonants generally relates to those in 3 and 4, and refers to the positions of the obstructive organs, and the accompanying flatus or voice, or absence of both. It is fortunately very easy to make a simple arrangement of this kind, which is essential as an elementary guide, but it is very difficult to fit into one scheme the immense variety of forms found in actual use, of which comparatively few are familiar to any one systematiser. In no language perhaps occur sufficient consonants to construct a perfect scheme. But in the old Sanserit tongue, as reduced to the Devanâgarî character, there was a grand development of the surd (voiceless) and sonant (voiced) series of the classes in 4, and 3, *c*, *ii*. above, and a full conception of the differences of flatus, voice, and, as I think, bleat, as well as nasality. The Indian put the earlier European phonologists to shame in this respect. They were very acute, not merely in the analysis, but in the synthesis of sounds, and, as far as their means extended, did not hesitate to indicate every change, and even pointed out in their commentaries under what circumstances sounds were generated synthetically which had no alphabetic character. That this generative action is in full force in India at the present day we have already seen in remarkable instances (1138, *b'* to 1139, *b'*). But the language was extremely deficient in vowels, in diphthongs, in buzzes, and in glottids, and hence was not suited as the basis of a classification which should include even Semitic sounds. Still, as one of the earliest, and down to the present day one of the acutest, and as embracing the earliest forms of speech to which our own language belonged, it should be first considered. If the old commentators had paid equal attention to the Indian dialects, little would have remained to be done now.

In the following table I have endeavoured to exhibit the old Indian classification, giving it first in the transcription of Sanserit used by Prof. Whitney, and secondly in the palaeotypic equivalents which result from my own investigations (pp. 1136–1140, and places there cited). And as the old phonological treatises are not remarkably accessible, I give the text and translation of the rules bearing on this classification in Prof. Whitney's *Atharva-Vêda Prâtiçâkhyâ*, with additions from his notes. The general reader will thus, for the first time, be put into a position to understand an early native classification of an alphabetic system which is the foundation of his own.

In this classification the repetition of some letters in different classes is due to difference of opinion in native commentators. In the palaeotypic interpretation the cerebrals are still distinguished as (*ṭ ḍ ṇ ṛ*), as proposed on (1096, *c'*). The *y v* are marked as (*j v*), but I believe them to have been originally diphthongising vowels, as (*ia ái, uá áu*), and to have been only recently squeezed into (*j v*), compare (1103, *d*). Also the (*ee oo*) are retained, because it is clear

that these junctures of (ái áu) were established at the time of the old rules cited, though the original diphthongal form admits of no doubt. When (ɹ i ii ee áai) come together, therefore, in this table, they properly illustrate the vowel (i) only, of which (ii) is the mere prolongation; (ɹ) and (áai) shew the initial and final diphthongising forms, and (ee) the juncture from (ái). Similarly for (v u uu oo áau).

Sanscrit systematic arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from the Rules of the Indian Phonologists.

(1.) *Prof. Whitney's Symbols.*

	Guttural.	Palatal.	Lingual.	Dental.	Labial.	
surd	k	c	t	t	p	
surd-aspirate and surd-spirant	kh hk	ch ç	th sh	th s	ph hp	h
sonant	g a á ɹ l	j y i í e ái	ɖ r r	ɖ r r l l	b v u ú o áu	
sonant - aspirate, and sonant-spirant	gh	jh	ɖh	ɖh	bh	h
nasal	ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m	m̐

(2.) *Presumed Palaeotypic Equivalents.*

	Guttural.	Palatal.	Coronal.	Dental.	Labial.	Undifferentiated.
Mute	k	kɹ	ɽ	ɽ	p	
Flated	kɸ kh	kɸ jh	ɽɸ sh	ɽɸ s	pɸ ph	ɸh
Voiced	g a aa 'r 'l	gɹ j i ii ee áai	ɖ ɽ 'R	{ d 'r 'r } { l 'l 'l }	{ b v u uu } { oo áau }	['h]
Blated	gɸ	gɸj	ɖɸ	ɖɸ	bɸ	ɸ
Nosed	q	ɹj	ɽ	ɽ	m	(.)

Rules of the Indian Phonologists,

Taken, Sanscrit and English, from Prof. Whitney, *op. cit.* (1131, c'), the parts between inverted commas being the Sanscrit text transliterated as above and Prof. Whitney's translation, the rest (except references to this work, palaeotype, and parts included in [],) being an abridgment of some of the information in Prof. Whitney's notes on the rules. Only such rules are given as bear upon the classification, and they are referred to as i. 3, book the first, rule the third, etc.

i. 3. "*padāntyaḥ padyaḥ*. A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called a final (*padya*)."

i. 4. "*anṭkārāḥ svarāḥ padyaḥ*. Any vowel, excepting *l*, may occur as final." The Rik Pr. also excepts *r* long.

i. 5. "*lakāraḥ visarjanīyau ka*. Also *l* and *visarjanīya*."

i. 6. "*sparśāḥ prathamottamāḥ*. Of the mutes, the first and last of each series," that is, *k t p, ṅ n m*; *c* and *ñ* being excepted by the following rule.

i. 7. "*na cavarjaḥ*. Excepting the palatal series," that is, *c* and *ñ*, the *ch, jh*, being excluded by previous rule.

i. 10. "*dr̥ṭiyacaturthāḥ soshmāḥ*. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates" [see (1131, c') for comments].

i. 11. "*uttamā anumāsikāḥ*. The last in each series is nasal." The Rik and Vāj. Pr. describe the nasal mutes as *anumāsika*, as does the Tāitt. Pr., including with them *anusvara*.

i. 12. 13. "*śr̥āso-ghoshēvānupradānaḥ; nādo ghoshavatsvareṣu*. In the surd consonants the emission is breath; in the sonant consonants and vowels it is sound." [The literal rendering of

'surd,' root *çvas*, is 'breathed,' that is, 'flated;' of 'sonant,' root *nad*, is 'spoken,' that is, 'voiced;' of 'emission,' *anuprādāna*, is 'emitted material;' of *aghosha*, is 'without sound,' that is, mute; and of *ghoshavant*, is 'sounding.' It is evident that where no voice was used, the result was not considered sound proper.] The commentator enumerates the sonants as vowels, sonant mutes, semivowels, *h*, and the *yamas* of *g* and *qh*. The *yamas*, or 'twins,' are thus defined in Tāitt. Pr.: "after a mute not nasal, when followed by a nasal, are inserted in each case nose sounds (*nāsikya*); these some call *yamas*," [that is, nasalised voice differentiated according to the preceding mute, before being differentiated according to the following, so that *atma* requires a generated *n* to be inserted between *t* and *m*, thus (*atma*).]

i. 18. "*mukhe viçeshāḥ karaṇasya*. In the mouth there are differences of producing organ." 'That is position (*sthāna*) to which approach is made; that is organ (*karaṇa*) by which approach is made,' according to the commentator.

i. 19. "*kanṭhyānāmadharakanṭhaḥ*. Of the throat-sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ." [See discussion (1134, b-1135, b).]

i. 20. "*jihvāmūlīyānām hanumūlam*. Of the gutturals, the base of the jaw is the producing organ." The word translated gutturals means 'formed at the base of the tongue.' The commentator assigns as gutturals the *r* vowels, see (1146, c'), the guttural mutes, *k kh g gh ṇ*, the *jihvāmūlīya* 'spirant,' or (*kh*), see (1134, a), and the vowel *l*. By *hanumūla*, 'root or base of the jaw,' must be here understood, it should seem, the posterior edge of the hard palate.

i. 21. "*tālaryānām madhyajihvam*. Of the palatals, the middle of the tongue is the producing organ." The commentator enumerates *e ai y, ç e ch j jh ñ* and the vowel *i*. [The expression 'middle of the tongue' exactly corresponds to the modern sound described (1120, c); *tātu* is 'palate.']

i. 22. "*mūrdhanyānām jihvāgraṁ prativeshṭitam*. Of the linguals, the tip of the tongue, rolled back, is the producing organ." [See the discussion (1094, a-1096, c).] The word *mūrdhan* means 'head,' hence an exact translation of *mūrdhanya* would be 'capital.' Müller holds *mūrdhan* to be used directly for

'dome of the palate,' but it must be so taken, if at all, indirectly, as the highest point of the head which the tongue is capable of reaching. [Hence my term 'coronal' (1096, c).] The commentator gives as this series *sh, ṭ ṭh d dh n*, and fortifies his assertion by adding the half verse *mūrdhasthānām shakārasya ṭavargasya tathā matam*. They are known in all the Pr. by the same name, and the Vāj. Pr. and Tāitt. Pr. describe them in the same manner. [The question of inversion or simple retraction of tongue—Prof. Whitney uses the ambiguous term 'reversion'—depends on the meaning of *prativeshṭitam* = back-rolled. The term is too vague, and may mean a further retraction than in the English (t).] The semivowel *r* and vowel *r* are in the Paninean scheme.

i. 23. "*shakārasya droṇikā*. Of *sh*, the trough-shaped tongue is the producing organ," from *droṇa*, a 'wooden tub or trough.'

i. 24. "*dantīyānām jihvāgraṁ prastīrṇam*. Of the dentals, the tip of the tongue thrust forward is the producing organ." The commentator gives the series *l s, t th d dh n*, and the Vāj. Pr. adds *ḷ*. The Rik Pr. makes the class consist of *l s r, t th d dh n*. The Tāitt. Pr. defines the same letters, except *r*, as formed, *dantamūleshu*, 'at the roots of the teeth' [that is, 'alveolar,' rather than 'dental'], the *t*-series, and *s* as produced by the tip, and the *l* as produced with the middle of the tongue. [This ought to make it palatal = (*lj*).]

i. 25. "*oṣṭhyānāmdharaushṭham* (or *-oṣṭhyam*). Of the labials, the lower lip is the producing organ." The labials are *o āu, p ph b bh m*, the *upadhmāniya* spirant [(*ph*), see (1132, b)], and the vowel *u āu*. Here *v* is omitted, doubtless by fault of copyist, as it is not otherwise placed. The Vāj. Pr. adds further, that in the utterance of *v* the tips of the teeth are employed, and so in Tāitt. Pr., its commentator explaining that in the utterance of the letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lip. [See discussion (1103, c).]

i. 26. "*nāsikyānām nāsikā*. Of the nose-sounds, the nose is the producing organ." The commentator cites *ā ñ n n m, anusvāra*, and the generated nasals, that is, *nāsikya* after *h* i. 100, and *yamas* after mutes i. 99.

i. 27. "*anunāsikānām mukhanāsikam*. Of the nasalised sounds, the mouth and nose together are the producing organs." The Tāitt. Pr. says, "nasal quality is communicated by the unclosing of the nose."

i. 28. "*rephasya dantamūlāni*. Of *r*, the roots of the teeth are the producing organs." There is a considerable difference of opinion respecting *r* among Indian phonologists. Rik Pr. includes it among dentals as *dantamūliya* (see i. 24 above), but adds that others regard it as gingival. Vāj. Pr. makes it to be produced at roots of teeth by tip of tongue. Tāitt. Pr. by the tip and middle of tongue, close behind roots of teeth. The Paninian scheme makes it *mūrdhanya*. [See (1138, a). Probably several modes of forming *r*, dependent on the adjacent consonants, are confused under one symbol.]

i. 29. "*sprṣṭam sparṣānām karaṇam*. In the case of mutes the organ forms a contact." From this contact *sparṣa* the mutes derive their name [literally, 'contact letters'].

i. 30. "*ishatsprṣṭamantahsthānām*. In the case of the semivowels, it is partially in contact." The Rik Pr. calls it *duḥsprṣṭam*, 'imperfectly or hardly in contact.' The word *antahsthā*, 'intermediate, standing between,' as applied to the semivowels *y r l v*, is supposed to refer to their alphabetic arrangement, between the mutes and spirants, but more probably refers to their neither forming a complete contact like the mutes, nor an open position like the vowels.

i. 31. "*ūshmanāḥ vīryam ka*. In the case of spirants it is also open." The *ka* should make these *ishatsprṣṭam*, or partially open. The Tāitt. Pr. says the spirants, in their order, are uttered in the positions of the mutes, but with the middle part of the producing organ opened. The Rik Pr. includes the vowels *anusvāra* and spirants together, as produced without contact. The Rik Pr. makes the spirants to be *ḥ* (*vīśarjanīya*), *h* *ḥk* (*jihvāmūliya*), *ṣ*, *ś*,

s, and *hp* (*upadhmanīya*), and *anusvāra*; the Vāj. Pr. only *ṣ sh s h*; the Tāitt. Pr. omits the *vīśarjanīya* and *anusvāra*.

i. 32. "*svarāṇām ka*. In the case of the vowels also it is open."

i. 33. "*eke sprṣṭam*. Some consider it as forming a contact." No one of the other treatises favours this obviously and grossly incorrect opinion.

i. 34. "*ekārauṅkārayorvīrtatamam*. In the case of *e* and *o* it is very widely open." [That is, these were even at that time *very* open vowels, compare (1137, a).]

i. 35. "*tato-pyākāśasya*. And even more so, in the case of *ā*."

i. 36. "*saivṛto-kārah*. The *a* is obscured." In Vāj. Pr. and Pāṇini, *a* is ordered to be treated as qualitatively the same as *ā*, implying that it was not so in practice. The Tāitt. and Rik Pr. do not notice any difference in the quality of *a*, *ā*.

i. 37. "*saṁsprṣṭarephmrvarṇam*. The *r*-vowels are combined with an *r*." [This seems to give (*r*) or (*'r*).]

i. 39. "*salakāramlvarṇam*. The *l*-vowels are combined with an *l*." [This gives (*'l*).]

i. 40. "*saṁdhyakṣharāni saṁsprṣṭaṭavarṇānyekavarṇavadvṛttiḥ*. The diphthongs are composed of combined vowels; their treatment is that of a simple vowel." Here *saṁdhyakṣhara* is literally 'syllable of combination,' and is the usual name for a diphthong, and *saṁānākṣhara*, 'homogeneous syllable,' is sometimes used for the simple vowel as opposed to the diphthong. The diphthongs are *e o āi ōu*. [Of course originally (*āi*, *āu*, *āai*, *āau*).]

i. 41. "*nāikārauṅkārayoḥ sthānavīdhāu*. Not so, however, with *āi* and *āu*, in a rule of position." The commentator's paraphrase is *āikārauṅkārayoḥ sthānavīdhāne ekavarṇavadvṛttiṇa bharati*. What the meaning and value of the rule is, is not altogether clear; it may forbid the inclusion of *āi* among palatals only, and *āu* among labials only, since they are also both throat-sounds.

Prof. Whitney, moved probably by his study of this classification, seems to have developed from it his 'unitary' arrangement (1289, d), which is here given from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 8, p. 372, first in his own letters, and then in their palacotypic equivalents. His position of *h* depends upon his theory that it is "the common surd of all those sonant letters which are too open

to have each its own individual surd," see the discussion, beginning (1141, *d'*).

This scheme has the advantage of being a mere skeleton, and consequently evades most of the difficulties which arise when we attempt to clothe it in full. But as a skeleton, it will be found very useful and suggestive.

Prof. Whitney's Unitary Alphabet.

Sonant	$\left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} & & a & & & \\ & e & \overset{a}{e} & \overset{o}{o} & o & \\ i & & & & & \\ y & & r, l & & u & \\ n & & u & & m & \end{array} \right\}$										Vowels.									
	Semivowels										$\left\{ \begin{array}{cccccc} & & æ & & A & \\ & e & & & o & \\ i & & & & u & \\ j & & r, l & & w & \\ q & & u & & m & \end{array} \right\}$									
	Nasals																			
	Surd <i>h</i>										Aspiration <i>ph</i>									
Sonant	$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} \gamma & & z \\ & & r \end{array} \right\}$										Fricatives $\left. \begin{array}{ccc} gh & & z \\ & & v \end{array} \right\}$									
Surd	$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} x & & s \\ & & f \end{array} \right\}$										$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} kh & & s \\ & & f \end{array} \right\}$									
Sonant	$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} g & & d \\ & & b \end{array} \right\}$										Mutes $\left. \begin{array}{ccc} g & & d \\ & & b \end{array} \right\}$									
Surd	$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} k & & t \\ & & p \end{array} \right\}$										$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} k & & t \\ & & p \end{array} \right\}$									
Palatal series										Lingual series										
										Labial series										

No systematic arrangement can be complete which disregards the Semitic series of sounds; but at present there is so much division of opinion among phonologists respecting them, and they differ so widely from European usages, that it seems best to pass them over, especially as my own knowledge of them as heard from natives, is more than thirty years old, and was obtained at a time when my phonologic ideas were very crude. Lepsius, however, includes them in his general alphabet (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 76), which here follows in palacotype, the Arabic sounds being given according to his (much disputed) theories. Lepsius's interest was chiefly transcriptive, and is only partly or incidentally physiological. He uses chiefly Roman, but some Greek and a few new characters, with diacritical dots, hooks, accents, marks, etc.

Consonants of Lepsius's General Alphabet.

	<i>explosivæ v. dividuæ</i>			<i>fricativæ v. continuæ</i>			<i>incipit s.</i>
	fortes.	lenes.	nasales.	fortes.	lenes.	semi vocalis.	
I. FAUCALES	ğ	;		h	nh		
		k					
II. GUTTURALES	k	g	q	kh	gh		r
III. PALATALES	kj	gj	qj	kjh sh shj	gjh zh zhj	j	lj
IV. CEREBRALES (Indicæ)	t	d	n	sh	zh		R L
V. LINGUALES (Arabicae)		d(ʿ)		s	z, dh		
VI. DENTALES	t	d	n	s, th	z, dh		r l
VII. LABIALES	p	b	m	f	v	w	

Brücke (1287, *d'*) has not given a tabular scheme, although he has developed a system of writing. His classification of consonants, in reference to his alphabetical signs, is here reproduced in brief, because it is strictly physiological, and because the state of the glottis is throughout carefully indicated.

1. Voiced consonants may be shut (*verschlusslaut*), continuant or fricative (*reibungsgeräusch*), an L-sound, trilled (*zitterlaut*), or resonant in the nose (*resonant*), and may be articulated in three principal places:

a. With the lips, solely, or with lips and teeth.

b. With tip of tongue and palate, 1) alveolar, 2) cerebral, 3) dorsal, 4) dental.

c. With back of tongue and palate, 1) middle of hard palate, 2) back part of hard palate, 3) soft palate.

These are illustrated by signs, to be thus translated:

(b), lips shut.

(v), lips and teeth, fricative.

(m), lips, nasal.

(z), alveolar, fricative.

(dh), dental, fricative.

(l), dental, L-sound.

(r), dental, trill.

(j) back of tongue and middle of hard palate, fricative.

(r) back of tongue and soft palate, trill.

2 State of the larynx:

a. Closed glottis. Vocal chords in position for voice ('h); no sign.

b. Open glottis. Vocal chords apart as for breathing; its sign united with sign for (a) gives German *h* ('h); with sign for (b) gives sign for *p*, which is therefore (p|h); with sign for (dh) gives sign for (th).

c. Position for the *whooping* breath ('h), which is taken to have the chords 'nicked in' by the arytenoid cartilages, and hence to be different from that described by Czernak (1130, *b*).

d. Position for whisper ('h), see (1128, *c'*), which Brücke attributes to the Saxon letters regarded by Merkel as imploded (1097, *c'*).

e. Larynx closed by epiglottis and

arytenoid cartilages (;), united with those shut consonants which do not come under (*b*). The check (;) and clear glottid (,) are not distinguished (1129, *d'*, 1130, *a*).

f. Trill of glottis (τ).

g. The *ain*-action of glottis continued through the vowel (ε), see (1134, *d'*), always united with a vowel.

h. Direction to put more metallic quality into the voice; [this affects the following vowel, and must be mainly contrived in the resonant chambers].

i. Direction to deepen, or put more roundness into the voice; [this is also mainly a question of the resonance chamber; these two last are for the effect of Arabic letters on the following vowel; the effect here intended seems to be the (ε) of (1107, *c*), and is recognised as present in the Russian (ε₂)].

3. Consonants with two places of articulation. "When a consonant has to be noted, for which there are two straits, one behind the other, either of which separately would give its own fricative, the signs for each are written in succession." Thus (zh) is written as alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative; to which for (sh) is added: open glottis.

4 Consonants with double sound. As (grh), written: between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, trill; to which in the case of (krh) is added: open larynx.

Compound sounds are expressed by groups of symbols; thus German *z*, taken as (t,s), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis+alveolar, fricative, open glottis; ancient Greek ζ, taken as (d,z), is: alveolar, shut,+alveolar, fricative. Italian *c* before *e*, taken as (tsh), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis,+alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, open glottis, etc.

This extremely ingenious and philosophical method of writing, of which various specimens are given in numerous languages, printed in movable types, becomes, in Dr. Brücke's words, at least for his consonants, *eine beredte Zeichensprache*, literally, "a speech-endowed sign-language"—a term closely approaching to that chosen by Mr. Melville Bell, whose "Visible Speech" has been so much used.

On (1121, *c*) I found it necessary to give a new palaeotypic symbolisation of Mr. Bell's columns 2 and 3, p. 15, and on pp. 1125-6 I had to reconsider some parts of cols. 5 and 9, which I have now still further studied. It will therefore be best to reproduce the palaeotypic equivalents of all his table on p. 15, except the vowels. In the following table I annex Mr. Bell's own nomenclature, which may be compared with Brücke's. The columns and lines refer to Mr. Bell's symbols (15, *a*).

Mr. Melville Bell's Consonants.

		<i>Voiceless.</i>				<i>Voiced.</i>				
		Back.	Front.	Point.	Lip.	Back voice.	Front voice.	Point voice.	Lip voice.	
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
primary	<i>a</i>	kh	jh	r _o h	ph	gh	j	r _o	bh	<i>g</i>
mixed	<i>b</i>	kwh	s	sh	wh	gwh	z	zh	w	<i>h</i>
divided	<i>c</i>	lh	ljh	lh	f	l	lj	l	v	<i>i</i>
mixed	}	lwh	th	fh	lw	dh	dh	v _h	k	
divided										
shut	<i>e</i>	k	kj	t	p	g	gj	d	b	<i>l</i>
nasal	<i>f</i>	qh	qjh	nh	mh	q	qj	n	m	<i>m</i>

Mr. Melville Bell's Aspire, Glides, Modifiers.

	5	9	10	5	9	10	
<i>b</i>	'h voice glide	ʌ ₁ aspire	· accent	'w round voice glide	ʒ trilled	'h: emission stopped	<i>g</i>
	'r _o back glide	ʌ ¹ throat	[doubled letter] length	'r _o w round back glide	'ʌ ¹ throat voice	‡ suction stopped	<i>h</i>
<i>c</i>	'j front glide	; throat shut) hiatus	'wj round front glide	˘ outer	‡ inverted [back]	<i>i</i>
<i>d</i>	'r _o point glide	nasal	˘ abrupt	'r _o w round point glide	inner	‡ protruded [lip]	<i>k</i>
<i>e</i>	'bh lip glide	ˆ nasal mixed	˙ stopped	'w round lip glide	1 close	§ divided, and unilateral	<i>l</i>
<i>f</i>	'h breath glide.	'hw whistle	i suction	'ʌ ¹ throat voice glide	1 open	* link	<i>m</i>

Mr. Melville Bell's consonant arrangement, as thus shewn, is based on the following distinctions. In the original symbols the open glottis is not considered in relation to the consonants, but *voiceless* and *voiced* forms alone are symbolised. He has subsequently added a mark for *whispered* as distinguished

from voiced forms, but he has not yet found it necessary to distinguish the open glottis, except by adding his 9a = (ʌ₁) or 5f = ('h) to the (1127, *d*) shut consonant. Only four places of articulation are distinguished, col. 1 *back* of tongue and palate, col. 2 *front*, that is, middle of tongue and palate, col. 3

point, that is, tip of tongue and palate, and col. 4 *lips*. But by signs for *outer* or *advanced* (i) = 9*i*, and *inner* or *retracted* (j) = 9*k*, and for *open* (i) = 9*m*, or *close* (i) = 9*l*, these are practically extended to 20. Confining attention to the consonants:

The lines *a*, *g*, are continuants with "the organic aperture contracted to a central chink," *a* voiceless, *g* voiced.

Lines *c* and *i* are continuants with the "organic aperture *divided* by a central check." In the case of (l) this is very intelligible, but for (f) and (v), although there is the 'central check' in the shape of the teeth, this only acts as a sharp wind squeezer, and makes the hiss or buzz more decided. See Dr. Stone's observations (1331, *d*). The union of (l) and (v) in one class is liable to considerable reclamation. Line *c* is voiceless, and line *i* voiced.

Lines *b*, *d*, voiceless, and *h*, *k*, voiced, give peculiar means of obtaining the simultaneous action of two of the former positions, of which the first mentioned in each case is the most prominent. These signs might be entirely dispensed with, and thus answer really to Brücke's third series (1340, *c'*). Thus for line *b*, (*kwh*) is taken to be (*kh* + *ph*), but (*wh*) to be (*ph* + *kh*), and again (*s*) = (*jh* + *r.h*), but (*sh*) = (*r.h* + *jh*). As respects these last, Mr. Graham Bell at least has just reversed the combination of the symbols (1121, *c*). Again, for line *d*, we must suppose (*lwh*) = (*lh* + *f*), but (*fh*) = (*f* + *lh*), and (*th*) = (*lh* + *lh*), but (*th*) = (*lh* + *lph*). The two last will probably be disputed. With regard to (*th*) Mr. Bell says (*V. S.* p. 58): "the 'front-mixed-divided' consonant (*th*) has its centre check at the *tip* of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum:—the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate." It is difficult to see how the form of the symbol and its relation to (*jh*) or (*lh*) shews this, unless (*lh*) is taken as very dental (i, *lh*). Although the back of the tongue is raised for (*th*) almost as much as for (*jh*), yet the action between the tongue and teeth is most marked, and the stream of air is only squeezed, not divided, by the teeth.

Lines *e* voiceless and *l* voiced are merely the ordinary shut positions, and lines *f* voiceless and *m* voiced the corresponding nasal positions.

For the aspirate, glides and modifiers, after again considering the discussion on pp. 1125–8, respecting *5 a*, *f*, *9 a*, *b*, *c*, *h*, *l*, *m*, and *10 c*, *c*, *f*, I believe that the marks placed in the present table are the best palaeotypic equivalents of Mr. Bell's symbols, according to the principles developed in this chapter. Observe that the glides have all (') before them, which mark would be placed against or over the preceding or following vowel (1099, *d*). To agree with Mr. Bell's system of notation, voiced-consonant forms are given to all the glides, except *5 a*, *f*, *g*, *m* = ("h, 'h, "w, "x'), the last of which I was never able properly to separate from *5 a* ("h), even when I heard Mr. Bell pronounce it. I have, however, in practice generally thought it best to use vowel-signs as marks of his glides, thus (â) for (â'), (âi) for (âj), (âu) for (âw). In fig. 4 of a plate accompanying Mr. A. Graham Bell's "Visible Speech as a means of communicating articulation to deaf mutes" (Washington, U.S. 1872, pp. 34), I find that in place of the glide *5 l* in *pole*, (pôwl) according to Mr. Melville Bell, Mr. Graham Bell writes a vowel-sign small, answering exactly to (pôul). This was first suggested, I believe, by Mr. H. Sweet. The use of ("h) for *5 f* is my last appreciation of this sign, and agrees in the main with (1127, *b'*).

Mr. Melville Bell's Key-words.

The following list contains the examples by which Mr. Melville Bell illustrates these signs (*V. S.* pp. 93–4), and for convenience I give them in the order of the above table, referring to column and line and annexing the palaeotype. When two palaeotypic signs are given, the first accurately translates Mr. Bell's sign; and the second gives the form I usually employ for the sound indicated by the example.

Abbreviations.

a.	American	it.	Italian
c.	Cockney	p.	Polish
e.	English	pec.	peculiar
f.	French	sc.	Scotch
ga.	Gaelic	sp.	Spanish
ge.	German	w.	Welsh
h.	Hungarian	z.	Zulu
ir.	Irish		

Key-words.

- 1 *a*. (*kh*) *nack* ge., *peck* sc.
1 *b*. (*kwh*) *auch* ge., *sough* sc.

- 1 *c.* (ʰ) hiss of water fowl.
 1 *d.* (ʰʰ).
 1 *e.* (k) *c*, *k*, *q*, *e.*, (k) = my (kj) kind *e.*
 1 *f.* (qh) sink *e.*, compare (1141, *a*).
 1 *g.* (gh) tage *ge.*, (gh) = my (gjh) zeige *ge.*, (gh₂) = my (grh) burred *r.*
 1 *h.* (gch) variety of *g* *ge.*, and of defective *r* *e.*
 1 *i.* (ʔ) laogh *ga.*, barred *l* *p.*
 1 *k.* (ʰw) labialised variety of *l* *ga.*
 1 *l.* (g) *go* *e.*, (g) = my (gj) guide *e.*
 1 *m.* (q) sing *e.*
- 2 *a.* (jh) ich *ge.* [I hear (ikjh), which would be Mr. Bell's (ikh)].
 2 *b.* (s) *s*, *e.*, (s) ciudad *sp.* [doubtful].
 2 *c.* (lh) variety of defective *s*.
 2 *d.* (th) thin *e.*
 2 *e.* (kf) variety of *t*, see (1120, *b*).
 2 *f.* (qth) variety of [voiceless] *u*.
 2 *g.* (j) yes *e.*
 2 *h.* (z) zeal *e.*, (z) *d*, final, *sp.* [doubtful].
 2 *i.* (lj) llano *sp.*, gli *it.* [These sounds are (lj) or (lj), not (lj), the distinction consisting in the tip of the tongue touching the palate or gums for (lj, lj), and being held down for (lj), the middle of tongue comes in contact with hard palate for all three.]
 2 *k.* (dh) then *e.*
 2 *l.* (gj) Magyar *h.* [properly (dj), see 2 *i.*]
 2 *m.* (qj) Boulogne *f.* [The French sound is neither (qj) nor (qj), but (nj) or (nj), see 2 *i.*]
- 3 *a.* (rh) théâtre *f.* [colloquially (rh), never with untrilled, (rh)], -*rh* *w.* [never untrilled in Welsh].
 3 *b.* (sh) show *e.*, chad *f.*
 3 *c.* (lh) temp'e *f.* [colloquially (lh)], felt *e.*, see (1141, *a*).
 3 *d.* (th) ll *w.*, hl *z.*, see p. 756, n. 2.
 3 *e.* (t) tie *e.* [The foreign (t, t) do not seem to have been noticed.]
 3 *f.* (nh) tent *e.* See (1141, *a*).
 3 *g.* (r_c) race *e.*, (r_c) = my (r) *r* *se.* *sp.*, etc.
 3 *h.* (zh) pleasure *e.*, jour *f.*
 3 *i.* (l) lie *e.* [The foreign (l, l) not noticed. See 3 *e.*]
 3 *k.* (dh) dhl *z.* See (756, *d'*).
 3 *l.* (d) die *e.* [The foreign (d, d) not noticed. See 3 *e.*]
 3 *m.* (n) sia *e.* [The foreign (n, n) not noticed. See 3 *e.*]
- 4 *a.* (ph) variety of *f* or *wh*. See (514, *c'*, 518, *b*, 542, *c*, 1099, *e*).
 4 *b.* (wh) why *e.*
 4 *c.* (f) fie *e.*
 4 *d.* (fh) gutturalised variety of *f*.
 4 *e.* (p) pie *e.*
 4 *f.* (mh) lamp *e.* (1141, *a*), mhm *se.*
 4 *g.* (bh) weg *ge.*, b *sp.*
 4 *h.* (w) way *e.*
 4 *i.* (v) vie *e.*
 4 *k.* (vh) gutturalised variety of *v*.
 4 *l.* (b) buy *e.*
 4 *m.* (u) seem *e.*
- 5 *a.* ("h) va'ry *e.* [that is (vée'h'r.r), for which I write (vee'r'r), with the reduction of (h) to (') for convenience, and the trilled (r)].
 5 *b.* (r_c) are, smooth burr, *e.* dialects [that is (aar) or (aar), as distinct from (aa.r)].
 5 *c.* (j) die *e.* day *e.* [that is (dáj déj), which I write (dáj dé'j)].
 5 *d.* (r_c) are *e.* [that is (aar_c), which I write (aa') or (aa), not distinguishing 5 *a*, and 5 *d*].
 5 *e.* (bh) lui *fr.* [that is (lbhi) or (lbhi), in place of (lwji) or (lyi)].
 5 *f.* ('h) p'aper *ir.* [that is (p'hææ-), where I hear (p'hææ-) or (p'hææ-); hence this is the sign for Sanscrit surd aspirates, see (1127, *b'*)].
 5 *g.* ("w) now *a.* and *e.* [that is (ná'w)ʔ, (or (næ'w) not quite (náv, næ'u)].
 5 *h.* (r_cw) not [exemplified, possibly a burred our (áur_cw)].
 5 *i.* ('wj) new north *ir.* [possibly (níwj) or (niy), found in Norfolk].
 5 *k.* (r_cw) our *e.* [that is (áur_cw), my (ə'u)].
 5 *l.* ('w) now *e.* [that is (náv), my (nə'u)].
 5 *m.* ("x) are *pec.*, "a semivowelised sound of 9 *h*." [See 9 *h*, the glide is shewn by the accent.]
- 9 *a.* (x) he *e.* [The new symbol (x) is introduced to enable me to write Mr. Melville Bell's symbols 9 *a*, *b*, *h*, and 5 *m*, in accordance with his theories, which differ in this respect so greatly from my own that my symbols, although I use them freely in transliterating passages written phonetically by him, will not serve the present purpose, when everything turns upon representing his notion of the formation

of the sounds. The new symbol (x) represents the passage of flatus, with a moderate degree of force, through "the super-glottal passage," or pharynx (that is, between the epiglottis and the position for (k) or (κ), whence the form of the symbol), independently of its subsequent differentiation. The *open* state of this passage is shewn as usual by adding on 9 m (1) thus: (x₁). Of course the *effect* of (x₁) is nearly (hii), or even (,hii). No *jerk* (h) seems contemplated. See (1125, e') for description.]

9 b. (x₁) vowel whisper. [See 9 a. Here the *contraction* of the super-glottal passage is shewn by adding 9 l. See description (1126, b). The effect is nearly (,h) or (h). The distinction between (x₁, x₁¹) is marked by Bell's circular and elliptic form of symbol, see p. 15.]

9 c. (,) bü'er for *butter*, west of Scotland

9 d. (,). This sign "applied to any of the preceding consonants shews that the breath flows through the nose *as well as* through the symbolised configuration. The effect is to dull the oral sibillation, and to deprive the transitional action of percussiveness," (F. S. p. 55.) "Partial nasality without guttural modification—such as is heard in some of the American dialects, and from individual speakers—is represented by the ordinary nasal sign (,) placed after the affected vowel," (*ibid.* p. 78.)

9 e. (A). "When the nasal valve is opened simultaneously with the formation of a vowel, the breath or voice issues simultaneously, partly through the nostrils, and partly through the oral configuration. This, with a degree of 'gliding' semi-consonant contraction in the guttural passage, is the formation of the common French sounds represented by *n* after a vowel letter. To indicate the 'mixed nasal' or *naso-guttural* quality of these elements, the special symbol 9 e

(A) is provided. This symbol [see its shape on p. 15] is formed by uniting 9a (x₁¹) subordinately with the ordinary nasal sign (,). (F. S. p. 77.) Hence systematically it should be rendered by (x₁¹).

9 f. (h_w) [no example].

9 g. (z). "Symbol (z) denotes a loose vibration or quiver of the organ to which the symbol applies. Thus the tongue vibrates against the front of the palate in forming Scotch or Spanish R," this would make them to result from a *striking* and not a *free* reed action, and be (r), but Mr. Bell writes the equivalent of (r_z); "the uvula vibrates against the back of the tongue in producing the French R 'grasseyé' [literally, 'lispéd,'] or the Northumbrian 'burr' (v). The lateral edges of the tongue vibrate in forming a close variety of L;" [this is apparently different from his 3 i = (l), and should be (l_z); "the lips vibrate when they are relaxed and closely approximated, (brh); and in the same way the edges of the throat-passage vibrate [? exact meaning], with a 'growling' effect, when the current of breath is intercepted by sufficiently close but loose approximation. Symbol (z) thus refers to the element after which it is written; as (h_z) a flutter of the breath; (h_z) a quiver of the voice; (x₁_z) throat vibration; a 'gruff' whisper; (x₁_z) hoarse vibratory murmur :—'growling.'" (F. S. p. 47.)

9 h. (x₁¹), variety of defective r, emission of voice with the throat contracted. See description (1126, a'). [See 9 a and 9 b, to the last of which (') is prefixed to shew the buzz. See also end of last quotation about 9 g. The glide of this, of course, becomes ("x₁¹), see 5 m.]

9 i. (,), see examples to 1 e, g, l, 2 a.

9 k. (,), see (1098, b').

9 l. (l), see (1107, b).

10 a to m. [no special examples are given].

In the preceding systems we commenced with an acute ancient classification confined essentially to one language, but that the most important for European investigations, the Sanscrit; and from this proceeded to Prof. Whitney's skeleton arrangement, which contemplated some of the derived languages. Thence we passed to Lepsius's, which embraced the Semitic as well as the Aryan forms of speech, but was also incomplete and sketchy. From this we proceeded to two physiological arrangements. Dr. Brücke was mainly influenced by German habits, and, as shewn by his examples, his acquaintance with other European pronunciations, and even with middle and south German habits, left much to be desired. He had, however, endeavoured to examine the Arabic sounds with great care. His consonantal scheme professed to be purely physiological, and hence to be applicable to all languages, although his vowel scheme, founded on the triangle already exhibited (1287, *c*), was purely literary. Mr. Melville Bell's scheme is physiological both for vowels and consonants, and, though his physiological knowledge is of course greatly inferior to that of such an eminent professional physiologist as Brücke, and hence makes default in hidden laryngeal actions, he has produced a system which is admirable in its general arrangements. But it is quite impossible that any one with a limited knowledge of the living habits of speakers can succeed even in the analysis, much less in the synthesis, of spoken sounds. In pondering over the possibilities of vocal effects producible by our organs of speech, we are constantly liable to omit forms quite common to other nations, because they are totally unfamiliar to ourselves, while we may excogitate theoretical sounds which no one has ever adopted. I shall conclude, therefore, by giving two arrangements of consonants which have been chiefly formed by an examination of sounds heard, and not so much by hypothetical construction. Of course these two systems are not purely observational or purely literary. Both schemes inevitably contain some theoretical sounds suggested by others observed, and both classifications are more or less founded on the organs in or near contact.

The first of these is Prof. Haldeman's (1186, *d*), which has already been given for English only (1189, *c*), so that no long explanations will be necessary. The great peculiarities of Prof. Haldeman's investigations are—1) an examination of literary languages, when possible by personal audition; 2) an examination of many North American Indian languages, which other phonologists have disregarded, but which are full of curious phenomena; 3) great attention to the synthetic effects of speech sounds in modifying their character, and to synthesis in general; 4) in notation, an endeavour to make his symbols a real extension of the Roman alphabet, to the extent of not using any symbol in an un-Latin sense, according to his own theory of Latin pronunciation.

The following table is taken from Art. 577, compared with Art. 193*a.*, of his *Analytic Orthography*. It was first published by him in the *Linnaean Record of Pennsylvania College*, for June, 1846.

Key-words and Explanations,

Arranged by the number of line and letter of column.

1 *a.* (w, 'w), nasal (w) as a separate element, and as a glide. "The effort to produce vocality may, perhaps, be transferred from the glottis to the contact, so that instead of (b, d, g), a modified (p, t, k) will occur, made with the points of contact (as the lips) flattened against each other, producing what we call a *flat* sound" (art. 181). In the case of the German, it is considered by Brücke as a whisper, and this notation is given by me, and by Merkel as an implosion (1097, *c'*). This is an element in Prof. Haldeман's classification, and he marks the lines 1, 2; 5, 6; 1', 2'; 5', 6', as having *flat* sounds, in his theoretical scheme, art. 193*a*.

1 *f.* (j₁), nasalised (j₁), or *ǝ* *f*, which see.

1 *g.* (j, 'j), nasalised (j) as a separate form, and as a glide. "Nasal (j), occurs in *Jakutisch*, we have heard it in Cherokee" (art. 546*a*).

5 *a.* (w 'w), the (w) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, *b'*).

5 *b.* (l), "formed by a light contact of the tip of the tongue at or near the base of the upper teeth" (art. 469 *a*).

(l_r), "an intermediate sound in Samojedic, which has more of the (smooth?) *r* than *l*, although both are heard simultaneously" (art. 477), see (1133, *a*). Prof. H. uses the capital symbol *l*, made by cutting an *h*.

5 *c.* (r, 'r), see (1194, *d*), where they are 16 *c*, 17 *c*, 18 *c*.

5 *d.* (l), Polish barred *l*, judged to belong to the Arabic.

5 *e.* (l), supposed Sanscrit *l* with inverted tongue.

5 *f.* (j₁), see (1195, *d'*).

5 *g.* (j, 'j), the (j) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, *c'*).

6 *b.* (l_h), "a vocal aspirate *lh*, which we attribute provisionally to Irish, its surd cognate being Welsh" (art. 198). "We think it occurs sonant in Irish, where it is considered to be a kind of *d*" (art. 474). Hence it is assumed to be the same as the Maux (l_h), see (756, *d'*), where note that (l_h) is, through a mistake on my part, erroneously said to occur in Manx.

6 *c.* (r_{zh}), more properly (r_{zh}), the Polish *rz*, (art. 512), [considered as

(zh) with the tip of tongue trilled, as it seemed to me when I heard it, but I have since been assured, though I have not personally observed, that the (r) and (zh) are separate, and successive, not simultaneous].

7 *i.* (j), "*hiatus* is a break or pause commonly caused by dropping an intermediate element, and not closing the remainder" (art. 560).

8 *a.* (wh), see (1194, *b*).

8 *b.* (l_h), "the surd Welsh aspirate *ll*. We have heard the Welsh *ll* in Creek Choctaw and Cherokee" (art. 474), see therefore (756, n. 2). "The following are examples from the musical Creek (an English name), more correctly (*maskooki*), in which the name of the 'large river,' Withlacoochee, and 'figured rock river,' Chatta-hoochee, are respectively (*ǝlhlhakurtsi tsǝtunhurtsi*); the former from (*ǝjwa*) water, and (*lhlhaki*) large, (*lhlhak/ma-nhi*) larger, (*lhlhak/ra*) largest. All the vowels are short." (art. 475). "We are doubtful whether the French *l*, *r*, of *simple*, *maitre*, are whispered or surd aspirate," that is, whether they belong to lines 7 or 8, "but we incline to the former" (art. 476). This would give 7 *b* = (l_h), 7 *c* = (r_h), and make 8 *b* = (l_h), and 8 *c* = (r_h), a corresponding sound.

8 *c.* (r_h), "The Welsh surd aspirate *rh* may be the smooth element" [that is, the *lenis* or 7 *c*]. "We do not remember its character on this point," see (p. 759, n. 1).

(r_{sh}). The surd of 6 *c*, which see.

8 *f.* (j, h), see (1195, *d'*).

8 *g.* (j_h), see (1194, *b*).

8 *h.* (l_h), "the Sanscrit *visarga*" (art. 571), see (1132, *b'*).

8 *i.* (nh, *h*), see (1196, *a*).

1' *a.* (m), usual.

1' *b.* (n), usual, see 5 *b* for dentality.

1' *d.* (u), "Lepsius adds a (theoretic?) *n* to the [Arabic lingual] series" (art. 489).

1' *e.* (n), presumed Sanscrit cerebral *n* with inverted tongue.

1' *f.* (q₁), "a Sanscrit letter, which should be located farther back than *r*, *s*. It may have been a French *j* nasal afflate ('zh')." (art. 198). The Sanscrit character given is that which I now attribute to (q₁), see (1137, *c'*).

1' *g.* (q), usual *sing*.

2' *b.* (ʌhh). "Compare Albanian njj, (one) a nasal syllable" (art. 197). The character here given is chosen to harmonise with the sonant (ʒhh) = 8 *b.*

4' *a.* (mh), voiceless (m).

4' *b.* (nh), voiceless (n).

5' *a.* (b), usual.

5' *b.* (d), usual.

5' *d.* (ʔ), Arabic lingual.

5' *e.* (v), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.

5' *g.* (g), usual.

6' *a.* (bh), German *w*, Ellenic (Romanic) *β*, the sonant of *φ*. See (Arts. 126, 127, 451).

(v), English *v*.

6' *c.* (z), usual.

(zj), Polish *z'* (art. 490), see 8' *c.*

6' *f.* (zh), French *j*.

6' *g.* (gjh), as *g* in *könige*.

(gh), as *g* in *betrogen*.

6' *h.* (gh), "the 19th letter, *ghain*, of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 549), considered as *vibrating*, but as related to (κ), that is our (grh) is made = (gh).

7' *a.* (p), usual.

7' *b.* (t), usual, for dentality see 5 *b.*

7' *d.* (ʔ), Arabic lingual.

7' *e.* (ʔ), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.

7' *g.* (k), usual.

7' *h.* (κ), "the 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 547).

(κ¹). "In the Waco of Texas, the entire surface, from the glottis to the (κ) position, forms a contact, which is opened suddenly and independent of the lungs, upon a vowel formation, producing a clack or smack like that which accompanies the separation of the closed palms when wet with soap and water. The preceding closure bears some resemblance to the incipient act of swallowing. We describe it from our method of producing it, and we were said to be the first person with whom it was not vernacular, who had acquired it," art. 573. The (κ¹) gives merely the position, (κ¹ʔ) is the full click, which is abbreviated to (s) on p. 11. The following are examples: (ʔgʔtʔgκ¹ʔ) eye, (ʔʀsk¹ʔ) foot, (esk¹ʔ) hand.

7' *i.* (ʔ), "hamza is a closure of the glottis" (art. 568).

8' *a.* (ph), "It differs from (f) in not being made by the lower lip and the upper teeth, but by contact of both lips, as in blowing," art. 119.

8' *b.* (ʔ), usual.

8' *c.* (s), usual.

(sj), Polish *s'*, considered as "between (German) *ssj* and *ssch*; we have heard such a one in the Waco (*wēc'ka*) of Texas, as in (*iskweetsj*), five, a word derived from that for *hand*, as in (Lenaa'pe) and Hebrew" (art. 490).

8' *d.* (s), Arabic lingual.

8' *e.* (sh), presumed Sanscrit cerebral *sh*, with inverted tongue.

8' *g.* (kjh), *ch* in German *ich*.

(kh), *ch* in German *buch*.

8' *h.* (κh), "the seventh Arabic letter" (art. 548), taken to be vibrated, and hence as my (krh).

In the scheme, theoretical sounds are excluded, and many minute varieties left unnoticed. I here put in such as I have noted in Chap. XV., on the consonants, but there are many scattered elsewhere, which I have probably overlooked.

Art. 451, Nos. 12 and 13, and arts. 452, 463. (prh, brh), "the labial trill, a rapid alternation between (b bh) or (p ph). . . . The sonant labial trill is used in Germany to stop horses, and we have known a child who emphasised the word *push* by trilling the *p*, when desirous of being pushed to the table after having climbed into his chair."

Art. 472. "The *t*, *d*, in *tsh*, *dzh*, are drawn back by the following palatal, and in fact they may be considered as the lenis forms of *s*, *z*," that is (tsh, dzh) are what he would write, see (1117, *d'*).

Art. 483. (nh), "surd *afflate*," or blowing of flatus through the nose, "we have heard in Cherokee, and a forcible sonant form in Albanian," see 2' *b.*

Art. 484-6. Indistinctness, for scarcely heard *m*, *n*, before *p*, *d*, etc. "We have heard this *n* in Wyandot (=wəndot), where the speaker denied its existence, and would not have written it had the language been a written one, as in (ɲdɔkhh), four, and in the name of the town (skaɲndenhtutɔh), beyond the pines, Skenectady, in New York, spelt *schenectady*, the *sch* being due to the Dutch. A slight (ɲ), not (ɲq), occurs before (g) in Wyandot (uɲnglɔaɲ), nuts.

Art. 517. "In Sanscrit श, according to Wilkins, 'is produced by applying the tip of the tongue to the fore part of the palate, and passing the voice as in pronouncing our s.'" "This," as Prof. H. observed in a letter dated 3 July, 1873, "would make it the true aspirate of *t*." See (1120, *c*).

Art. 525, Nos. 4 and 8, and art. 540. The Swiss and Modern Greek (krh, grh) are adduced, and an opinion is expressed that they are different from the Arabic sounds, which he writes (kh, ch), see 6' *h*, 8' *h*. The chief difference of the Swiss and Modern Greek sounds from the Arabic, to my ear, is that the former are much less forcibly pronounced than the latter. The Greek γ is very soft indeed, and might be written (jgrh).

Art. 563. "The sign (') represents a slight phase, whether aspirate, or independent, or even vocal, at the close of abrupt syllables." The "aspirate" is true ('h) coming from the lungs (1127, *b'*), and the vocal is ('h), see (1154, *b*), the 'independent vowels' are *clicks* (‡h) or mouth puffs (≡), see (1334, *a*). Following Prof. H., but not entirely using his words or signs: (p'ɪ) is breath drawn in on opening the lips, (pɪ‡ɪ) is "the sound made faintly by smokers when separating the lips under suction, (t.‡h) one of the clacks, *havaing force*," etc. (art. 417). "In the (Nadaa'ko),—an English name, An-a-dah-has, of Schoolcraft,—a Texan language, we have heard such

a sound following *t*, with an effect as loud as spitting, and somewhat resembling it, as in (kabart. $\Xi_{(o)}$) thread, where the resonance is modified by an *o* cavity; (nəst. Ξ_a), paper; (.t Ξ_a a'uh), tooth, with final *h*, it may be considered a dissyllable; (mhāw.t $\Xi_{(o)}$), wind; — (κ Ξ_a^{aas}), thigh, a monosyllable, the vowel of medial length" (art. 447). There seems to be a little confusion between (Ξ) and ($\ddot{\Xi}$), but the whole observation is important in observing sounds. I have used the subscript ($_{(o), a}$) in ($\Xi_{(o)}$, Ξ_a), to shew the form of the resonance cavity, instead of subjoining (*o*, *a*) as Prof. H. has done.

Art. 551. "As independent ($p \equiv p_h$, $t \equiv t_h$, $k \equiv k_h$) can be formed without air from the lungs, so in the Chinook of Oregon ($k \equiv k_h$) is similarly treated, according to the pronunciation of Dr. J. K. Townsend, which we acquired. In the following examples an allowance must be made for two personal equations: ($beak \equiv k_h eek \equiv k_h ee$), grandmother; ($k \equiv k_h \acute{a}wk \equiv k_h \acute{a}w\acute{o}k \equiv k_h$), yellow."

Art. 570. For "the Arabic and Hebrew *ain*, . . . the vowel is heard with a simultaneous faucal scrape, which may be regarded as a sufficient interruption to make it a modified liquid; and the vowel and scraping effect being simultaneous, they cannot be represented by a consonant character preceding a vowel one," as (ga), hence he writes a minute *o* below the vowel, answering to (ga), see (1130, c. 1134, d'. 1334, c).

The other of the two methods of arranging consonants previously referred to (1345, *c*), is by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. It is not only the most extensive, and travels over much ground not touched by others, but it proceeds upon a principle which I think it important to enforce. Instead of attempting, from the narrow resources of a few languages, to predict all sounds that could be made, and erect almost *à priori* a set of physiological pigeon-holes, into which each sound could be laid—or squeezed, the Prince has endeavoured to ascertain what sounds are really used in those languages to which he has had access, and, as we have already seen (pp. 1300–7), these are not few, although limited in area, not embracing the Indian, Semitic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Polynesian, African, North and South American, and from each there is doubtless very much indeed to be learned, which may require new pigeon-holes to be constructed for their proper reception. The question with him was—and I trust it may become the question with phonologists generally, as thus they can chiefly secure the proper consummation of their own science, and render to philology the

assistance of which it now stands so sorely in need—the question was, not what sounds *may*, but what sounds *do*, exist? Having collected a large number of these, the next business was to arrange them, not *à priori*, but *à posteriori*, by an examination of actual characteristics, and finally to suit them with a notation agreeing with the arrangement.¹ Every one who attempts to classify natural objects—to which category speech-sounds are thus reduced—knows very well that the discovery of new objects is continually forcing him to change his arrangement. As in the old story, the giant grows too fast for the castle to contain him. Hence even the Prince's last effort, to classify about 300 consonants, is far from supreme. There may be 300 more yet to classify, though many of them will doubtless fit into his framework. Those who take up these investigations for the first time, or with a view of condensing the results into a short system, thinking that such will be “enough for all purposes”—an opinion generally entertained when very few purposes are known or contemplated,—may find in this extensive list a needless amount of repetition and circumstantiality. Granting that consonants may be labialised, or palatalised, or labio-palatalised, what need is there, they may think, to do more than adduce a few cases as evidence of the fact, or opinion? Granting that consonants may have moderate, or considerable, or very great, or very little, energy, what need to write down every case of the kind as a separate consonant? But it certainly *is* of scientific importance to know what cases of this kind actually occur, and when we come, years hence probably, to endeavour to understand and compare the various modes of synthesis (or syllabication) used by different nations, to understand the interaction of consonants, and their modifications by environment and habit of speech, we shall regard such distinctions as rather too few than too many. Again, in judging of the change of words in English dialects when properly attacked—scientific phonologists face to face with native, with no literary screen between them—an accurate knowledge of all these distinctions will be really needed. Again, in attempting to suggest origins and changes of words, even our best philologists are continually at fault, from supposing that what has happened under some circumstances will happen under others, not knowing how extremely eclectic different speech-forms are, not merely in the range of sounds used, but in the subjective assimilation of those sounds to sounds heard. Such lists as the Prince's are extremely valuable—but they are really only the preliminaries of scientific phonology.

In the following list I have endeavoured to combine the Prince's linear and tabular arrangements. The use of consecutive numbers—continued from the vowel-list on p. 1299—will enable any person to identify almost any European consonant, and refer to it simply as B 100, B 101, etc. Each consonant is accompanied by a key-word,

¹ A few theoretical signs occur in the following scheme furnished me by the Prince, and they were adopted mainly from my own list (*supra*, pp. 3-10),

where they had generally been taken either from Lepsius or Bell; but there are very few, if any, which the Prince inserted of his own accord.

pointing out the letters by which it is ordinarily spelled, translated, and referred to its own language, and this alone would make the list of great use. The systematic arrangement, however, shows how that sound appears to the Prince to be connected with other sounds, and thus, nearly in the same way as by his vowel triangle, he indicates his own view of the nature of the sound. His view may not agree with that taken by others, who derive theirs from different sources. It does not attempt, like Brücke's or Bell's schemes, to give an accurate physiological account of each consonant. But it is the view of a man, who, born in England, educated in Italy, a good Spanish scholar, speaking French by right of country, has for more than twenty years devoted himself to linguistic study, particularly to that of a language rich in strange sounds and numerous dialects, the Basque, which he has learned literally from the mouths of men, the peasants of each little hamlet, heard on the spot; and who has travelled, especially to hear sounds, over England and Scotland and other countries; who has familiarised himself more or less accurately with Celtic and most literary languages of Europe; who has entered minutely into the phonology and construction of English, French, and Italian dialects, by actual contact with natives and intercourse (often months of intercourse, obtained at great cost) with those who had studied them on the spot, causing extensive series of comparative specimens to be prepared for him, in the last few years taking up the remarkable series of Uralian dialects;—a man who, in all that he has done himself or through others, has worked not as a princely dilettante seeking amusement, but as a scholar, a man of letters, and a man of science, working for the end of men of science—the discovery of natural laws. However much any individual observer may, therefore, think him wrong in some details,—as in the classification of the sounds native to that observer,—or in some principle of classification, or in some identifications, or some analyses,—yet as the conscientious work of one observer, gathering sounds from sources often accessible with difficulty or not at all, and comparing them together with great care and thoughtfulness,—this system of consonants must remain for long a great mine whence to dig the materials for future phonologic edifices. I feel personally greatly indebted to the Prince for having placed his MS. at my disposal for the purposes of this work, and allowing me to edit it with the addition of my own palaeotypic symbols, which I have had greatly to augment in consequence. A few years ago, wishing to complete the table with which I began this work, and to identify my symbols with the Prince's as far as possible, I requested him to go over that list, mark his own symbols in the margin, and add notes of any sounds which I had omitted. This was the origin of the following list, which he began preparing as an arrangement of the other for a foreign scholar, and which finally grew to its present vast dimensions. Thus associated with the instrument which has rendered this work possible for the printer, it is in every way fitting that this phonologic system should take an honoured position in its pages. The two lists, of the vowels and of the consonants, together

form the most complete series of signs which has been constructed, and will, I hope, stimulate other phonologists to complete it, by the addition of extra European sounds, verified, like these, by actual examples, of which those collected by Prof. Haldeman from North American Indian languages may serve as a specimen.

PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE'S CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANTS.

See p. 1349. The numbers, which stand in place of the Prince's symbols, run on from the numbers of the vowels given on p. 1299, and are to be cited as B 76, etc. The original table was arranged in 19 columns, each consisting of 40 lines. The columns are here numbered and distinguished by headings, of which, to prevent mistakes, the original French is annexed. The class names thus introduced are often not the same as previously used in this book; this can hardly lead to confusion, however, except perhaps in the word *palatal*, which is synonymous with my *coronal* (1096, *e*). Several stages are also often distinguished where I had only one, thus *dentals* become *dentals*, *alveolar-dentals*, *double alveolars*, and *alveolars*, and so on. The lines are in the original divided into 10 groups of 4 each. These groups are here distinguished by italic letters prefixed to the first number in each, as follows:

<i>He</i> hard explosive, <i>explosives fortes</i> .	<i>Nc</i> nasal continuous, <i>continues nasales</i> .
<i>Se</i> soft explosive, <i>explosives douces</i> .	<i>Il</i> hard liquid, <i>liquides fortes</i> .
<i>Ne</i> nasal explosive, <i>explosives nasales</i> .	<i>Sl</i> soft liquid, <i>liquides douces</i> .
<i>He</i> hard continuous, <i>continues fortes</i> .	<i>Ht</i> hard trill, <i>tremblantes fortes</i> .
<i>Se</i> soft continuous, <i>continues douces</i> .	<i>St</i> soft trill, <i>tremblantes douces</i> .

where *hard* means 'voiceless,' and *soft* means 'voiced.'

As there are often several symbols in one line in the original, the first line of each group must be considered to begin with the above marks; the second with those involving the letter (j), the third with those involving (w), and the fourth with those involving (wj). These are the palaeotype symbols for palatalised, labialised, and labio-palatalised, or, *mouillées*, *veloutées*, and *mixtes*, formerly called *fuitées*, characters which distinguish the consonants in these lines (1115, *a*). Several lines, and even groups of lines, are not unfrequently blank, and these are not entered in the list, as the position of those written is sufficiently distinguished by the prefixed and involved letters. They furnish positions for possible sounds not yet recognised in actual speech.

The palaeotype symbols have been identified by the Prince, as far as my original list of symbols extended (pp. 3-12), but I have been obliged to add many new ones, distinguished by *. In doing so I have been guided by the systematic forms of the Prince's symbols. The combinations are sometimes very clumsy, but they are adapted to the 'old types,' and hence can be printed by any printer, whereas the Prince's are many of them not cut or are else not available by "the trade" (1298, *a*). Where the palaeotypic forms differ from those given on pp. 3-12 in this book, they must be considered as emendations.

The sign for "weakening the consonant" has been represented by a prefixed (l), a cut [; see (419, *d*).

The sign for "rendering the consonant energetic," by *doubling* it, see (799, *d*).

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-energetic," by prefixing the strong mark (.), see (10, *d*), which is now never used for indicating dental consonants, (1095, *e*).

The sign for "rendering the consonant alveolar," or dental, or 'advanced,' is (.), and for rendering it 'retracted' is (.), and these signs are freely used.

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-palatal," or *semi-mouillée*, an operation I do not perfectly understand, is represented by (j) an *undotted* (j), which is the usual sign for palatalising.

After the palaeotype is given an example of the word in its usual spelling

in Roman letters, followed by the combination of letters which indicate the sound in it, its meaning in italics, where the word is not English, and the name of the language, abbreviated as follows, and by any necessary remark, which, when not due to the Prince, is inclosed in [].

ab <i>abasian</i>	e <i>english</i>	hun <i>hungarian</i>	pr <i>portuguese</i>
al <i>albanian</i>	f <i>french</i>	i <i>italian</i>	rus <i>russian</i>
ar <i>arabic</i>	fin <i>finnish</i>	ir <i>irish</i>	sn <i>sanscrit</i>
da <i>danish</i>	g <i>german</i>	k <i>kasikumuk</i>	s.os. <i>surgut ostiak</i>
dr <i>dravidian</i>	ga <i>gaelic</i>	pl <i>polish</i>	sp <i>spanish</i>

1. Labials.

Labials.

He	76 p	pea, p, e
	77 pj*	porun, p, glass, k
	78 pp*	coppa, pp, eup, i
	79 pph	pterd, pt, horse, bavarian [? (pu pph pph)]
	80 pph*	pe, p, side, thush
	81 wh	which, wh, e
	82 pj	gap, p, lounge, pl
	83 pw	pois, po, pea, f
	84 pwj*	puits, pu, well n., f
Se	85 b	bee, b, e
	86 bj*	bar, b, pond, k
	87 bb*	gobba, bb, hump, i
	88 'p*	saxon
	89 w	wine, w, e
	90 bj	jedwab, b, silk, pl
	91 bw	bois, bo, wood, f
	92 bwj*	buis, bu, box (wood), f
Ne	93 m	me, m, e
	94 mj*	maq, m, thirst, k
	95 mm*	fiamma, mm, flame, i
	96 mh	tempt, m, e [after Bell (temht), see (1141, a)]
	97 b.*	sebm, bm, seven, West- morland eng.
	98 w.*	saurad, m, summer, ir
	99 mj*	karm, m, feeding, pl
	100 mw	moi, mo, me, f
	101 mwj*	muid, mu, hogshead, f
He	102 ph	[from my list]
Sc	103 bh	haba, b, bean, sp
	104 bhw*	an occasional, if not the standard Dutch w, be- tween sp. b and e. w
Ht	105 prh	[from my list]
St	106 brh	[from my list]
	107 w	very, r, e [defective lip r]
	108 w	our, r, e [occ.]

2. Labio-dentals.

Labio-dentales.

He	109 p	[theoretical, from my list]
Se	110 b	[from my list, see (1292, d)]
He	111 f	foe, f, e
	112 ff*	schiaffo, ff, slap in the face, i
	113 f	[theoretical, from my list]

114	.fh	[theoretical, from my list, where I took it from Bell, see p. 1343, 4 d.]
115	fj*	fyaiz, fy, <i>flee</i> (imperat. plur.) Guernsey norman
116	fw	foie, fo, <i>liver</i> , f
117	fwj*	fuite, fu, <i>flight</i> . f
118	v	vine, v, e
119	vj*	warta, w, <i>plate</i> , k
120	vv*	avventura, vv, <i>adventure</i> , i
121	vw*	kjöbenhavn, b, <i>Copenhu- gen</i> , da
122	v	[theoretical]
123	'v*	an occ. if not the standard Dutch <i>v</i>
124	vh*	[theoretical]
125	vj*	paw, w, <i>peacock</i> , pl
126	vw	voix, vo, <i>voice</i> , f
127	v*	fém, m, <i>mild</i> , ir

3. Labio-linguals.

Labio-linguales.

He	128 p*	at'a, t', hay, ab
	129 pp*	y't'a, t', sit down, ab
Se	130 b*	ad'y, d', field, ab
Sl	131 lw*	lamh, l, hand, ga

4. Dentals

Dentales.

He	132 t*	talam, t, earth, ir
	133 tj*	tirm, t, dry, ir
Se	134 d*	donn, d, brown, ir
	135 dj*	dia, d, god, ir
He	136 th	thin, th, e
	137 e	existence doubtful, see (4, b)
Se	138 dh	thee, th, e
	139 e	[existence doubtful, see (4, b)]
Ht	140 th	[theoretical, from my list]
Sl	141 l	ooyl, l, apple, manx

5. Alveolo-Dentals.

Alveolo-dentales.

He	142 c	met'sä, ts, wood (forest), West Nyland fin
	143 th*	vizio, z, rice, i
Se	144 e	zot, z, lord, al
	145 dh	lid, d, lawsuit, sp

6. Double Alveolars.

Alvéolaires Doubles.

- Hc* 146 .s* lo zio, z, *the uncle*, i
 147 .s.s* pazzo, zz, *mad*, i
 148 .s* aca, c, *granary*, ab
 149 [t* ac'ábyrg, c', *truth*, Bzyb ab
 150 .f* ac'a, c', *wild cherry*, ab
 151 .[j* ċ'abu, ċ', *much*, k
 152 .s.j* siac', c', *to sow*, pl
 153 .sw.su* ac'a, c', *apple*, ab
 154 .sw* ac', c', *ox*, ab
Se 155 .z* lo zelo, z, *the zeal*, i
 156 .z.z* rozzo, zz, *coarse*, i
 157 .z.j* jedz', dz, *go* (imperat.),
 pl
 158 .zw* az'y, z', *some one*, ab

7. Alveolars.

Alvéolaires.

- Hc* 159 .t tas, t, *heap*, f
 160 .t.j* tai, t, *coll*, k
 161 .t.t* matto, tt, *mad*, i
 162 .tjh* til, t, *to*, da
 163 .tjh* jatolša, t, *red*, k
 164 .tjh* tuix, t, *salt*, thush
 165 .t.j* пышь, шь, *way*, rus
 166 .tw toi, to, *thee*, f
 167 .twj* étui, tu, *case*, f
Se 168 .d* doux, d, *sweet*, f
 169 .dj* doxlu, d, *freshness*, k
 170 .d.d* Iddio, dd, *God*, i
 171 .d [from my list]
 172 .dj* лоша, љ, *horse*, rus
 173 .dw doigt, do, *finger*, f
 174 .dwj* conduire, du, *to conduct*, f
Ne 175 .n* nain, n, *dwarf*, f
 176 .nj* ĩak, ñ, *blue*, k
 177 .n.n* canna, nn, *reed*, i
 178 .d bean, n, *woman*, ir
 179 .nj* JHHB, ђ, *tench*, rus
 180 .n.e* noix, no, *walnut*, f
 181 .nwj* nuit, nu, *night*, f
Hc 182 s so, s, e
 183 ss* cassa, ss, *box*, i
 184 .s.j* šat, š, *hour*, k
 185 su* ص ar
 186 .sj kos', s', *mow* (imperat.) pl
 187 .sw soie, so, *silk*, f
 188 .swj* suie, su, *soot*, f
Se 189 z zeal, z, e
 190 .zz* azzal, zz, *with the*, hun
 191 .z* zaqa, z, *how much*, ab
 192 .zj lez', z', *go up*, pl
 193 .zw rasoir, so, *razor*, f
 194 .zwj* dixhuit, xhu, *eighteen*, f

- Ne* 195 zh* [theoretical]
Ht 196 lch [theoretical]
St 197 .l lait, l, *milk*, f
 198 .lj* lap, l, *shine*, k
 199 .ll* stella, ll, *star*, i
 200 .lj* КОРО.Ѣ, Ѣ, *king*, rus
 201 .lw loi, lo, *law*, f
 202 .lwj* lui, lu, *him*, f
St 203 .r rey, r, *king*, sp

8. Whishes.

Chuintantes.

- Hc* 204 sh she, sh, e
 205 .shj* šarabuċu, š, *fellow coun-tryman*, k
 206 .shsh* pesce, sc, *fish*, i
 207 .shshj* šoldi, š, *green*, k
 208 .sh* aša, š, *rope*, ab
 209 .shj БОМБ, МБ, *louse*, rus
 210 .shw choix, cho, *choice*, f
 211 .shwshw* aš, š, *plane tree*, ab
 212 .shw* aš, š, *door*, ab
 213 .shwj* chuinter, chu, *whish*, f
Se 214 zh pleasure, s, e
 215 .zhzh* a' zseb, zs, *the pocket*, hun
 216 .zh* aža, ž, *hare*, ab
 217 .zhj jin, j, *come* (participle),
 souletin basque
 218 .zhw joie, jo, *joy*, f
 219 .zhwzhw* až, ž, *cow*, ab
 220 .zhw* žaba, ž, *ten*, ab
 221 .zhwj* juin, ju, *june*, f
Ht 222 rsh przez, rz, *through*, pl
St 223 rzh [theoretical], see B 284
 (rhh)

9. Palatal Whishes.

Palato-chuintantes.

- Hc* 224 .sh* pece, c, *pitch*, i
 225 .sh.sh* caccia, ce, *hunting*, i
 226 .sh* ača, č, *quail*, ab
 227 .[h][h* ač'y, č', *mouth*, ab
 228 .[h* ač'y, č', *horse*, ab
 229 .[h]* č'an, č', *early*, k
 230 .shj* НОЧЬ, ЧЬ, *night*, rus
 230" .shw* cnoui, cnou, *to cook*,
 Louisiana fr. creole
 230"' .shwj* cnuite, cnu, *to cook*,
 Trinidad fr. creole
Se 231 .zh* regio, gi, *royal*, i

- 232 zhzh* maggio, ggi, may
(month), i
233 zhj* espundja, dj, sponge, sou-
letin basque
233'' zhuj* nérui, ju, needle, Louis-
iana fr. creole

10. Double Palatals.

Palatales Doubles.

- He 234 ʦs* otso, ts, wolf, basque

11. Palatals.

Palatales.

- He 235 t tea, t, e
236 t* huset, t, the house, collo-
quial da
237 jh hue, h, e
238 tj tyúk, ty, hen, hun
239 tjtj* a' tyúk, ty, the hen, hun
Se 240 d do, d, e
241 dd* beddu, dd, beautiful, sar-
dinian
242 [d* lado, d, side, sp
243 [d]d* Gud, d, God, jutlandish
244 j yet, y, e
245 jj* ejjel, jj, night, hun
246 dj gyöngy, both gy, pearl, hun
247 djdj* a' gyöngy, first gy, the
pearl, hun
Ne 248 n no, n, e
249 nh tent, n, e [after Bell (tenht),
see (1141, a)]
250 j,* azkoṽa, ŷ, the badger, ron-
caise basque
251 nj digne, gn, worthy, f
252 njnj* a' nyul, ny, the hare, hun
253 njh [theoretical]
He 254 s* su, s, fire, sp basque
Se 255 z* zagal, z, young shepherd, pr
Hl 256 lh felt, l, e [Bell's (felht),
see (1141, d)]
257 ljh glas, l, knell (funereal),
saintongeais
Sl 258 l low, l, e
259 lj figlio, gli, son, i
260 ljlj* melly, ll, which, hun
Ht 261 gh [theoretical]
262 h* ʤ ar
263 hj* holu, h, orphan, k
264 hjhj* h'i, h', pigeon, k
265 ru* h'aba, h', fish, k
St 266 r ray, r, e
267 rr* terra, rr, earth, i
268 g ʒ ar
269 rj wuhor', r', eel, lusatian
270 rw roi, ro, king, f
271 rwj bruit, ru, noise, f

12. Ultra-palatals.

Ultra-palatales.

- | | | | |
|--------|-----|----|--|
| He 272 | τ | sn | } [The whole of this set
of letters was taken
from my list, where
again they were taken
from Lepsius's Al-
phabet, and they must
be considered there-
fore as very doubtful.
For sn. see (1096, b'.
1137. 1138); of dr.
I know nothing.
The (zh, rh) were
entirely theoretical
to match (sh, r).] |
| Se 273 | ð | sn | |
| Ne 274 | ɳ | sn | |
| 275 | ɳh | dr | |
| He 276 | ʃh | sn | |
| 277 | ʃhh | dr | |
| Se 278 | ʒh | sn | |
| 279 | ðlh | dr | |
| Hl 280 | lh | dr | |
| Sl 281 | ɽ | sn | |
| Ht 282 | rh | sn | |
| St 283 | ɽ | sn | |
| 284 | ɽhh | dr | |

13. Gutturo-Labials.

Gutturo-Labiales.

- He 285 p [from my list, and that
from Lepsius] peruvian
286 wjh ih'y, h', speak, ab
Se 287 b [theoretical, from my list]
288 wj huile, hu, oil, f
He 289 fh [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell]
Se 290 vh [theoretical]

14. Gutturo-Dentals.

Gutturo-dentales.

[Note.—The marks over the *t* in the
examples to B 291, 292, 293, and over
the *d* in B 295, 296, 297, should pro-
perly go through the stem of the letters.]

- He 291 th kaṽ, ṽ, day, s. os. [See
Note.]
292 thh* waṽṽ, ṽṽ, without, s. os.
[See Note.]
293 thj* siṽ, ṽ, gunpowder, low
s. os. [See Note.]
294 thjthj* [theoretical]
Se 295 dh aḍaṽ, ḍ, morning, s. os.
[See Note.]
296 dhdh* waḍḍaṽ, ḍḍ, without,
s. os. [See Note.]
297 dhj*sida, ḍ, gunpowder, high
s. os. [See Note.]
298 dhjdjhj* [theoretical]

15. Guttural Whishes.

Gutturo-ekuintantes.

- He 299 „sh* la chjai, chj, the key,
tempiese sardinian
300 „sh„sh* veechju, cchj, old,
tempiese sardinian

- 301 „shwʃ* kyuir, kyu, *leather*, pi-
eard
Sc 302 „zhwʃ* la ghjesgia, ghj, *the*
church, tempiese sardin-
ian
303 „zhwʃ, „zhwʃ* ogghji, gghj, *to*
day, tempiese sardinian

16. Gutturo-Palatals.

Gutturo-palatals.

- He 304 t ط ar
305 tj* ttorttoil, tt, *turtle dove*,
labourdin basque
Se 306 d ض ar
307 dj* yaun, y, *lord*, labourdin
basque
Ne 308 n [theoretical]
He 309 „s* [theoretical]
310 s su, s, *fire*, labourdin basque
Se 311 „z* [theoretical]
312 z Jesus, *both* s, *Jesus*, soule-
tin basque

17. Double Gutturals.

Gutturales Doubles.

- He 313 ,kh mac, c, *son*, ga

18. Gutturals.

Gutturales.

- He 314 k key, k, e
315 kj korn, k̄, *nest*, k
316 kk bocca, cc, *mouth*, i
317 kqh komu, k, *come*, upper g
[? ku, k̄, k̄h, k̄h]
318 kjh kala, k̄, *white*, k
319 [k]h kok, k̄, *foot*, thush
320 nh hand, h, *hand*, g
321 nhnh abhoz, hh, *thereto*, hun
322 n hand, h, e [pure jerk
(1130, b')]
323 ; s ar [hamza]
324 kj la chiave, chi, *the key*, i
325 k[k] oehio, cchi, *eye*, i
326 nhj la chiave, chi, *the key*,
florentine i
327 kw quoi, quo, *what*, f
328 nwh [from my list, but ('hw)
is the new form (p.
1341, 9f)]
329 nw [from my list, ('hw) is
the new form (p. 1341,
9f)]
330 kwj* biscuit, cu, *biscuit*, f
Se 331 g go, g, e
332 gg* veggo, gg, *I see*, i
333 'g argem, g, *I sing*, os

- 334 u'w* huevo, hu, *egg*, sp
335 gj la ghianda, ghi, *the*
acorn, i
336 gjgj* ragghiare, gghi, *to*
bray, i
337 gw goître, go, *goiter*, f
338 gwj* aiguille, gu, *needle*, f
Ne 339 q singer, ng, e
340 qh sink, n, e, [Bell's (siqhk),
see (1141, a)]
341 u'h* haak, h, *multitude*, scu-
tari al
342 qj sn [from my list, for which
I now use (qj), see
1137, c')]
He 343 kh dach, eh, *roof*, g
344 x [existence doubtful, see
(9, d), where it was in-
troduced because the
real sound of sp j was
unknown]
345 khkh* palchi, leh, *because*, sas-
sarese sardinian
346 khjkhj* x'ot, x', *shade*, k
347 khn [from my list]
348 kjh milch, ch, *milk*, g
349 kw loch, ch, *lake*, south scotch
Se 350 gh tage, g, *days*, g
351 x [See B 344]
352 ghgh* olgann, lg, *organ*, sas-
sarese sardinian
353 .gh [see B 347]
354 gjh selig, g, *blissful*, g
355 gwēh [from my list, theoretical]
Ne 356 gh,h* xonkodize, x̄, *to snore*,
avarian
Hi 357 lh [theoretical, from my list]
358 lhh llaw, ll, *hand*, welsh
359 lhhj* [theoretical]
360 lch [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell]
Sl 361 t lamac', t̄, *to break*, pl
362 lhh* [theoretical voiced Welsh
ll. The Manx sound
spoken of as (lhh) in
(756, d') is properly B
141, a dental ɮ.]
363 lhhj* [theoretical]
364 lw [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell.]
Ht 365 krh ك ar
366 .rh [theoretical, from my list]
St 367 grh غ ar
368 .r rock, r, *Newcastle*
369 ɽ* var, r, *was*, jutlandish
370 ,* Paris, r, *Paris*, parisian
371 rr* irregulier, rr, *irregular*,
parisian

19. Ultra-gutturals.

Ultra-gutturales.

He 372 κ *Q* ar

373 κj* *q*apa, *q*, *hat*, k

Sc 374 g [theoretical, from my list]

375 gw [theoretical, from my list]

Ne 376 q [theoretical, from my list]

He 377 kh nacht, ch, *night*, dutch

378 khj* *ẏ*ort, *ẏ*, *pear*, k

379 .kh* *x*'ata, *x*', *house*, k

380 κwh [theoretical, from my list]

Sc 381 gh God, G, *God*, dutch

382 gwh [theoretical, from my list]

Ht 383 ʒh [theoretical, from my list]

St 384 t rct, r, *right*, da

385 t* var, r, *was* da

No. 8. GERMAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.

i. *Schmeller on Bavarian Dialectal Changes.*

In the present section, as in the former part of this work, reference has been very frequently made to the labours of Schmeller on the Bavarian dialects.¹ It seemed therefore that a complete systematic account of the variations of sounds he has observed would be the best possible introduction to the following fragmentary account of English dialectal usages.

Schmeller adopts a phonetic alphabet, of which the following seems to be the palaeotypic signification :

Vowels.

á (a), á or a (a), à (o), è (E), é (e) and perhaps (e), é (i), i (i), ó or o (o), ö (œ), u (u), ü (ʏ), ø (ø).

Sometimes his symbols indicate etymological relations, thus *ə* shews the (') sound before *l* which replaces *é* (e) and *ə* i an (i, i), which seems to have become some obscure palatal and may be vaguely represented by (ʲ), as in (*eeʲ*). [·] indicates an omitted vowel, [~] sometimes merely the nasalisation (,), sometimes also the omission of *m*, *n*.

Consonants.

g (g), *gg* (k), *gh* or *hh* (gh), *kh* (kʰ), -*l* (l), an (l) disunited from the preceding vowel; -*bm*, -*fm*, -*pm*, -*wm*, (-b'm, -f'm, -p'm, -bh'm) where (ʼm) has arisen from *en*, -*chn*g, -*gn*g, -*kn*g (-kh'q, -g'q, -k'q), where (ʼq) has also arisen from *en*, but after a guttural; *hr* (rh), *s* (z), *ʃ* (s), *sch* (zh), *fch* (sh), *z* (d.z), *tz* (t.s); ['] omitted *l*, [~] an unpronounced *m* or *n*, after a nasalised vowel, or after a vowel which cannot be nasalised in the dialect, that is (i, u, ø), so that *ai~* means (a.i); [·] an unpronounced *r*, (') any other omitted letter, or an omitted *m* and *n* after an unnasalised vowel which might have been nasalised.

¹ Die Mundarten Bayerns grammatisch dargestellt von Joh. Andreas Schmeller. Beygegeben ist eine Sammlung von Mundart-Proben, d. i. kleinen Erzählungen, Gesprächen, Sing-Stücken, figürlichen Redensarten u. dergl. in den verschiedenen Dialekten des Königreichs, nebst einem Kärtchen zur geographischen Uebersicht dieser Dialekte. München, 1821. 8vo. pp. 568.

Bayerisches Wörterbuch. Sammlung von Wörtern und Ausdrücken, die in den lebenden Mundarten sowohl, als in

der ältern und ältesten Provincial-Litteratur des Königreichs Bayern, besonders seiner ältern Lande, vorkommen, und in der heutigen allgemeinen deutschen Schriftsprache entweder gar nicht, oder nicht in denselben Bedeutungen üblich sind, mit urkundlichen Belegen, nach den Stammsylben etymologisch-alphabetisch geordnet von J. Andreas Schmeller, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 8vo. vol. 1, 1827, pp. 610; vol. 2, 1828, pp. 722; vol. 3, 1836, pp. 691; vol. 4, 1837, pp. 310, xxx.

Unfortunately, in his verbal examples Schmeller generally confines his phonetic symbols to the point under consideration, and prints the rest of the word in ordinary gothic characters. Even in his literary examples, "in order not to render the text unnecessarily unintelligible, some letters, as *ä ü ei eu ö ü st*, etc., are *not always* translated into the peculiar forms belonging to the dialect," referring generally to the particular tables. This facilitates the reading of the *sense* to the detriment of the reading of the *sound*. The same feeling has unfortunately widely prevailed in writing English dialects, but it is altogether unscientific, and often produces the utmost bewilderment. It has materially added to the laboriousness and uncertainty of my own researches. The correct principle is to regard *sound only*, and when written words threaten to be unintelligible, on account of their differing so much from their ordinary appearance, the usual spelling should be given in addition, and sometimes a complete translation is requisite.

In the following notes the arrangement of Schmeller, arts. 102-691, has been followed. The whole is materially abridged. My own insertions are placed in brackets [], verbal translations between inverted commas. The numbers in parenthesis refer to Schmeller's articles. Sounds are given in palaeotype. Ordinary German spelling is given in italics, or capitals, large or small, and in the latter case *ä ö ü* have been resolved, as usual, into *AE, OE, UE*. Schmeller uses an etymological spelling, which is not generally followed, but will be explained as it arises. When some letters are put in a parenthesis in the midst of a German word, these only are in palaeotype, as *a(f)er*, for *aber*. This is to imitate Schmeller's notation, and to avoid the errors which I should almost certainly commit in attempting to give the whole word in the dialectal form, when there was no authority for the other sounds in his book. The particular localities of each pronunciation are omitted. But the following abbreviations will be used:

gen. generally, *fr.* frequently, *sm.* sometimes, *rr.* rarely. 1, 2, 3, etc., *pl.*, in one, two, three, etc., places. N. E. W. S., North, East, West, South of Bavaria. *tn.* town, *cn.* country, *ed.* educated.

Vowels.

A (102-123) is:—(*aa*, *a*) *gen.* in non-German words, *casse* (ka'sə), *rr.* in a few German words, before *m*, *n*, *r*, and others, *gans*, *spass*, *arg* (*gans*, *shpas*, *arg*):—(*aa*, *a*) *gen.* in common non-German words, as *Max* (maks), and *W.* in all German words, but *E.* only before two or doubled or strong consonants, *acht* (akht); which *rr.* becomes (o), *graf* (groof):—(o) *fr.* before *t* and single or weak consonants, *alt*, *sagen* (olt, zoo'ghən), *sm.* otherwise:—(äu) *sm.* when long, *blasen* (bläur'zən), or as (äu) before *r*, *haar* (nhäu'r):—(ou) 1 *pl.* even before 2 consonants, *apfel* (ou'pfəl):—(äo) before lost *n* 1 *pl.*,

before *r* *fr.*, before lost *ch* 1 *pl.*, and when long 2 *pl.*, *sanft* (zä'oft), *arm* (ä'orm), *nacht* (nä'ot), *schaf* (shä'of):—(e) in a few scattered words, *alles arbeit hart nah acht* (e'ləs e'rbet nhert nee ekht):—(i) *rr.*, in *sontag* (zu'ntigh):—(üo) 2 *pl.*, especially before *r*, *arm* (ü'orm), *halb* (nhü'əlb):—(ö) *sm.* in unaccented syllables *sontag Laibach, daron* (zu'ntö Laa'bo döfo'). "If the pronunciation of high German by educated low Germans, or by educated upper Saxons, is to be taken as the rule, *a*, to be free of all provincialisms, should be (*a*)."

AE (124-139) short, and long, "in

good high German pronunciation *sm. è* (E, EE), and sometimes *ê* (e, ee),” is:—(a, aa) 3 *pl.* in various primitives *hächsen* (nhā'khsən), derivatives *wächse* (bha'ksən), subj. pret. *ich nähme* (naam), diminutives *mädlein* (ma'd'l), plurals *plätze* (plaa'ts), etc.:—(e, E) *fr.* in most of the above cases:—(E'ə) 2 *pl.*, *später* (shpe'ə'tər):—(E'i) 2 *pl.*, *gnädig*, *ich thäte*, *mäen*, *säen* (gne'i'di, i te'it, me'i'ə, se'i'ə) [observe, for English]:—(i) *fr.* in plurals, *kälber* (k'i'l'bər), comparatives and superlatives, *ärger*, *der kälteste* (i'rgər, k'lt'est), and conjugational forms, *er fällt* (f'lt):—(iə) *fr.* before *r*, *ärger*, *du führst* (iə'rgər, du fi'rst):—(i) 2 *pl.* in a few words, *wächsen* (bhi'ksən):—(æ) *rr.*, *kälter* (kø'ltər).

AI (140–156), usually written *ei*, derived from original *ei*, gothic *ai*, “in good high German pronunciation (ái),” is:—(aa) 3 *pl. tn. en.*, *breit fleisch klein* (braad flaash klaa.), and by *umlaut* becomes (E) in a few cases, *breiter kleiner* (bree'tər klee'nər):—(ái) *gen. tn.*, hence ecclesiastical *geist*, *heilig*, and terminations *heit*, *keit*, have (ái) *gen.*:—(a, o) 2 *pl. tn. en.* in uninflected forms, especially before *l*, *m*, *n*, *bein* (baa, boo.), *stein* (shtaa, shtoo.):—(ái, ói) in inflected forms, although the inflection is *gen.* lost, *der kleine* (klá i), *mit dem steine* (mi't'n shtó i), *breiter* (bróit'ər), *weinen* (bhó in), and 1 *pl. en.* in uninflected forms, *fleisch* (flóish):—(éə) *fr.*, *klein*, *beiner* (klá.ə, bá.ə'nə), which by *umlaut* becomes (E'ə), *breiter* (bre'ə'dər):—(EE) *fr.*, *flesch* (fleesh):—(ee) *fr.*, *klein* (klee), *leib* (lee):—(éi) 2 *pl.* in inflected forms, *reife* (réif):—(i) 2 *pl.*, in certain forms of verbs, replacing *ag*, as *du saist* = *sagst* (du zist):—(úi) 2 *pl.* before *m* and *n*, *eins* (úis), *heim* (nhúi):—(ə) *gen.* in unemphatic article *ein*; and *fr.* in other unaccented syllables, *arbeit* (a'rbat), *gewohnheit* (gbhoo'nət); or is quite lost, *vorthail* (voo'rt'l).

AU (157–163), original U, “in good high German pronunciation (áu),” is:—(a) *sm.*, *aus dem hause* (aa's'n nhas), especially before *l*, *m*, as *faul* (fa'l):—(áu) *ed. gen.* except *W.*:—(a) 1 *pl.* (aa's'n nhas):—(áu) or (óu) *W.*, *haus* (nhóus):—(uu) according to origin in SW. and N., *auf brauch faust* (uf bruu'kə fuusht), but in N. often (úi), *braut faust* (brúit fuist).

AEU, the *umlaut* of AU (164–170), “in good high German pronunciation (áy),” is:—(ái) *fr.*, *häuser*, *mäuse*

(nhái'zər, máis):—(áy) *sm.* “more careful pronunciation *tn. en. ed.*,” (nháy'zər, máys):—(ái) 1 *pl.*:—(EE) 2 *pl.*:—(E'i) 2 *pl.*, *träublein* (tre'i'b'l):—(éi) *W.*, *mäuse* (méis):—(yy) where *au* from *u* is still (uu), which in SW. becomes (ii), *fäuste* (fyst), *häuser* (nhii'zər).

AU, or *au*, older *ou*, gothic *au*, which in Scandinavian, low German, on upper Rhein, and in most high German dialects, is almost always distinguished in pronunciation from the former AU (171–178) “in good high German pronunciation (áu), the same as the former *au*,” is:—(aa) *E.*, *aueh baum staub traum* (aa baam staab traam):—(áu) *W.* and *ed. gen.*:—(aa) *rr.*, *glauben* (glaa'bə), *baum* (baam):—(áu) 2 *pl.*:—(oo) 5 *pl.* (boom):—(óu) 2 *pl.* (bóum):—(EE) 1 *pl.* in several words when (aa) is not common, *glauben* (gleeb); 1 *pl. gen.* *staub* (shteeb):—(E'y) 1 *pl.* in some forms where (óu) is not heard, *glauben* (gle'yb).

AEU = *äeu*, the *umlaut* of the last AU = *áu* (179–182), is not distinguished from *au* where the latter becomes (aa, EE, E'y); where *áu* = (áu), *äeu* becomes (ái); where *áu* = (oo), *äeu* becomes (ee, éee), where *áu* = (óu), *äeu* becomes (E'i, ee).

E (183–208), “in those words where good high German pronunciation has (E, EE),” is:—(a, aa), as *sehen* (zaa), *geschehen* (gshaa), *geben* (gaab gaa); and 2 *pl. rr.*, *fald* (fald).

E, “that long *e* of certain words, which, from the most ancient times in all high German dialects, although not in the same way in all, is distinguished from the usual short *e*,” “in good high German pronunciation (ee),” “the *é* *aigu* of the French” (art. 71) [with which (e) seems to be confused], is:—(ái) 2 *pl. en.*, *klee*, *schnee* (klái, shnáí), *ich gehe* (i gái), and 1 *pl. fr.* (e) before *ch*, *here*, *schlecht* (nháiks, shláikht):—(E, EE) *fr.*, *beten*, *lecken* (be'tən, le'kən):—(E) *gen.* before [lost] *m* and *n* “observed by nasalisation,” *mensch* (mēsh):—(E) *gen.* before *r*, *herr* (nhər):—(E'i) 2 *pl.*, *ehe* (E'i), *reh* (rE'i):—(E'ə) *sm.* short *e* before *r*, *erde* (E'ərd), and 1 *pl.* before *l*, and other consonants, *geld pfeffer* (gE'əld pfe'ə'fər):—(E'ə) *fr.* long *e*, *klee schnee* (kle'ə shne'ə):—(e, ee) *E. gen.*, even “in those words which Adelung pronounces with (EE); educated people of our parts pronounce almost all *e* like (e),” and *sm.* before *l*,

"when it is not pronounced in conjunction with it (mit diesem verbunden)," as *gelb* (geɛlb):—(ə) before *l*, *gen. E.* even *ed.*, *feld*, *geld* (fɔld, gɔld), and even (*l*) alone in 1 *pl.*:—(ee) before *r* in 1 *pl. en.*, as *ernst* (eernst):—(i) *rr.*, as *beten* (bei'ten):—(i) *E. tn. en.*, "in most words which Adelung classes as (E)," as *giben* (giɪ'bən), *blech* (bliɕh), "some of these words are peculiar to small districts":—(i'), "before *l*, the (i) is mutilated in a peculiar way, which cannot be described, and must be heard," *E.* in several *pl.* even *ed.*, as *stellen* (sht'i'l'n), *zählen* (ts'j'l'n); and *rr.* before (r), *herbst* (nh'i'rbst):—(i) obscurely by nasalisation before *m* and *n*:—(éə) before *m* and *n* 2 *pl.*, *dem* (déəm):—(i) 1 *pl.*, *escl*, *haben*, *leder* (iɪ'zəl, nhii'bən, lii'dər):—(ii, iɪ, iə) for *e* long, in several *pl.*, *schnee* (shniɪ, shniə), *gehen* (giin):—(ə), or lost "in unaccented root syllables" *E. en.*, *erdbeer* (er'pə), *tagwerk* (ta'bħə), *herberg* (nhir'bə).

E in initial syllables (209–216). *Be-*, *ge-*, have generally (ə). *Be-* is *sm.* only pronounced before explodents, as (be, bi, bi), and is otherwise lost, as *B(e)GEHREN*, *B(i)DEUTEN*, *B(i)K(ee)REN*, *B(i)HALTEN*, *rr.* (bi) long and accented, (biɪ'faq, biɪ'nhəq, biɪ'klēm). *Ge-* is *fr.* (ge-, gi), "only in substantives, adjectives, and adverbs before explodents," otherwise (g); *fr.* also the *e* being lost, *g* itself disappears before explodents, as *BIET*=*gebiet*, etc. *Ent-*=(int-, nut-) *sm.*, and *rr.* (ant-). *Ver-* very often (vor-).

E final (217–235). *E*, as ending in nom. sing. of subst., "in good high German pronunciation unaccented (-e)," is lost, *gen. en. tn.* and *fr.* when used for -en fem., and *sm.* when used for -en mas.; but -e from old -iu is kept as (-e, -i) in *menge süsse kürze länge güte*, but it is omitted in *N.* *E*, as ending in dat. sing. and nom. and acc. pl. of subs., is *gen.* lost. *E*, as uninflected ending of some adjectives, as *böse enge müde öde*, is also lost. *E*, as old adverbial ending for adjectives and participles, on the Danube is (ə), on the Lower Inn (i), (*ga'ntsə ga'ntsə*) entirely, (*ne'tə*) neatly, etc. *E*, as nom. ending of adj. after *der*, *die*, *das*, is lost, *gen. tn. en.*, but *rr.* kept as (i, ə). *E*, as fem. ending of adj. derived from old *iu*, is (iə, i, i) *sm.*, *eine rechte* (ə re'khtia, ə re'khti), more *fr.* (ə re'khtə), and *sm.* lost, *eine gute* (ə guut). *E* in nom.

and acc. pl. neut. derived from *iu*, and of mas. and fem. derived from *e* and *o*, remains *fr.* as (e), *gute herren* (gú'ɔde), and *fr.* as (ə), (gu'ɔtə). "On the upper Nab. *tn. en.* the remarkable distinction is made, that *e* neut. from *iu* is (ə), and *e* mas. and fem. from *e* and *o* is lost, (déi)=*diese herren, frauen*; (déiə)=*diese wiber*; (gónd shéi o'ksən, kéi), *gute schone oehsen, kühe*; (góu'də shéi'nə pfaa), *gute schöne pferde*. Question: *Wie viel Oehsen, Kühe*? Ans.: (féiə fi'mf ze'ks). Qu.: *Wie viel Pferde*? Ans.: (féi'rə fi'mfə ze'ksə). Traces of this very old distinction are found elsewhere. Between the Lech and Inn uneducated countrymen, to the questions: *Wie viel aepfel, wie viel birnen*? will reply, (fiər fymf zeks); but to the question: *Wie viel häuser, kinder*? reply, (fiərə fymfə ze'kse). *E*, as ending of the 1 pers. sing. pres., and 1 and 3 pers. pret. ind., and 3 pers. sing. pres. subj. of verbs, is lost, *gen. tn. en.*, as *ich esse, suche, möchte, könnte, machte* (i is, zúagh, məkht, kunt, makht). *E* in -el, -em, -en, -er, -es, -et, is *sm.* (a), more *fr.* (ə), or is quite lost, depending on preceding consonant, see under *l, m, n, r, s, t* below; "certain participles in *end, et*, by retaining *e* in pronunciation, have passed entirely over into the class of adj. and subs., *E. tn. en.*, as *das* (re'nəd, shi'əsəd; gshe'kot)." [The important bearing of this German final *e* treatment on English final *e* has made me give this account at greater length.]

EI, derived from original *i* (236–245), Gothic *ei* [for the other *ei* see AI], "in good high German pronunciation (ái)," is:—(aa) *rr.* in a few words, *sei* (saa); *E.* regularly before *l*, as *weil* (bhaal):—(ái) *E. gen. tn. en. ed.* in more careful pronunciation:—(ái) in 1 *pl.*:—(EE) in 3 *pl.*, *weiss, ihr seid* (bhees, iir ZEET):—(E'i) 1 *pl.*:—(éi) *W. gen. tn. en. ed.*, *drei* (dréi):—(ii) according to origin *S.*, and *rr.* in other places, as *drei* (drii), *schreiben* (shrii'ba):—(o) 1 *pl.* in *bey mir* (bo miə).

EU (246–261), see also *AEU*=*äeu*, "in good high German pronunciation (áy)," is:—(aa) *E. rr.* before *l*, as *neulich* (naa'lə); and in neut., *drei* (draa):—(ái) *E. gen. tn. en. ed.*, as *neu* (nái):—(áu) 1 *pl.*, *es reut* (ráut) *mich*:—(áy) on lower Mayn, especially *tn.*, *fuhr* (fáy'ar):—(ái) *fr.*, *deutsch* (dúitsh):—(áo) *sm.* before *n*, *freund* (fráud):—(EE) 2 *pl.*, *neu deutsch* (NEE deetsh):—

(éi) lower Mayn, *tn. en. ed.*:—(iü) 1 *pl.*, *neu* (niü):—(ii), properly (yy), 2 *pl.*, *deutsch* (diütsh):—(i) short 2 *pl.* in pronoun *euch*, when forming an unaccented suffix:—(iü) *sm.*, *neu* (niü):—(ói) *sm.*:—(óu) 1 *pl.*:—(úi) *sm.*:—(yy) 1 *pl.* “In none of these cases does *eu* sound according to its constituents, as the Spaniards pronounce it in *Europa*, namely (éu),” the Spanish sound is, I think, (éu).

I, and also where *ie* is usually written for a merely long old *i* (262-293), is:—(ái) *E. en.* in *Katharina* (Katrá i), *Quirinus* (Kirá i), *anis firniss horniss paradis* (a'náis fir'náis uhurnáis pára-dáis), in *der stadt* (á i dā shtod, á i-d shtod). [The interest attaching to the change of (ii) into (ái) induces me to add the following note at length]:—“Manuscript of the book of laws (*Recht-buch*) of 1332: EIN DER STAT, EIN DI STAT, for *in der Stadt*, in *die Stadt*. The form *ein* for the original *in* has maintained itself in the written language only in composition (as *hinein*, *eingehen*). Written language has generally restored the original long *i* in many forms in which—following a high German inclination which was active even in very early times (*nach einem schon sehr frühe wirksamen hoch-deutschen Hange*)—*i* had been resolved into *ei*. Thus, in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, not only was the present diminutive termination *lein* called LEIN, but also the adjective terminations *-lich* and *-in* were pronounced -LEICH and -EIN, as: MINNIGLEICH, HERLEICH, WEIBLEICH, — AULDEIN, HULZEIN, HURNEIN. Just as now we say *latein* from ‘latin,’ so formerly they said: MARTEIN for ‘Martin,’ CHRISTEIN for ‘Christina;’ and as we now have *Arzenei*, *Probstei*, they formerly used: SOPHEY, MAREY, PHILOSOPHEY, etc., resolving the termination *i* of ‘i-a,’ *i-e*, *i* into *ei*:”]—(E) before *r sm.*, *mir* (mēr):—(ē) before *n* and *m fr.*, *blind nicht nichts* (blind nīt nīks), and in end of unaccented syllables, *habe ich* (nhā-bī), *ewig* (ē-bli):—(i) in cases not included under (i):—(j) before *l*, “a very peculiar indescribable sound; like the second syllable of the words *hasel sattel*, when pronounced without *e*,” *E.*, as *still*, *will*, *spielen* (sht'jl, bh'jl, shp'jl'n), but it is *sm.* so purely pronounced that it seems quite unconnected with the *l*, as *still* (shti'l); the same (j) sound *sm.* occurs before *r*, as *kirche* (k'j-rəkh):—(ío)

before *r gen.*, *mir* (miər), *hirsch* (nhīərsh), but is *sm.* pure, as (mii, ntiish); *sm.* in other places, *nicht* (niət), *nichts* (niəs), *ihm* (iəm), *euch* (iək), *nieder* (niə'də):—(u) *rr.*, as *tisch* (tush), *kind* (khund), *fisch* (fush):—(ə) *gen. tn. en.* in the pronouns used as suffixes, as *wir*, *mir* (mər); *E. tn. en.* in phrases like *hab' ich dich*, *lasse ich nich*, *thäte ich dir*, *denke ich nir* (mho bādi, lās'əmi, taa'tədə, dē'qkəmə); and in many unaccented syllables, as *-inn*, *-lich*, *-in*, *-lin* = *-lein*:—lost *sm.* in *-ig*, *-lin* = *-lein*, *inn*; *gen. tn. en.* in *hat sie*, *ist sie*, *sind sie*, *gib es ihm*, *ihnen*, *lass ihn* (rhats, ists, zints, gips'n, lās'n); and *ich* is lost in *da weise ich dich*, *weun ich dir es sage*, so *will ich dir es machen* (do bhēr'fdi, bhān darz zāg, zo bhil darz mā'khə).

IE (294-315), “where the old language has *ia*, *io*, *ie*, and *ic* is a real diphthong in the southern high German dialect; in good high German pronunciation (ii).” The old diphthong *iu* gave rise to *ie* by obscuring *u*, and *eu* by obscuring *i*. The *ie* readily passes into *i* long, and *eu* into *ü* long. Verbs conjugated like *bieten* may in southern places interchange *ie* with *eu*, pronounced as (āi iü iū ói úi), in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres., and *sm.* other tenses and words. IE is called:—(ai ói) in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs conjugated like *biegen*:—(ü) in *die*, *wie*, *je* (di, bhii, i):—(éi) *sm.*, as (déi, bhéi, éi), *lieb*, *tief* (léib, téif); *sm.* in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs like *biegen*:—(iü) *sm.* in last case, and some others, as *biegung* (biü'gq):—as (iə) or (eə) before *m* and *n sm.*:—(ii) *sm.* in *lieb* (liib), and *gen.*, *sie die* (zii dii); these last two forms vary in other places:—(iə) in the whole upper Rhine and Donau territory from the Vosges to Hungary, *tn. en.* and even *ed.* (diə bhíə liəb, fóm'd) *jemand*:—(iu) *rr.* in particular cases, (tiuf diub) *tief dich*:—(ói) *sm.* in certain words and forms (tóif, dóib):—(úi) *sm.* ditto:—(ə) or is lost in suffixed pron. *sie*, as *ich habe sie* (ikhitha-bzə), *gib mir sie* (gēc-mərshə).

O, short, often inclining to *u*, and in gothic *u* (316-321), see O = ó, is called:—(au) *sm.* lengthened before *m* and *n*, *von sohn baron* (kaan zaan bárou'n):—(áu) *sm.* before *l*, *hohl* (nhául):—(o), “as an *o* inclining to *u*,” *fr.*, *boden gold* (boo'dan gold), but (o) is occasionally heard:—(œ) or (ə) *rr.* in some words before *l*, *soldat soleher* (zœl'daāt

zö'lar :—(óu) *rr.* and sporadically in lengthened syllables, as (*bóu'dän*) :—(u, uu) *sm.*, (*buu den kupf*) *kopf* :—(úá), *rr.* (*búá'dän kúápf*).

OE, as *umlaut* of the last *o* (325-329), is treated as simple *e*, and hence *sm.* sounds as (e), but *gen.* as (i); *böeke* (*hek*), *oel* (*il* 'jil); so that in old books *ö* is written for (i) in other cases. OE is :—(i) *sm.* as *umlaut* of *u*, *köpfe* (*kípf*) :—(iá) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (úá), (*kíápf*) :—(e) *sm. tn.* (*kápf*).

O = ó, the long *o*, which inclines to *a*, and not to *u*, and is *au* in gothic (330-344), is called :—(áu) *sm.*, *en. bloss* (*bláus*) :—(aa) before *m* and *n* *fr. tn. en.* and even *ed.*, *strom* (*shtraam*); and before *r* in the same places, *en.*, as *dorf* (*dárf*); and *sm. en.*, *brod gross* (*braad graas*) :—(áo) *fr.*, *bloss brod dorf* (*blás brád dárf*) :—(áu) *rr.*, *ochs* (*áuks*) :—(óu) *fr. en.* (*hlós bróud*), and *sm.* before *r*, *thor* (*tóur*) :—(ü, ío) *sm. en.*, *hoch* (*nháü*), *tod* (*tíud*) :—(o) *fr.*, so that *roth rath*, *gross gras*, are confused as (root, groos) in the common pronunciation :—(óá) *rr. en.*, *noth* (*nót*) :—(o) *sm. tn. ed.* :—(u) *sm.* (*bruud gruus*) :—(úá) *sm.* (*grúás*), *dorf* (*dúárf*), *floh* (*flúá*).

OE = öe, the *umlaut* of the last O = ó (345-362), is :—(a) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (á) :—(ái) as *umlaut* of (áu) :—as (ói) *sm.*, *böse grösser höher hören schön* (*bóis gróis'ær nhóir'ær nhóir'n, shó,i*) :—(E) as *umlaut* of (á) and before *r* :—(E'á) as *umlaut* of (áo) :—(e, ee) *gen. tn.*, *blössen flöhen* (*ble'sæn fle'æn*), *nöthig* (*nee'dig*), and even *rr.* before *r*, *frören* (*free'r'n*) :—(E'í) as *umlaut* of (áu, óu) :—(éá) *rr.* :—(i) *rr.* :—(iá) *rr. getös* (*gét'ás*) :—(i) for (y) as *umlaut* of (u) :—(iá) for (y'á) as *umlaut* of (úá) :—(æ) *tn. sm.* :—(y) as *umlaut* of (u) :—(y'e) *rr.*, *böse schön* (*by'æs shy'á*).

U short (363-371) is :—(a, á) *fr.* before *r*, as *durst* (*darsht*) :—(i) *sm.* in -ung :—(ó) *fr.* before *m* and *n*, as *jung hund* (*joq nhond*); and *sm.* before *r*, as *burg* (*borgh*) :—(u) pure *gen.* :—(y, í) *rr.* in a few words, *uns unter um* (*yns y'ntær ym*) :—(ü) *sm.* before *r*, *sturm* (*shtáim*) :—(úá) *sm.* before *r*, *durst*

(*dúársht*) :—(ä) in unemphatic words, *und* (*ád, ä*), *uns* suffixed *sm.* (*äs*), *gib uns* (*gi'bäs*), -burg, -berg, often both (*borg*) :—lost *sm.* in *du*, as *was will'st du* (*bhos bhilsht*).

UE, as *umlaut* of the last *u* (372), is only *rr.* (y), but is generally treated as *i*, see I. Even in reading books *ü* is pronounced as *i*.

U long, or ue, "Gothic and Scandinavian *o* perhaps hovering in pronunciation between (o) and (u), has been better retained in Low than in High Germany, where it early passed into the diphthong ou, au, ue. But it has remained especially in the diphthongal form (óu) by the northern affluents of the Danube. The tendency of this sound towards (u) is so strong, that Dutchmen and Englishmen, although they write it *oe* and *oo* respectively, pronounce it usually as (uu), (373-385), is called :—(aa, áá, ä, ä) E. *tn. en.* in some words before *m*, *n*, as *blume* (*blaam bláam*), *muhne* (*maam máam*) :—(oo) 1 *pl.*, as *gut fuss* (*good fós*), 1 *pl.* before *l*, as *stuhl* (*shtool*) :—(ói) 1 *pl.* *gut blut bruder mütter* (*góid blóid bróider mói'tær*) [compare Leeds (*góid*) *good*] :—(óu) *fr.*, *bube buch* (*bóub bókukh*) :—(u) pure, *sm.*, and *ed. gen.* (*buub buukh*) :—(üi) *rr.*, *stute* (*stúit'a*) :—(úá) "from the Alps to the Danube below the Lech, and above the Lech to the Mayn regions, where (úa, u) interchange," *bube buch* (*búá búákh*) :—(ä) before *l* *sm.*, *schule* (*shäl*) :—(ü) in unemphatic syllables *fr.*, as *zu uns* (*t'sä-n-yus, t'sä-r-yus*), *zu dir* (*t'sä díor*), *handshuh* (*hha'ndshä*) :—is lost in unemphatic syllables, as *zu thun* (*t's.tuun*).

UE = üe, the *umlaut* of the last U = eu (386-393, "in good high German pronunciation (y)," is sounded as :—(E'á) *fr.*, as *umlaut* of (á, ä), before *m* and *n*, *blümlein* (*ble'ä'm'l*) :—(ee) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (oo) :—(éi) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (óu) :—(i) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (u) :—as (iá) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (úá) :—as (ói) 1 *pl.*, *müde füsse* (*móid fóis*) :—(y, y'á) as *umlaut* of (u, úá), where *ü* is not pronounced as (i) :—(ä) *rr.* before *l*, as *kühle* (*käl*).

Consonants.

B (394-413) is :—(b), "pure Italian *b*," *gen. tn. en.*, at the end of words, *lei* (b); in the middle of words before consonants, *er gi* (b)t; uncertainly at the beginning of words, oscillating between (p, b) in (b)ey, (b)ier, (b)lau,

(b)rand :—(f) in a few words and places, as *a* (f)er, *gel* (f)licht, *kno* (f)lauch; *pö* (f)el, *schneu* (f)en, *zwi* (f)el :—(p) *gen. tn. en.*, "pure Italian *p*, not an affected German *p*, after which a certain amount of breath may be perceived," at the

beginning of words "where the high German, with an uncertainty peculiar to himself, cannot make any consistent distinction between *p* and *b*, so that in romance languages he is prone to confuse *beau* and *peau*, *boule* and *poule*; a fault which declaimers seek to remedy by introducing a certain after-breath, especially in foreign words, so that for (p) *anzer*, (p) *ein*, (P) *alermo*, (P) *aul*, one hears (p-ñh) *anzer*, (p-ñh) *ein*, (P-ñh) *alermo*, (P-ñh) *aul*. This seems to have been the origin of the middle Rhenish (p-ñh), and high German *pf* at the beginning of non-German words. And it is to the circumstance that initial *b* has been used as *p* from the earliest times that there are so few genuine German words beginning with *p*" [see (1097, c. 1113, a. 1129, d. 1136, a.)]:—(p) before lost *t*, *er gi*(p) = *gibt*, in which case, as always in such elisions, the remaining consonant is more strongly pronounced [that is, either (kipp) or (ki.p), see p. 799, note, on energetic Italian consonants]; "it is also a rule that final consonants are strengthened when a terminal syllable follows, even when it consists of a lost vowel":—(pf) [probably (pph)] when the initial syllable *be*, reduced to (b), is welded on to a following (ñh) or (ñl), as (pfendt) *behende*, (pf) *rait bereit*:—(bh) except initially, *gen. tu. en., obacht*, in the beginning of words from the Latin, (Bhe-nädikt) *Benedictus*; "in *-ben*, this *b* pronounced as (bh) is fused into (bhm), that is (-m)" [this is not distinct enough, compare the Westmorland and Cumberland (b,) in this situation]:—often lost E. (búæ gro ñhol kar) *bube grob halb korb*, *sm.* in the end and middle, (ñhan, gen gan) *haben, geben* [comparable to our loss of medial *v*].

C (414–415) is in E. in words of Latin origin perfect (k), as in Italian:—*se, sk*, is *sm.* called *st, sp.*

CH, not initial (416–435), is as a rule (kh, kh), the following are exceptions. CH is:—(f) in E. *en., sei*(f)t for *seicht, gi*(f)t for *gicht* [compare our usual (f) for the lost guttural]:—(g) *sm.* in *-lich* followed by a vowel:—(gh, gh) E. *en. tn.* at the end of uninflected words, (bogh) *bach*, (i magh) *ich mache*:—(k) before *s gen.*, in *-bach* final and a few words:—(q) in the termination *-lich, fruind*(liq), *herz*(liq) [compare our dialectal *-ling* for *-ly*, from ags. *-lig*]:—lost, *fr.* in various places, at

end, (i) *ich*, (túæ) *tuch*; in middle after *l*, (bhí-lær) *welcher*; after *r*, (æ kí-æ) *eine kirche*; before *s*, (bháæ-sæ) *wachsen*; before *t*, (-it) *-icht*, (ñit) *nicht*. It is in similar cases sometimes inserted, *achselwurm* = *assel* [woodlouse], *knichtel* = *knüttel*, (róu-kht'n) *ruthe*, (o-khtæm) *othem* [for *athem* breath].

D (436–451) is:—(d) pure final, medial between vowels, initial where the high German wavers between (t, d):—(g) *rr.* before *l*, (si-gl) *sidel*, a seat; *rr.* after *n* [it does not appear whether his *ng* means (q) simply or not, and as this change of *nd* into *ng* is interesting in connection with our participial *-ing*, I give his orthography in Roman letters: *beng binden*, *bleng blind*, *feng finden*, *gefongæ~ gefunden*, *empfongæ~ empfunden*, *keng kinder*, æ~ *lengæ~ lunde*]:—(r) before ending *em*, (bu-ræm) *bodem*:—(t) *gen. en. tn.* initial, no constant distinction between (d, t) being made; E. *en. tn.* at end and in middle before lost vowel, (ñhent) *hände*:—lost, *sm.* at end, (bo) *bad*, (kshái) *gesheit*; *sm.* between a vowel and final *em, en, (bom) bodem*; *fr.* after *l, m, n*, and before a terminal *el, em, en, er*, the *l, m, n*, is then strengthened, (a-nær fe-lær) *ander felder*, (bhu-nær) *wunder*; *sm.* at the beginning of *da, der, die, das*, etc., (æ-z i dís taat) *ehe dass ich dieses thäte*; (i's-tæ) *desto*, (æ) *hain=daheim* [interesting in relation to the vexed question of dialectal 'at=that']. "When the article appears simply as (d), and the following word begins with an expodent, the (d) cannot be heard alone [für sich selbst]. The preparation made by the tongue to pronounce it can only be perceived by the greater distinctness [entschiedenheit] with which the initial sound of the following word is then heard," as in the region of upper Rhine and Danube [using his orthography in roman letters], 'Bueben *die bueben*, 'Cutschen *die Kutchen*, 'Dieb' *die Diebe*, 'Gans' *die Gäns die Gänse*, 'Kunst *die Kunst*, 'Pillen *die Pille*, 'Tag' *die Tage*, 'Zung (die Zunge). [The examples are quoted at length, because of the analogous case of the dialectal *t'* for *the* in English, where I think (t') is often heard, (1325 c). Certainly (t*buu-b'n),—where the tongue is placed in position for (t) and the lips in that for (b), and (t*b) must be distinguished from (tæw), which is rather (t*bl) with a much looser

position of the lips—is quite different in effect from (*t*, *b*) simultaneously on to the vowel (*uu*) produces a perceptibly different glide as well as a distinct ‘hardness of edge,’ so to translate *entschiedenheit*. Similarly for (*t***kunst*). But in (*t*, *t*_{suq}) nothing but (*t***t*_{suq}, *t*_{suq}) occurs to me as possible.] “On the contrary, when this *d* occurs before vowels, it has the appearance of forming part of the word, and hence a radical initial (*t*, *d*) is *sm.* omitted as if it were merely the article,” (on *ai***ks*’*l*) for *deichsel* [‘carriage pole’], “and it is *sm.* prefixed where not radical,” (*dər*-*ar***bärn*) *erarbeiten*. [There seems to be a similar usage in *an adder*, a *nag*, in English.]

F (452–462) is:—(*v*) E. *en. tn. ed.* after vowels, as *gru*(*v*)*t*, *kra*(*v*)*t*, but elsewhere (*i*):—(*pf*) *rr.* initial:—(*bh*) *rr.* medial. FF, answering to low German [and English] *p*, is *sm.* (*v*) and *sm.* (*i*). F is *rr.* lost.

G (463–490) is:—(*g*), “pure French *g*,” *fr.* at end and middle of words, *au*(*g*), *ja*(*g*)*d*, and regularly after *n*, [meaning (*qg*)?]: but *sr.* only immediately before consonants, as *mā*(*g*)*d*:—waver between (*k*, *g*) initially:—(*k*) *sm.* at end or middle, especially after *d*, *s*, *t*:—(*gh*, *gh*), “also in good high German pronunciation,” *fr.* at end or after vowels, in the termination *-ig. sm.* before consonants:—“changes according to ancient custom into *i* before *d*, and in certain verbal terminations *st* and *t*: *jaid* for *jagd*, *maid* for *magd*, *du fraist*, *er frait*, *gefrait*, from *fragen*, etc. This *ai* is more usual along the Alps than N. of Danube, and has the sounds described under EI, from (*ee*) onwards.” [This is interesting in relation to the formation of diphthongs in English from *ags. -ag, -ag*]:—(*k*) *sm.* final after *n* [that is (*qk*) is said for (*q*)] in *Din*(*k*), *gesan*(*k*), etc.:—(*q*) *rr.* in ending *-ig*:—(*t*) *fr.* initial before *l*, *n*, (*t*_{lunz} = *glunz*, (*t*_{núə}) *genug*, (*t*_{nur-mā}) *genommen* [compare English (*dl*, for *’rl*), and presumed Cumberland (*māā* for *know*: but is not this (*t*_n) properly (*d*_n)?]:—(*bh*) *rr.* medial, (*ploo*-*bhōn*) *plagen*:—lost, *fr.* final and medial, before consonants, and final vowelless *el*, *em*, *en*, *es*, *et*, and *sm.* in *-an* for *-agen*, the preceding vowel glides on to the *n* and is nasalised, so that all trace of *g* disappears; *sm.* the *n* is made (*q*), and the preceding vowel

not nasalised. The prefix *ge*, reduced to (*g*), is heard before an explodent only by its greater distinctness, see (*d*) for *diē*, under D above. “G is *sm.* added in pronunciation to syllables ending in a vowel or *l*, *n*, *r* [using his spelling], E. *rr.* *schaugen schauen*, *aug au*, *haugen häuen*, make hay, *kniegen knien*; *ilg*, *lilg* *lilie*, *galg* *galg* [interesting for the Westmorland usages, and also in Robert of Brunne]; *sm.* to *s*, *sch*, as *fleifsg fleiss*, *mifchgen mischen*.

H (491–502) is:—*g* [with some of its pronunciations] *sm.* in middle and end, and even commencement of some foreign words, as (*groo*-*lās*) *Hieronymus*:—(*hh*) initially:—(*gh*, *gh*) *fr.* in the end and middle (in the Alps, in the Zillerthal, also at beginning) of words, and immediately before consonants:—(*bh*) *rr.* medially, (*gə**zāā*-*bhā*) *gesehen*:—lost, “as in good high German, in the middle and at end of words where spoken as above”:—*fr.* at beginning of suffixes *her*, *hin*, when following consonants, (*a**bə*, *a**bi*) for *herab*, *hinab*, *sm.* in *-heit*, (*bō**rsət*) *boshait*. “H is *sm.* prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, as (*hho*)*baus* = *abaus* = *hinab*: (*hh*)*art* = *art* = *ort*; (*hh*)*iducken* = *inducken* [chew the cud]: (*hh*)*inter*, (*nh*)*inter* = *unter*.” [These omissions and additions initially contrast strongly with the English habits.]

J (503–506) initial is *fr.* (*g*), “that is, passes into the distinct consonant (*g*), just as *w* becomes (*b*),” (*Gāuk*’*l*) *Jacob*, and is added finally, especially after *i*, hence old *y* = *ij*.

K (507–520) is:—(*kh*, *kh*) *sm.* at end of stem-syllables after *l*, *n*, *r*:—(*g*) *sm.* at end of uninflected words; and after *n* [that is, (*qg*) is used for (*qk*)]:—*rr.* (*nh*), especially after (*q*), (*ba**quh*) *bank*:—(*k*) pure, as in French, Italian, or Spanish, very *gen.* medially, *sm.* finally, *gen.* initially before *l*, *n*, *r*:—(*khl*), “like a pure *k* with subsequent sensible breath, and also in all high Germany, *en. tn. ed.*,” initially before a vowel. (*khl*)*alt*, (*khl*)*ind*, (*khl*)*om-men*, (*khl*)*wuz*; *sm.* before a consonant (*khl*)*hin*, (*khl*)*necht*; and in the same places medially and finally:—(*t*) *rr.* initially before *l* and *n*, (*t*_{laa}, *t*_{le}) *klem*, (*t*_{le}’*ə*) *kle*, (*t*_{naklit}) *knucht*:—lost *rr.* finally (*muu*’*zi*) *musik*. [The interest attaching to post-aspiration (1136, *w*) induces me to give the following note at length.] “In low Germany

k does not receive the breath after it, which is common in high Germany; and this pronunciation ought to prevail generally if we upper Germans had only first learned not to confuse pure *k* with *g*,—because we should otherwise confuse *ga, ge, gi*, etc., with *ka, ke, ki*, etc., just as we now fail to distinguish *gl, gn, gr*, from *kl, kn, kr*. In Catullus's verse: 'Commoda dicebat si quando commoda vellet,' the *ch* appears to answer precisely to our *k-h*. [Catullus's epigram is numbered 82 and 84, the whole of it is valuable.] This hard breathing (*starke Hauehen*) is common to many mountain people, as well as to us highlanders. Thus in the Apennines, the 'Gorgia fiorentina' is remarkable, and has earned for Florentines the nick-names 'hoboi, bahafagivoli,' because they persistently replace *c* by *h*. The Andalusian breathes the *h* in Arabic words, where other Spaniards omit it: 'Alhambra, Almohada, Albahaca, Atahona.' In the patois of the Vosges, a strong breathing, like our *ch*, replaces even *r, s* and *sch*—*chöch* (*sex* six), *cöch* (*coxae, les cuisses*), *gächo* (*garçon*), *mücho* (*maison*), *ächci* (*uccello, oiseau*), *wäch* (*vert*).] [We see here the usual confusions about aspiration, post-aspirations, and guttural hisses.]

L (521-545), "a certain obscure vowel-sound attaches to the semi-vowels (l m n q r), the sudden termination of which is what makes them really consonants; hence *l* acts as a pure consonant solely on those vowels which follow it in the same syllable, but on the preceding it acts to some extent (*gewissermassen*) as a vowel, by either forming a diphthong with it, that is, slurred (*legirt*), or quite purely and not united with it at all, that is, unslurred (*nicht legirt*). [There is a difficulty in exactly interpreting the above into palaeotype. It seems as if the first case meant ('l), where (') forms a diphthong with preceding vowel, so that *all gold gulden* = (*ä'l gö'ld gä'l-d'n*), a complete fracture being established, and thus *faul*, properly (*fäul*), becomes (*fä'l*), see under AU (1359, *d*). The second case would then be simply pure *l*, as (*olt*) *alt*, not (*ö'lt*).] L is:—(i) *rr*. finally, as (*kaa'ti*) for (*kaa'tl*) *Katharina*:—(ii) after *a, o, u*, (*ö'ld*) *alt* [producing a suffractive], and, when after *e, i*, this vowel becomes ('i), or indeterminate palatal breath?]:—(l) *fr*. as

"generally in North Germany, only after *e, i*," (bild) *bild*; this (l) is generally preserved when a consonant has been omitted between it and preceding vowel, as (*al*) *adel*:—('l) *gen*. after *a, o, u*, and an altered *e, i, ö, ü* becoming (*a, e'ä, ö*). Final EL becomes wholly ('l) *gen. en. tu.* after linguals, and nearly ('l) *sm.* in stem-syllables, where the *c* or *ö* would be otherwise ('j), as (*hh'l*) *hölle*. Initial FL, GL, KL, PL, rr. take ('l), as (*b'llood*) *blatt*. L is also rr. (r), or lost before vowels, or added. LL medial does not shorten preceding vowel in E., so that *full qual* rhyme.

M and N (546-555) frequently nasalise the preceding vowel in Bavaria when it is (*a, e, o*), or when these are the first elements of a preceding diphthong, making them (*a, e, o*), but do not affect a preceding (*i, u, ö*). Such sounds as (*lam ma'n rä'n träum* *shœ'n*), common in North Germany, never occur, but are replaced by (*la'm ma'n rä'i'n träum* *shœ'n*). The nasalisation is only omitted when an intervening consonant has been lost.

M (556-561) *sm.* sounds as (*n*) at end of stem-syllables, and even in dat. sing.; after *l, n*, and also initially, it is *sm.* (*hh*).

N (562-609) in stem-syllables, before *d* and *s*, is *sm.* (*m, mb, mp*), and is sometimes *m* finally. N is *gen.* lost at end of stem-syllables, when no vowel follows, and the preceding vowel is then nasalised. [Much is here omitted, as not of interest for present purposes.] The final EN becomes (*ö'n, 'n*), very frequently (*ö*), and is often only shewn by nasalising the preceding vowel. The ('n) alone,—becoming (*m*) after labials—is preserved in the E., and the (*ö*) alone in W., but, to avoid hiatus, the W. inserts the *n* before a following vowel. The E. also reinserts the *n* omitted in stem-syllables before following vowel. These habits give rise to an inserted pure euphonic *n*, where there was none originally, as *wie-n-i sag* = *wie ich sage*. In some words the *n* of the article has thus become fixed, as (*nost*) = *ast*, and similarly an original *n* is omitted, as *ganz'atürli* = *natürlich*.

NG (612-614) is generally (*q*), but *sm.* (*m*), as (*dö*) *dum dumöd* (*dumö*) for *der dung* (*düngr*) *düngen*; (*nhu-mör*) = *hunger*; and *-um* is used for *-ung* in E.

P (615-618) is (*p*), *rr.* (*b*); *pf* rarely

(bv) final, and *sm.* (pʰ, pʰh, pʰʔ) initial — *p-hann*, *p-hêrd*, *p-halz*, *p-hêffer* = *Pfanne*, *Pferd*, *Pfalz*, *Pfeffer*.

QU (620) is regarded as *kw* or *gw*, and the *w* is often omitted.

R (621-637), which is generally ('r), changes the preceding (a) to (a, ä, ú, i), (ou) to (oua), (e) to (a, E, Eä, ia), (E'i) to (E'ia), (i) to (E, ia), (o) to (a, a, ä, ú), (ou) to (oua), (w) to (E), (u) to (a, ä, o, ú, ú), as already seen under the vowels. *R* initial "in some regions near the Alps, on the Rot and Ilz, etc., is pronounced with a very perceptible aspiration, a sound which seems to be the same as the old *hr*, as in *HRÖPERT*, *HRABAN*," which *S.* writes *hr*, *hhr*. [He has used *hh* for (gh). Whether this sound *hhr* is (rh) or (ghr) it is difficult to say. In his own symbols he writes *ä* *Hrâb*, *ä* *Hring*, *ä* *Hroufn*, *ghbrâd*, *ghhrou*, *ghhridn* = *geritten*, and he says:] "Before *d*, *t*, *z*, only the *hh* of this *hhr* is heard, as *ëhh'd* = *erd*, *hëhh'd* = *herde*, *fuhh't fort*," etc. [which may mean (E'ghd, hE'agh, fught), etc. In art. 663, referring to this place, he says, "where *r* sounds as *hh'* or *ch*," which gives (kh) and not (gh). The phenomenon is very interesting, and should be examined. It may be only *uvular* after all.] *R* is:—(l) in a few cases:—(r) in *W.* almost universally; this is the case in part of *E.*, with *r*, *rr*, at the end of stem-syllables, but *rr* is constantly considered as simple *r* in *E.* [which means that the preceding vowel is not "stopped," but may be lengthened, or glides on to the consonant with a long vowel-glide; in fact is regarded and treated precisely as a long vowel, as in English]; the *r*, *rr*, have their due effect only before a following vowel. *R* may *sm.* be replaced by *s* in the forms *frieren verlieren*, but not in *gefrören verlören*; and *sm.* becomes *s* before *z*. [These interchanges of (r, s) are old, and valuable to note as existing.] *R* between vowels and consonants in stem-syllables is *fr*. lost, (*daf* *däf*) *dorf*, and even after a consonant and before a vowel, as (ghod) *grade*, (shaqk) *shrank*. In final syllables, when no vowel follows, *R* is usually lost in *E.*, and is consequently euphonicly inserted between vowels where there was no original *r* [precisely as in English], and this euphonic *r* occasionally comes to be fixed on to the following word, as (ä rōu'z'n) *ein asen*

[beam]. An obscure vowel (ə) is inserted between *r* and the following consonant in *W.*, as (*dorəf*) *dorf* [just as in our Irish after trilled *r*, in (*wə'rək*) *work*, etc.].

S, *SS*, *SZ* (638-663). [Schmeller writes *sz* for *s*, *ss*, *sz*, of ordinary spelling, which comes from an old high German *z* with a tail, something like *z*, and corresponds to Scandinavian and low German *t*; and *s*, *ss*, for those *s*, *ss*, which correspond to *s* in Scandinavian and low German. The *ss* is used after a vowel to "stop" or "sharpen" it.] *S* in *E. en. tn. ed.* "is always soft = (z), not merely where it is so in good high German pronunciation, but even before a *t* of uninflected forms," as *A(z)t*, *i(z)t*, *bi(z)t* [possibly (*azd*, *izd*)], as *t* = (d) at the end of uninflected forms in *E.*, see below; (*azt*, *azst*, *azdt*) are, however, all possible]. In the same places *SS* is (z) at end of uninflected forms, *gwi(z)*, *ku(z)*, *Freu(z)*, *ro(z)*, and *rr*. in inflected. *SZ* = (z) at end of inflected forms, *E. en. tn. ed.* *S* = (s), almost *gen. en. tn. ed.* after consonants, as *dach(s)*, *nich(s)*; and *E. en.* after vowels in inflected forms; *E. gen.* before *t* in inflected forms, *at(s)*, *fa(s)ten*. *SZ* = (s) in the middle and at the end of inflected forms, in *E.*, and *sm.* of some uninflected forms, "as in good high German pronunciation," as *ha(s)*, *nu(s)*. *S* = (zh) initially, before *p*, *t*, *k*, quite *gen. en. tn. ed.*, and even before *b* in names of places, as *Regensburg* (*re:qzhpurg*), *Miesbach* (*miä:zhpə*), and occasionally before a vowel, as (*zh*) *unst* = *sonst* [Schmeller uses here his sign for (zh), see SCH]. *S* = (zh) *fr.* after *r* at end of words and syllables, *unser(zh)*, *vater(zh)*, *für(zh)* = *für sich*; almost *gen. en. tn. ed.* after *r* and before *t*, *dur(zh)t*, or also *dur(sh)t* = *durst*. [Schmeller here distinguishes his two signs (zh, sh), and both are possible, (turzhsh,t) most probable; his signs for (zh, sh) being *seh*, *feh*, differ so slightly that confusion is inevitable, and hence I go by his original references to this place in his art. 92.] "S = (sh, zh) before *p*, *t*, and after every sound, from the upper Isar to the Vosges, from the Spessart range to the Saar, *en. tn. ed.*," *Ang(zh)t*, *bi(zh)t*, *Ca(sh)per*, *Ha(sh)pel*, *ha(zh)t*, *i(zh)t*, *kan(zh)t*, *kun(zh)t*, *lu(sh)tig*, *Mi(zh)t*, *sag(zh)t*, *Schwe(zh)ter*, *die schön(zh)t*. [Here I have given all his examples, because he refers to this art. 654, in both art. 92

for (zh), where the reference is misprinted 644, and in art. 93 for (sh), so that the variations, which are extremely remarkable, are intentional. The sound (zh) is generally unknown in Germany, its introduction in Bavaria, and generally the use of (z, b, d, g) final, are the exact German counterparts of the Somersetshire initial (z, zh, v) for (s, sh, f). To a north German these final (z, zh) are simply impossibilities, without long training.] In E. *cn. tn. am(sh)el, dro(sh)el* = *amsel, drossel*. S = (d,z) *rr. cn. E.* after *t*, *fēl(d,z)en, hal(d,z)* = *felsen, hals*; and after *n*, before *t*, it *sm.* becomes (d,z), absorbing *t*, as *fen(d,z)er, fin(d,z)er* = *fenster, finster*; and *sm.* initially, as (d,z) *arg, (d,z)elner* = *sarg, seldner*. [It is with considerable doubt that I give (d,z) as the translation of Schmeller's *z*, as distinguished from his *tz*, which is (t,s). In art. 94 he merely calls his *z* a soft (*weiches*) German *Z*. The difficulty arises from the oppositions *soft, sharp*, and *soft, hard*. But (d,z) seems to agree best with the above examples.] SZ *sm.* = (d,z) [misprinted as old high German *z* with a tail], (i(d,z) *es, (da,d,z) dasz, (di,d,z) disz, diesses, (tia,d,z, ti(d,z) ihr* [in which Schmeller detects a remnant of the tailed *z*, as derived from *t*, art. 38]. In some words and places S is omitted, especially after *r* before *t*, (dur,t) *durst*, and *sm.* final, and especially after *r* = (kh).

SCH (664-667), "at the beginning of words, both before a vowel and a consonant, has usually the soft sound, namely that which is heard in the French syllables *ja, je, ge, ji, jo, ju*, not that heard in the syllables *cha, che, chi, cho, chu*," [that is, distinctly (zh)], *gen. en. tn. ed. in schäff. schiff*. [*Sch* in German is only written before vowels, *l, m, n, r*, and here no difficulty stands in the way of (zhaaf, zhiif, zhlaa-gen), etc., but when we find Schmeller, art. 649, assume initial *sp, st, sk*, to be (zh)p, (zh)t, (zh)k, it is possible that there must be some mistake. He does not mean *stehen* to be (sh)teen, as in high German, (zh)teen seems impossible, and hence probably (zh)deen is said, and we must interpret (zh)p, (zh)t, (zh)k, as (zhb-, zhd-, zhg-), which would be quite consistent with the absence of sharp distinction between initial (p b, t d, k g) in Bavarian. The difficulties arising from partial phonetic writing are here very evident.]

SCH = (sh) always medially, but finally it is (zh), except in E. before a lost final *e*. [Schmeller here, art. 667, note, says that this is the case "in good high German pronunciation, but only after long vowels and diphthongs: *Rau(zh), Flei(zh), deut(zh)*, whereas on the Nab they say *men(sh), deut(sh)*." Now, independently of the impossibility of (day,tzh), which should at least be (day,dzh), I certainly never noticed any high German pronunciation of final *sch* as (zh), nor have I seen it noticed as occurring. Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 42), referring to Schmeller's upper German (zh), seems to have overlooked this reference to high German. Rapp considers it "more exact to say that popular speech everywhere uses neither (sh) nor (zh), but an indifferent sound lying between them, for which our theory has no sign." This could only be (zh), which would shew itself in the usual way as (shzh) before and (zhsh) after voiced letters. The interest to us lies in the Western English dialectal usages, their intimate relation with West Saxon, the use of Saxon *f* as *v*, the probable development of (th) from an original (dh), the dialectal habits of confusing voiced and voiceless letters, with the received sharp distinctions. Philologically these confusions are of great importance.]

T (668-681) initial = (t), "pure Italian *t*, not (tjh, tnh), but is often confused with *d*." [Schmeller complains much, in a note, p. 150, of that pronunciation, first, in the German pronunciation of foreign words, as *T-hitán, T-hitús, T-hartarey, T-hee, T-hacitus, T-hempel*, and adds:] "This inserted *h* after initial *t* is quite inappropriate in foreign words, but it is disgusting (*widerlich*) and affected (*affectirt*), and as it were a mere mockery of our hardness of hearing (*wie Spott auf unsere Harthörigkeit*), when we hear it used in genuine German words by declaimers, actors, etc., so that we have to hear *Tag, Tod, deutsch, theuer, That*, as *T-hag, T-hod, t-heutsch, t-heuer, T-hat*, etc.," and also almost universally in the middle and end of many words. But in uninflected forms, final *t, tt*, often become (d), which disappears before *l* and *n*, as *bi(d), bla(d), bre(d), Go(d)*; (be,d) *l,n*) *beteln*. [Here, again, Schmeller has a note implying that *t* final is (d) "in good high German pronunciation only after

long vowels and diphthongs: Blûd, brâid, Hûd, Rad Rath, rôd roth, wâid weit, zâid Zeit." His symbols are left uninterpreted. This pronunciation is not usually admitted.] TW medial becomes (p), *gen. en. tw.* (îpə îpəs) *etwas etwas*, and E. (a'p'm na'p'm a'bm a'bm,d) all=*athem*. T or TT medial is sometimes (r), as (a'rəm) *athem*, (bhē:ðor) *wetter*. T is often lost, in conjugation endings, after *s*, *sch*; but is sometimes added after *s*, *eh*, *f*.

W (682-687), "as a *u* contracted to a consonant (*zum Consonanten verkürzt*), has usually the sound known in German," [certainly (bh) so far south as Bavaria. How can German (bh) be considered as a compressed (u)? A key is furnished by Helmholtz, who says (*Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed. p. 166, and p. 157 of my translation): "for the vowels of the lower series, O (*o* in *more*) and U (*oo* in *poor*), the opening of the mouth is contracted by means of the lips, more for U than for O, while the cavity is enlarged as much as possible by depression of the tongue" (1283, *b*). This makes German *u*=(A_u), with tongue as if for (A), quite low, whereas English *u* has the tongue high. The proportion (A_u):(bh)=(u):(w), is perfectly correct. I have always assumed German *u*=English *oo*. This must be my faulty appreciation.] "This sound is sometimes so indistinct (*unentschieden*) as to be scarcely observed," thus *rr.* (aal) for (bhaal) *weil*, (a'rgaq) *argwohn*, (mî:dikhə) *mitt-wochen* [corresponding to our (Grî:nîdzh) *Greenwich*]. "Sometimes it is too consonantal, and becomes quite (b), as (B)urzgarten for *Wurzgarten*," (bâil, bəs, bu) *weil, wasz, wo* and after *b*, *u*, it becomes (m). Possibly *mir* for *wir*, common in all High Germany, has a similar origin. *W* is often inserted between vowels as a consonantal termination of an open syllable, (iets geebh-i) *jetzt geh ich*, (bhos iûabh-i) *was thu ich*.

Z (688-690) initially=(t,s), after vowels *sm.* (s), finally, "in uninflected forms, it is soft" (d,z), as Blû(d,z), Kto(d,z), Plaf(d,z) [which Schmeller admits to be good high German after vowels and diphthongs, as *Krenz, Schweiz, Griz*, that is, (kráy,d,z, shbhái,d,z, gáí,d,z); this must be taken with his remarks on *Sch* (1367, *c*)], but before (even lost) inflectional syllables it becomes "sharp" (t,s), as (mî:t'n krái,t,s) *mit dem Kreuze*.

"On the Sharpening and non-Sharpening of Consonants" (691). [The German phrase "sharpening a consonant" shews that it "stops" a vowel, that is, that the preceding vowel is short, and glides strongly on to the consonant.] "The peculiarity of the dialect east of the [river] Lech, [in Bavaria], in pronouncing a consonant at the end of uninflected forms soft [voiced], and lengthening the preceding vowel, when transferred to the pronunciation of literary German, is offensive to educated ears whenever the consonant should be sharp [voiceless] and preceding vowel short. Before the inflectional syllables the consonants receive their proper sharpening, and the lengthened consonants are generally shewn by their diphthongal [fractured] dialectal pronunciation. Now when the native is speaking high German, he pronounces simple vowels, but it is repugnant to his feelings to lengthen them before the sharpened [voiceless] consonants. Hence he unsuspectingly shortens the long vowel before *ch*, taking the place of his own (gh), in *brachen, Sprache, riechen, Buches, fluchen, Kuchen*; also before *f* in *Schäfer, schlafen, strafen, traf*; before *k* in *Ekel, Haken, spuken, erschrak, stak, buk*; before *sz*, with short vowel and distinct *ss*, instead of with lengthened vowel before a somewhat softened (*gemildertem*) *ss* [meaning (z) or ('z) ?], in *Blösze, Flösze, Füsse, genießen, giesen, grösser, grüsen*, and after this analogy, the South Germans say *bitten* for *bielen*, *bluten* for *blüten*, *Gütter* for *Güter*, *ratten* for *râten*=*rathen*, etc. This is properly a provincialism, to be avoided by educated speakers. Yet a similar error seems to have crept into the received high German pronunciation, in so far as a short vowel is used in several words before *tt*, as *Blatter, Natter, Futter, Mutter*, whereas most dialects lengthen it as *â, ù*." [This passage is quoted mainly to shew how local habits override historical usage with respect to quantity, and especially to shew the influence which voiced and voiceless consonants have over the real or apparent or accepted quantity of the preceding vowel, and to confirm my previously-expressed opinion (1274, *b*) that vowel-quantity, as an existing phenomenon in living languages and dialects, has to be entirely restudied on a new basis.]

ii. *Winkler on Low German and Friesian Dialects.*

In a note to p. 1323 I gave the title of Winkler's great *Dialecticon*, into which I had then merely peeped. It was not till after receiving the first proofs of the preceding abstract of Schmeller's researches on the comparative phonology of the Bavarian section of High German dialects, that I became fully aware of the necessity of devoting even more space to giving an account of Winkler's collections of Low German and Friesian dialects. Schmeller's researches shew the influence of precisely similar forces to those which have acted in producing the varieties of our own dialectal pronunciation, working on a sister language. Winkler's researches shew how the pronunciation of the same language as our own varies over its native, extra-British area. Schmeller's researches present most important analogies, and thus explain seeming anomalies. Winkler's collections, by being spread over such a wide region, remove the anomalies at once, and shew them to be part of one organic system.

English is a Low German language, much altered in its present condition, both in sound, as we have had occasion to see, and construction, under the influence of well-known special circumstances which have reversed the usual rule (20, *a*), and have made the emigrant language alter with far greater rapidity than the stay-at-home. On the flat lands in the Netherlands and North Germany the Low German language has, except in the single province of Holland, ceased to be a literary language. It has therefore been allowed to change organically, in its native air, instead of in the forcing-houses of literature. It is chiefly now a collection of peasant tongues, like our own dialects, with here and there some solitary exceptions, where the old citizens still cling to the old tongue they knew as children, or some poet, like our own Burns, gives it a more than local life.¹ There has been no reason for codification and uniformation. The language of education is merely High German, Dutch, and French, though the clergy have occasionally found it necessary to speak to the peasant in the only language which goes to his heart. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar differ almost from village to village.

Low German is therefore much older than its apparent date, much older than English, much older than the English dialects. As I have gone one by one through the surprising collection of examples which Winkler has been happy enough to find and print, I have had most strongly forced upon me the conviction that Low German is two or three centuries older than our own dialects, and that it therefore presents us with a resuscitation of the Early English which we have hitherto met with only in the dead shape of old manuscripts. It gives a new meaning and force to our old orthographies and our old manuscripts; it shews *in situ* the *dējecta membra* which have been thrown piecemeal on our islands, and will, I think, allow us to reconstruct our language after its true type.

¹ Mr. Klaassen of Emden, an East Friesian, tells me that in his own country, as well as in England, dialects

must be collected now or never. Even street labourers in Emden (specimen 37) now speak High German.

It may be said that this is all well known; that our Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon MSS. and our many Low German specimens have done all this already. But MSS. represent shades of dialectal forms very few and very far between, *doctored by literary men* in the first instance, who, knowing Latin, and hence knowing a language grammatically taught, have endeavoured to force "improved" constructions on to their own language (we are still doing so), and, considering medieval Latin orthography another name for perfection, have endeavoured to give a regularity to the written forms of pronunciation which did not exist in reality. No blame is meant to attach to these efforts, which, had the language really fought its way to the literary stage, would have been most valuable, and, no doubt, have been most valuable, in paving the way for the dialect which ultimately prevailed. It is only for the *history* of language that such treatment of language is lamentable. For that, it poisons the stream at the source, and throws the observer and systematiser on false tracks. But further still, the MSS. we possess are but rarely original. They have been transcribed, and re-transcribed, and "edited" by early writers, to whom the very conception of correct tradition was unknown, and who indeed wished to "adapt" them to general use. Excluding then the horrors perpetrated by more modern editors, which the most modern are learning to eschew, the consequence is that the best old writings were the most exposed to literary deformation. It is difficult frequently to discover amid the mass of change what was the *meaning* of the author:—it is almost impossible to determine what were the *sounds* he actually used or meant to represent. The manuscript record of language reminds us, then, of the geological record of life. It gapes with "missing links," and the very links it furnishes are so broken, unconnected, disguised, charred, silicated, distributed, that it requires immense ability and insight to piece them into a whole.

Such collections as Winkler's furnish the missing links, erect the fossil animals, and make them breathe and live. We have no longer to guess how such a radical change as we forefeel on examining our museums *could* have occurred,—we see it occurring! And it is this feeling that has induced me to devote so much space to an account of Winkler's collections. Those who can read Dutch should study the original, and pursue it into its details. In the mean time I believe that even the following mutilated presentment of his work will prove one of the most essential parts of mine, by making my readers feel what must have been that Early English, to which we owe the texts that our Societies are now issuing, those English dialects which still prevail in a continually dwindling state, and finally the English language itself as it exists to-day.

Winkler's work presents many difficulties to an Englishman. In the first place, it contains 948 closely-printed pages of Dutch, a language which few Englishmen read with the necessary fluency. In the next place, the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which was selected as fullest of peasant life, is presented in versions written by very numerous contributors, and each in his own orthography, very

little, if at all modified by Winkler himself, and often insufficiently explained. These orthographies are, however, greatly more intelligible than those used by Englishmen, as, for example, in No. 10 of this section, because the High German, Friesian, and Dutch orthographies are themselves much more phonetical, and hence form a much securer basis, to those that know them, than our own. But, in the first place, the generality of Englishmen do not know them. Then their sounds are decidedly different in different parts of the countries, where German and Dutch are spoken as the languages of educated people. And, lastly, the sounds to be represented were frequently not to be found in these languages, and hence signs for them had to be supplied conventionally, and of course different writers have fancied different orthographical expedients. Hence a direct comparison of the different dialects from the letters used in Winkler's book is not possible. It seemed to me therefore that I should be doing some service if I merely reduced the whole, albeit it but approximatively, to my own palaeotype. In working out this conception, I have, however, met with considerable difficulty, and I am fully aware how faulty many of my interpretations of these versions must be, especially in delicate distinctions of sound. But I trust that I come near enough for a reader who glances through the following extracts to arrive at general conclusions.

As regards High German, a long residence in Dresden, and considerable attention paid to the varieties of local pronunciations, have made me tolerably well acquainted with its sounds; but I have not resided and scarcely passed through the Low German districts. This occasioned me great difficulties. I have not felt sure as to the sounds given in High German on the spot from which the writer came to the vowels *a* (*a*, *a*, *ah*), *e* (*e*, *e*, *E*), or *o* (*o*, *o*, *o*); and as to the diphthongs *ei* (*éi*, *ái*, *o'i*), and *eu* (*ói*, *ái*, *öy*, *áy*, *əh'y*, *œ'y*). I have therefore, except when especially warned, contented myself with (*a*, *e*, *o*, *éi*, *œ'y*). I selected (*éi*) because the late Prof. Goldstücker of Königsberg objected to my calling *ei* (*ái*), which is the general Middle German sound; and I selected (*œ'y*) because Rapp gives this or (*əh'y*) as the North-East German pronunciation of *eu*, and because, where *eu* was used, the sound (*ói*) appeared impossible; whereas even Donders would have said (*œ'i*); see (1292, *a'*) and (1101, *b*) for the Dutch and (1117, *c*) for the German. The *ö* might be (*œ*, *ə*), I have selected (*œ*). Thus my vowels are (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *œ*, *y*,) and (*ə*) for the unaccented *e*, unless specially warned that other sounds were meant, and then I have selected the others in the series on (1285, *ab*) which seemed to be indicated by Winkler. I have treated the Dutch spelling in the same manner, so that Dutch *eu* appears as (*œœ*), *u* short as (*œ*), *ui* as (*œ'i*), etc. For particulars of Dutch vowels I was fortunate in having Mr. Sweet's trustworthy report given on p. 1292. For Friesian I have had mainly to rely on Winkler. But I received some valuable *vivā vōee* hints from two West Friesian gentlemen born at Grouw (see specimen 87* below), and an East Friesian lady born at Emden (see specimen 37 below). The reality of the fractures, together with many points of interest

which I have detailed in the specimens cited, and in the notes appended to them, were thus made clear to me.

The consonants presented another difficulty. I have given *p, b, k*, as written, and used (*t, d*) for *t, d*, although the latter ought almost certainly to be (*t, d*). It is a point of considerable interest in relation to English usage, which I have not yet been able to settle. My impression is that the dental (*t, d*) are original even in English, but this is scarcely more than an impression. The (*p, t, k*), see (1097, *a'*. 1129, *c*), I have not even thought of discriminating. There were a few allusions to them, but not safe enough for me to deal with. The *g* is a great difficulty. Finding that the Emden lady used (*gh*) or even (*gh*), although the specimen was written on a High German basis, and hence had simple *g* in all cases, I have used (*gh*) for *g* throughout; but my West Friesian authorities more generally used simple (*g*) initially. This (*gh*) will be right for Dutch dialects no doubt, but may be erroneous initially for the North-East of Germany.

As to *b, d*, final, I have "followed copy," but no doubt the rules of Dutch, given at (1114, *b, c*), are carried out pretty generally. My Friesian authorities did not wholly agree in their practice, and I did not think it safe, therefore, to change anything.

The initial *s* in German I have treated as (*z*), and the initial *sch* as (*sh*) in the German and (*skh*) in Dutch. I have felt doubt at times whether the German writer's *sch* did not also occasionally mean (*skh*) in Low German. The Dutch *sj* I have generally left indefinitely as (*sj*), the Polish sound, intermediate between (*s, sh*), and only rarely made it (*sh*) when this seemed certain. The *tj* in Friesic I have made (*tj, tj, ti-*), the latter before a vowel. My Emden authority repudiated (*tsh*) in such places, but my West Friesian authorities were more distinctly in favour of (*tsh*), although (*tsi-*) still seemed to linger. Certainly (*si-, ti-, tsi-*), diphthongising with the following vowel, were older forms. The case is similar to our *nation, nature*. The final Brussels "sneeze" (see specimen 156), which Winkler writes *tjsj*, I have left as (*tjsj*), which may be called (*t.sh*) or (*t.shj*), with very energetic (*.shj*).

The glottal *r* (*ɾ*) is not sufficiently marked in Winkler. All the final *r*'s in the North of Germany are very doubtful. They are not the Italian lip-trilled (*r*), and at times fall into (*r_o*) perhaps, see (1098, *c*). I have generally left them, but have sometimes written (*ɾr*). There is also a peculiar *d* on the North Coast of Germany, into which *r* falls, and I am almost inclined to consider this as (*r_o*), which is certainly not an *r* in the usual sense of a trill, and which is ready to become (*d, dh, l, z*) or a vowel. This is not marked by Winkler, and hence is left unnoticed.

The *w* I have given as (*bh*), except where it is expressly stated to be "English *w*." In the Netherlands this will probably be right, and all my authorities used it in Friesian. The *v* I have left (*v*), even in the specimens written on a High German basis; but my Emden authority said (*ʋ*), and told me that the sound lay "between" (*f*) and (*v*); and one of my West Friesian authorities

volunteered the same remark. An initial (fv-) will be quite near enough, like the High German initial (sz-) and our final (-zs), see (1104, *e*). The difference between *r*, *w*, was strongly marked by all three. See also Mr. Sweet's remarks (1292, *e'*).

The *h* I have left as simple (h). It is no doubt often (u|h, |h), see (1132, *d*), and was distinctly so spoken by my Friesian authorities; but as it is also frequently omitted altogether, and also frequently misplaced, or regularly used where no *h* is written, I felt too much doubt to venture upon any but a conventional sign.

Some other peculiarities are noted as they arise in the specimens. The account of the pronunciation of Antwerp (specimen 160) and Ghent (specimen 168) prefixed to the specimens, and the complete transcription of the Parable in the West Friesian pronunciation (specimen 87*), will be of assistance.

As to the length of the vowels, I have often felt much uncertainty, especially in North Germany, but I have followed the rule of marking the vowel as short unless the writer clearly indicated that it was long. Perhaps I have been wrong in treating Dutch *oe* and *ie* as representing (uu, ii); Mr. Sweet and Land both say that these vowels are short in literary Dutch (that is, pure Hollandish), except before *r*, but this gives no way of expressing the long sound in the dialects. It did not seem to be a sufficient reason to make the vowel long in Low because it was long in High German. There are too many examples of exactly contrary usage in this respect, see the Bavarian usages on p. 1368, col. 2. In literary Dutch, as in English, length often determines quality, but not so dialectally, and we have Winkler talking of "imperfect vowels" (short in closed syllables) being made "perfect" or "half perfect" (long or medial in open syllables). In such cases of course the converse is also true, and quality gives the feeling of length, see (1271, *b*).

These remarks are sufficient to shew the difficulties to be overcome in this reduction, and the amount of allowance that has consequently to be made by the reader for the necessarily imperfect transcription here presented. Enough however remains, I trust, to make the result very valuable to the student of comparative phonology, the basis of comparative etymology.

Winkler's work gives 186 numbered and some unnumbered versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11-32. The unnumbered ones are chiefly older forms from books, and there are also a few other book forms, and the two last numbered specimens are in a species of slang, very peculiar and interesting in other connections, but not in the present. Hence I have confined my attention to the first 184 numbered versions. It might be thought that the number could have been materially reduced without inconvenience. But many links of the chain would thus have been snapped, and the completeness with which Low German and Friesian will be represented in this book from the borders of Russia to the Land's End in England, and from Magdeburg in Germany to Caithness in Scotland, would thus have been defeated. It is the

very completeness of the view, in which all these forms of speech are represented in *one alphabet*, thus rendering comparison easy and direct, that forms its great value to the student. And though the subject translated is not the same in England as abroad, yet there are practically only two subjects, Winkler's Parable and my Comparative Specimen; for Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Songs of Solomon are given below in glossic, and not in palacotype. It would, of course, have been impossible to reproduce the whole Parable in palacotype. Hence a selection of a few verses and phrases has been made, the same for each as far as was practicable, which was not always the case, on account of the very free treatment of the subject by some of the translators. As indeed each verse is frequently treated very differently, I have thought it best to prefix in English the general character of each fraction of verse given, and when anything out of the way occurs, to annex the translation in the specimen itself. All such notes and additions are bracketed, so as not to interfere with the general palacotype. Each verse is numbered for the same reason. Sometimes a few additional words are given. As another basis of comparison, I prefix the literary High German and Dutch versions, as given in the usual editions used in churches, and I have added the pronunciation, as well as I could,—not distinguishing (t, d) however. The *Authorised English Version* according to the original edition will be found above, p. 1178, and the present literary English pronunciation of it, as given by Mr. Melville Bell and myself, occurs on p. 1171. The *older Wycliffite Version* and its conjectural pronunciation are given on p. 740; the *Anglosaxon Version* and conjectural pronunciation on p. 534; the *Modern Icelandic Version* of Mr. Magnússon, with the pronunciation as gathered from his own lips, on p. 550; and the *Gothic Version* with conjectural pronunciation on p. 561. Hence the comparison can be carried backwards to the oldest records, and most divergent modern forms. It would of course have been advisable to have the Danish and Swedish versions, and especially the various Norwegian dialectal forms, to compare; but these I am not able to give.

The arrangement is *geographical*. The countries and provinces are numbered with Roman numerals, and distinguished by capital and small capital letters. Winkler's Dutch name is generally placed first, and then the German, English or French added, with a reference to the volume and page of his book. Where he has distinguished linguistic districts, as the Low German and Friesian, by separate sub-headings, these have also been introduced in small capitals. The *place* to which each version relates is numbered in the usual Arabic numerals, and printed in Italics, first as given by Winkler, and then, if necessary, in English or French, and its style as district, city, town, small country town, village, or hamlet, is added. As the names thus given are not very well known, and indeed were sometimes not to be found on maps, I have added the latitude and longitude from Keith Johnstone's *Index Geographicus*, which is generally correct enough for finding the place, although I have detected a few glaring errors occasionally. When the name

could not be found even there, I have added the name of some town or village which is mentioned by Winkler as adjacent, and which could be there found. The reader will therefore find no difficulty in referring each version to its proper locality. The reference to Winkler is added as before, and occasionally a few words of explanation are subjoined to the title of the specimen; but the necessity for brevity has caused me generally to omit such remarks, and always to abridge what I have given. They are generally on Winkler's authority, and substantially in his words.

These arrangements preclude the necessity of an index. The student fixing on any word in any verse can trace it through its various forms with great rapidity. The words selected had always especial reference to our English habits. Thus:—

The *omission* or *retention* of final *-e* or *-en* is shewn by: 11 *had*, 12 *dealt*, 15 the *swine*, to *feed*, *heed* or *watch*, 18 I *have*, 22 the *best robe*, *shoes*, *his feet*, 23 a or the *fatted calf*, 24 is *found*, 25 his *eldest son*, in the *field*, near the *house*, he *heard*, 29 with *my friends*. It will also be found in some versions, especially in Belgium, that *-e* has been *added on*, so that the use and disuse of the *-e* has become a mere matter of feeling, independently of any supposed origin.

The passage of *a*, not always original, (ii) or (ee) to an (ái) form is well shewn by: 11 *two*, 12 *he*, *dealt*, 15 *swine*, 22 *his*, 24 *my*, 31 *my*, *ever with me*. It will be seen how local such changes are, and how impossible would be the hypothesis of an original (ái) sound of *i* in English. The word 12 *dealt* was selected with especial reference to the forms in Havelok, *suprà* p. 473, and it thus appears that there is no occasion to assume Danish influence for such a form as *to deyle*, but that Low German forms fully suffice; and subsequently, when we come to English dialects in the East of Yorkshire, we shall see how rooted such forms still are in England.

The changes of the (un) and (oo) are well shewn by the words: 11 *sons*, 22 *shoes*, *feet*, 24 *dead*, 25 *son*, *house*, 27 *brother*.

The changes of (a) may be traced in: 1 *man*, 18 *father*, 22 *clothes*, 23 *calf*, 25 *came*.

The changes of (e) in: 1 *man* in the form *mensch*, 11 *dealt*, Gothic *ai*, 25 *field*, 27 *friends* properly (i). For *er* falling into *ar* see 15 *farrow*.

In addition to this, the great number of *fractures* which occur, especially in the Friesian dialects, are very observable. An examination will, I think, fully justify the application of the laws (*suprà* p. 1307) which I had previously deduced from English and Bavarian dialects only. But this is a subject requiring extensive additional inquiries.

For the consonants the chief points of interest seem to be the following. The lost *r* and interchange or loss of *h* have been already referred to. But the approach of *d* to (dh) in parts of North Friesian (at least according to Winkler, my East and West Friesian authorities knew nothing of it, and it may be a Danism in North Friesian), and of *w* to (w) in the same (according to Winkler again), marks the tendency more fully developed in English. It is ob-

servable that we have English dialects (as in Kent) where the (dh) of pronouns sinks to (d). The loss of (dh) in most Low German dialects and its preservation in Anglosaxon, English, and Danish (the last only final and medial), or its transformation into (th), is a point which still requires investigation.

The loss of final *-d*, either by passing through (r_c) or (r) and then vocalising to (ə), or by passing through (j) and then vocalising to (i), is remarkable. We have the old Latin and modern Italian loss of final *-d* in quite another domain. But in Low German it presents peculiar features, and it is further complicated by its medial disappearance. Compare especially the various forms of 11 *had*, 15 *feed* or *heed*, 18 *futher*, 22 *clothes*, 27 *brother*, and again after *l*, 25 *field*, and after *n*, 24 *found*, and 29 *friends*. The treatment of *n* in such cases as (q) in many dialects is singular, as is also the frequent lengthening of the vowel preceding (q). The change of (q) final into (qk) was perhaps more frequent than is marked. That *l* in 23 *calf* should have been almost uniformly retained is, in consideration of the loss of *d*, and frequent loss of *l* before *s* in 25 *as*, very remarkable. But the word was frequently dissyllabic, and has some very strange forms.

The (gh) has already been referred to. On the locality whence our ancestors came, its existence is undoubted. Even Holsteiners are accused of saying (khuu'tər Khot), and we know that Berliners indulge in (jnu'tər Jot). The change of (gh) to (j) is not unfrequent in the word 18, 31, *you*. Combined with the elaborate Icelandic treatment of *g* (see p. 543), and the English reductions of Anglosaxon *g*, it renders the guttural character of this last letter (512, *d*) nearly certain.

These hints are merely for the purpose of drawing attention to some salient points which have engaged our attention hitherto. The Low German seems almost to settle some of these disputed points, especially long *i*, *ei* and *ai*, and final *-e*. As to the open and close *e* and *o*, their treatment has been remarkably different. They have generally been distinguished by the different courses which they have run; but this has by no means always favoured the change of the close to (ii, uu), and the preservation of the open. On the contrary, the close tend to (éi, óu), and the open to (i', u'). This fracturing is very remarkable at Antwerp (specimen 160), and when completed by a juncturing, would often lead to precisely opposite results, making the open vowels thin, as (ii, uu), and the close vowels diphthongal, as (éi, óu), which result again in broad (EE, oo, oo, AA). In the examples as written, when no actual change was made in orthography, I was obliged to take refuge in an indifferent (e, o); but when any marks or directions justified me, I have distinguished (e, e, E, æ) and (o, o, o). Winkler himself comes from Leeuwarden in Friesland, where, however, a variety of Low German, not Friesian, is spoken (specimen 91), so that I cannot feel certain that I have rightly understood these indications. Mr. Sweet tells me that there is no (EE) in literary Dutch, but only (éei), the rules in grammars being purely orthographical. But Winkler continually inveighs against the prevalence of Hollandish

pronunciation. The general consideration of this very difficult subject of the double pronunciation of *e* and *o*, especially in reference to Early English, on which Mr. Sweet has recently made some important studies, in his "History of English Sounds" (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873-4, pp. 461-623), is reserved for Ch. XII. (suprà pp. 1318-21).

PRELIMINARY VERSIONS.

i. *English version* corresponding to the general forms of Low German versions in the passages selected from Luke xv.

11 a certain man (mensch, married man, churl, rich man, father) had two sons (lads, young ones, young men, unmarried men, servants). There was once (one time, one turn) a man (etc.) who had two sons (etc.).

12 and he (the father, the old man) divided (dealt) his (the) property (goods, estate) among them (both, each other). and he did it. and he gave each his part (portion, lot, effects). he gave them-people (usual polite Dutch *hunlieden* for them) their, (etc.). he gave the younger his mother's inheritance.

15 to feed (heed, watch, guard) swine (farrow). to be a swinedriver, swineherd.

18 father, I have sinned (done wrong, misbehaved, done sins, done evil, done unseemly) before (towards) you.

22 (haste and) bring (fetch, haul) forth immediately (quickly, nimbly, in an instant) the best (gladdest, smartest, Sunday's, Easter's) robe (pack of dress, chest-dress, store-clothes, breeches with silver seams) and put (draw) it on him,

and give (do, put) a ring (finger-ring, gold-ring) on his hand (finger) and (new) shoes (with buckles, boots) on his feet (legs, used politely for feet).

23 the fatted (masted, fat) calf. the calf in the stall.

24 for this my son (son of mine, man, lad) was (as good as) dead, and he is found (caught) again.

25 but (meanwhile) the eldest son was in (on, upon) the field (acre, mark, for work, for some days, and knew nothing of it), and as he then (now) nearer to (close to, within a bowshot of) the house (farmyard) came, he heard music (singing) and dancing (playing).

27 your brother.

29 that I might (can, may) make merry (have a feast, jollification) with my friends (mates, comrades, companions). to treat my friends (etc.) to eat it (the kid) up with my friends (etc.).

31 my son (child, young one), thou (you) art (are) always (ever, all times, always all times) with me.

ii. *Dutch Version.* Lukas, Hoofdstuk 15.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 een zeker mensch had twee zonen.

12 en hij deelde hun het goed.

15 om de zwijnen te weiden.

18 vader, ik heb gezondigd tegen (voor) u.

22 brengt hier voort het beste kleed, en doet het hem aan, en geeft eenen ring aan zijne hand, en schoenen aan de voeten.

23 het gemeste kalf.

24 want deze mijn zoon was dood, en is gevonden.

25 en zijn oudste zoon was in het veld, en als hij kwam, en het huis genaakte, hoorde hij het gezang en het gerei.

27 uw broeder.

29 op dat ik met mijne vrienden mogt vrolijk zijn.

31 kind, gij zijt altijd bij mij.

Literary Pronunciation, as revised by Mr. Sweet, see pp. 1292 and 1114.

11 ən zéi'kər mɛns ɪhət tʰɛi' zóʊnən.

12 ən nʰe'i déi'ldə ɪhən ɪhət khut.

15 ɔm də zbhé'ɪnən tə bʰe'i dən.

18 'vɑdər, e'k ɪhɛp khəzəndikht téi'ghən ('voor) ɪ.

22 brɛqkt ɪhiir voort ɪhəd bɛ'stə klé'id ən dut ɪhət ɪhəm aan, ən ghé'ift ən re'q aan zən ɪhant, ən skhu nən aan də 'vʊtən.

23 ɪhət khəmə'stə kalf.

24 bhand déi'zə mən zóʊn bhar dóʊd, ən e's khəvəndən.

25 ən zən óʊtstə zóʊn bʰaz e'ɪ ɪhət fɛlt, ən as nʰe'i kbham, ən ɪhət ɪhəh'ɔjs khanaak'tə, ɪhəʊrdə nʰe'i ɪhət khəzə'q ən ɪhət khə're'i.

27 ɪ brʊdər.

29 ɔb dat e'k mɛt mən 'vrii'ndən məkht fróʊ'lək s'e'ɪn.

31 ke'nt, kʰe'i zé'it a'lté'id b'e'i m'e'i.

iii. *High German Version.* Lucae, das 15 Capitel.*Ordinary Spelling.*

- 11 ein mensch hatte zween soehne.
 12 und er theilte ihnen das gut.
 15 der saeue zu hueten.
 18 vater, ich habe gesuendiget vor dir.

22 bringet das beste kleid hervor, und thut ihn an, und gebet ihm einen fingerreif an seine hand, und schuhe an seine fuesze.

23 ein gemaestetes kalb.

24 denn dieser mein sohn war todt, und ist gefunden worden.

25 aber der aelteste sohn war auf dem felde, und als er nahe zum hause kam, hoerete er das gesaenge und den reigen.

27 dein bruder

29 dass ich mit meinen freunden froehlich waere.

31 mein sohn, du bist allezeit bei mir.

My usual Pronunciation.

- 11 áin mensh na'tə tsbheen zə'nə.
 12 und ər tair'lə iin'n das guut.
 15 deer zóirə tsu nyyt'n.
 18 faartər, íkjh haabə gəzy-n-digjhat foər diir.

22 bríqət das be'stə kláid hærfoor, undt tuut iin an, und geebat iim áin'n fíqərráirf an záinə handt, unt shuuə an záinə fyysə.

23 áin gəme'stətes kalbp.

24 den diirzər máin zoon bhaar toodt, und ist gəfu'ndən bho'rd'n.

25 aa'bər dər e'ltəstə zoon bhaar áuf dəm fe'ldə, und als ər naa'ə tsuum háu'zə kaam, hærətə eer das gəza'qə und dən rái'gjhən.

27 dáin bruun-dər.

29 das íkjh mit máinən fróin'dən frə'likjh bheerət.

31 máin zoon, duu bíst a'lə-tsáit báí miir.

ABSTRACT OF WINKLER'S UNIVERSAL LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON.

I. RUSSIA. I. 1.

[The German inhabitants of Esthonia, Livonia and Curland were originally Low German; and though High German is now exclusively spoken, it has a strong Low German colouring.]

II. GERMANY. I. 3.

[North of a line from Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne or Bonn by Göttingen and Wittenberg to Berlin, and thence to Königsberg, the language is Low German, except two little parts of Oldenburg and Schleswig, where Friesian prevails, and some parts of Pomerania and East and West Prussia, where Cassubian, Polish and Lithuanian are spoken. This part of the Low German language is divided into Low Saxon and Low Frankish, and is generically called *plattdütsk*, and *plattdeutsch* (plattdóitsh).]

III. EAST PRUSSIA. I. 6.

1. *Königsberg*, town (54 n 42, 20 e 30). I. 8.

11 en mənsh na'də tsbhee ZEENS.
 12 on héi de'e'l'tə e'nə dat ghoo'd.
 15 dee sa'y-ə to hærə də. 18 vaa'dər, ək he'bə ghəzy'ndight ver dii. 22 brí'qət dat be'stə kleed hærvør, on doot em dat an, on gheeft em e'enən fí'qərréirf an zii'nə hand, on shoorə an zii'nə fæc'ətə. 23 een

ghəme'stet kalf. 24 den dis'ər miin ZEEN bher doot, on héi əs ghəfu'ndə bho'rdə. 25 aa'bhar dee ə'l'stər ZEEN bher opp dem fe'ldə. on als héi naa'ə tom huur'zə KEEM hær'tə héi dat ghəze'qə on dən réi'ghən. 27 diin broo'dər. 29 dat ək med miinən frindən frœ'likh bheer'tə. 31 miin ZEEN, duu best a'lətiit bi mi.

IV. WEST PRUSSIA. I. 12.

2. *Dantzic*, town (54 n 22, 18 e 39). I. 14.

11 daa bher maal 'n man déi had tbhéi ZEENS. 12 on héi de'e'ldə e'nə ziin gháud. 15 de shbhüin tán hee'də. 18 vaa'dər, ək hebh shbhaar zindikht veer dii. 22 haald ju dat be'stə kleed on trekd-əm dat an, on gheebht-əm eem'n ri'qk an zii'nə hand on sháu up de feet. 23 een ma'stkal'bh. 24 den dis miin ZEEN bheer doo'dikh, on héi es nuu bhe'dər-fur'qə. 25 aa'bhersht ziin e'ldstər ZEEN bher up det feld, on as héi neef'ghər keem an-t nuus daa heerd héi si'qə ook da'ntsə. 27 diin broo'dər. 29 dat ək kun lə'stikh ziin med miinə frind. 31 miin ZEEN, duu best e'mərsh bi mi.

V. POMERANIA. I. 20.

3. *Gripswoud*, in German *Greifswald*, town (54n5, 13e21). I. 21.

11 en minsh haar tbhee zœens. [described *umlaut* of (AA), between (EE) and (œE), opener than the first, duller than the second; it may be only (œh), it may be (æh); it is most probably one of the three (œ, œh, æh).] 12 un ne deelde en dat ghoot. 15 de zbhiin too hœœdæn. 18 va'dær, ik nef sy ndikht vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stæ kleet her un doot œm dat an, un ghevt œm eenen fiqærriq an ziinæ hand un shoœ up ziinæ fœœt. 23 en ma'stka'lf. 24 den dees min zœœn bhas doot, un is funœn bho'r'n. 25 de œl'stæ zœœn œœvœrst bhas up'n feld un as ne dikht an-t huus kam, hûærdæ he dat si'qœn un da'n'sœn. 27 diin broodær. 29 dat ik mit miinæ fry'n'n lustikh bhiir. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst y-mær bi mi.

4. *Rügen*, island (54 n 30, 12 e 30). I. 25.

11 en minsh her tbhee zœens. 12 un ne deelt en dat ghoot. 15 de zœœghœn to hœœdæn. 18 va'dær, ik heb sy'ndicht vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stæ kleet her un trekt œm dat an, un ghebht œm eenen fiqærreep an ziinæ hand un shaa an ziinæ fœt. 23 en ur'tœst kalf. 24 den di'sær min zœœn bhaas doot, un is fundæn bbo'r'dæn. 25 œœbhær dæ œeldstæ zœœn bhaas in 'n feld, un as he dikht an d't huus keem hÿrt hœ dat zi'qœn un da'n'tsœn. 27 diin broœrær. 29 dat ik mit miinæ fry'n'n kyn frœœlikh zin. 31 min zœœn, duu bist a'ltiid bi mi.

VI. BRANDENBURG. I. 28.

5. *Neumark*, district about *Frankfurt* on the *Oder*, town (52 n 21, 14 e 32). I. 29.

11 t-ha'de -n minsh tbhee zœœn. 12 un de ol deelta [spelled *dheelte*] dat ghoot. 15 de sbhiin hœœ'n. 18 vaa'r, ik heebh sy'night vœr dii. 22 sœkt dat be'stæ kleet iœœr un trek-t œm an, un stœœkt œm 'n riq an ziin hand, un ghœœbht œm shûœ fœr ziin been. 23 'n gœmœst't kabh. 24 den di'sær miin zœœn bhiir doot un hee is bhe'dær iu'n'n. 25 aa'bhær dæ œl'sæ zœœn bheer up -t feld, un a's'r naa huuzæ keem hÿrt-r dat ghœzi-qœ un ghœda'ntsœ. 27 diin brœ'r. 29 dat 'k met miin fry'n frœœlikh ziin kyn. 31 miin zœœn, doo bis a'ltiid bi mi.

VII. SAKSEN, in English PRUSSIAN SAXONY. I. 33.

[About *Magdeburg*; the kingdom and dukedoms of Saxony are Upper Saxon.]

6. *Altmark*, district from *Sälzwedel*, town (52 n 51, 11 e 9), to *Stendal*, town. (52 n 36, 11 e 51). I. 34.

11 een minsh hat tbhee zœœn. 12 un de vaa'dær ghœef-t-œm. 15 de sbhiinæ to hœœghœn. 18 vaa'dær, ik nef mi zoo shlekht bodraa'ghœn. 22 breqt det best kleet, un trekt-œt-œm an, un ghef œm eenen fiqærriq an ziinæ hand un shoœ an ziinæ vœœtæ. 23 een gœmœst kalf. 24 dys miin zœœn bhas doot, un is bher iu'ndæn. 25 as dæ œœl'st zœœn von-t feld rin kam un dat si'qœn un da'n'tsœn hœrt. 27 ziin braa'dær. 31 miin zœœn, duu bist a'ltiid bi mi.

7. *Meitzendorf*, village, in environs of *Magdeburg* (52 n 9, 11 e 38). I. 37.

11 et bhas en minshæ de ha'ræ tbhee zœinæ. 12 un hœi dœi'ldæ u'ndær eer ziin als. 15 de zbhiinæ hœ'yœn. 18 vaa'dær, ik har zy'ndæ daan vœr dik. 22 haalt mi dat be'stæ kleet von 'n bo'dæn un trekt œm dat an, un 'n riq daut an ziinæn fiqær un shœuræ an ziinæ fœ'y'tæ. 23 en fœtet kalf. 24 den di'sæ miin kint bhas doot un ik hœbæ œm nuu funœn. 25 dœrbhiilæ bhas dæ grœtstæ von dæ zœœnæ op 'n feld, as de naa'æ bi dat huus kam dun hœrtæ hœi dæ muzii kœ un dat ghœzi-qœ. 27 diin brœ'dær. 29 dat ik mik ku'ndæ lustikh maa'kœn mit miinæ fry'n. 31 miin kint, dœu bist a'læ tiid bi mik.

8. *Hohen Dodeleben*, village in environs of *Magdeburg*, see No. 7. I. 41.

11 et bhaar maal en mensh, der ha'ræ tsbhee ju'qœnz. 12 un nœi dœi'ltæ u'ndær zœ ziinæn hoof. 15 dæ sbhiinæ to hœ'yœn. 18 vaa'dær, ik ne'bæ synæ œdaa'n vœr dik. 22 sœ'ykt dat be'stæ kleet for un trekt œt œm an un 'n riq daut an ziinæ hœ'næ un shœuræ an ziinæ fœ'y'tæ. 23 'n kalf dat œmœst is. 24 den di'sær miin zoornæ bhaar doot, un nœi is œi'u'n'n. 25 dœrbhiilæ bhaar dæ grœtstæ von dæ zœœnæ op'n fœ'læ, un als hœi di'khœ an-t huus kaam dun hœrtæ nœi dæ muzii'kœ un dat ghœda'ntsœ. 27 diin

bráurder. 29 dat ik mik narre kenēn
lurstikh maa'kōn mit mi'nē frind-
shap. 31 miin kint, duu bist a'lētiit
bi mik abheest.

VIII. MECKLENBURG. I. 46.

9. *New Brandenburg*, town
(53 n 32, 13 e 15). I. 47.

11 daa'r bhas maal eens en man,
dee uhaar tbhee zœens. 12 un dē
vātēr deēl'tē en dat fœrmœ'ghōn.
15 de shbhiin to hœwōdēn. 18 vātēr,
ik uef mi fœrsy'night ghee'ghōn dii.
22 briqt den a'lœrbe'stōn rok hœer un
trekt œm den an, un stekt œn nœn riq
an'n fi'qer un gheebht em shoo an
zii'nē fœwētē. 23 'n fœtōs kalī. 24
bhiil dis miin zœen as dood bhas, un
he is bherær fun'nōn. 25 de œl'stē zœen
œwēbher bhas up 'n feld, un as he
naa to huus kam nyrtē he dē muzi'k
un dat dantsent. 27 diin broō'rær.
29 dat ik mit mi'nē fry'n 'n mi lurs-
tigh hœlōn kun. 31 miin zœen, duu
byst a'lbhegh bi mi.

10. *Stevenhagen*, town (53 n 41,
12 e 53). I. 50.

11 dōr bhas mal en man, dēi har
tbhēi zœens. 12 un hēi dēi'l'tē unē
zēi dat fœrmœ'ghōn. 15 de zbhiin
tāu hœ'y'rēn. 18 vaa'rē, ik hebh
zy'ndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stē
kleed nœr'an un trekt œm dat an un
gheebht em ē'nōn fi'qerri'q an zii'nē
nand un shāu an zii'nē fœ'y't. 23 en
ma'stkalbb. 24 den deē'zē min zœen
bhas dood, un is fun'nōn bho'r'n. 25 dē
œl'stē zœen f'bhær blas up dōn fē'l'n,
un as hēi dēē'ghær an-t huus kam,
nyrt hēi dat zi'qōn un dantsēn. 27
diin brāu rē. 29 dat ik mit mi'nē
fry'n'n frœēlikh bhiir. 31 min zœen,
duu byst tāu jee're ['every'] stun bi mi.

IX. HOLSTEIN. I. 54.

11. *Friederichstadt*, town on
the Eider (54 n 23, 9 e 4). I. 56.

11 een minsh nar tbhee zœens. 12
un ne deē'ldē zē dat ghuud. 15 de
zbhiin to hœ'y'rēn. 18 fæ'dēr, ik hebh
zy'ndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stē
kleed nœrfœ'r, un doot œt œm an, un
gheebht œm œn fi'qerri'q an zii'n nand,
un shoo an zii'n fœwēt. 23 en ma'st-
kalv. 24 den dīsē miin zœen bheer
dood, un is fyn bho'r'n. 25 aabher dē
œl'stē zœen bheer op dat feld, un as
ne neegh an-t huus keem, hœr'dē ne
dat zi'qōn un dat dā'nzēn. 27 diin
broō'dēr. 29 dat ik mit miin frœn

frœwēli bheer. 31 miin zœen, duu
bis y'mær bi mi.

12. *Dithmarsch*, district about
Meldorf, town (54 n 6, 9 e 4). I. 59.

11 en man nar tbhee zœens. 12
un de ol deel dat ghuut. 15 de zbhiin
to hœwōdēn. 18 vaa'dēr, ik hef mi
slekht bœdraa'ghōn ghee'ghōn dii. 22
briqt de be'stē a'ntoogh un trekt œm
dōn an, un stekt œm œn ri'q an'n fi'qer
un gheevt œm shoo an ē fœwēt. 23 en
ma'stkalf. 24 den min zœen iir
bheer dot, un is bhe'dēr fun. 25 aabher
dē œl'stē zœen bheer to feld un as ni
ueegh bi-t huus keem, hœr he dat
si'q'n un dants'n. 27 diin broō'dēr.
29 dat ik mal mit miin fryn lurstigh
bheer. 31 min juq, duu byst a'ldaagh
bi mi.

X. SCHLESWIG. I. 62.

a. *Low German in Schleswig*.
I. 63.

13. *Angelen*, district between
the *Schley* river and *Flensburg* fiord
(54 n 50, 9 e 35). I. 65.

11 en man har tbhee zœens. 12 un
zoo deē'lær dē œr'lē zii'n ghoo'd. 15
as swi'ndrii-vœr. 18 vātēr, ik hev
groō'tē syn bægaa'n vœr dii. 22 haal
dat be'stē von miin kleē'dēr fœr zii'n
armē liiv ['body'], go'l'nē fi'qerri'qē
fœr zii'n hœn un nū shoo fœr zii'n
fœwēt. 23 en fœtē kalv. 24 hee bher
dood, un is we'r'dēr fun'nōn. 25 aabher
dē œl'stē zœen bher op dat feld; un
as he nuu op de bheegh naa huus in
de neegh dat zi'qōn un dā'nzēn to
hœwōtōn kœegh. 27 diin broō'dēr.
29 um mi mit min fryn frœēlikh
zin to laa'tōn. 31 min zœen, duu bist
a'ltiit bi mi.

b. *Friesian in Schleswig*.
I. 70.

[In these Friesian dialects the short
i is said by Winkler to be "nearly per-
fect," by which he apparently means
that it is pure (i), and not (i, eⁱ, e, e),
or other Dutch sounds of short *i*.
These dialects seem also to have (dh),
see note to specimen 14.]

14. *Bökingharde* variety of the
Moringe dialect, which is spoken
in a district containing *Niebill*, town
(54 n 34, 8 e 49). I. 78.

11 an mou nēi tbhēi'r saar'nō. 12
an ne diilid jam at ghœd. 15 dē shbiin
to hœwōdēn [(jœwōdēn) simply?]. 18
teetē, ik hebh me fœrsee'night in dee.

22 bre'jq da be'stə klur'dhə ʒhurt an ti-s nam ən; dōu nam an gho'tre'jq áurə a fáirqən an skur áurə a fe'jt. 23 an fat kuar'lebh. 24 aa'bhər de hərə fon min bi'r'dhə zaa'nə bhas dyd, un as bhi'r'dhər fyman bho'r'dən. 25 óurərs də a'lstə saan bhas to fe'j'ldə, an as ər ta'ghdə ['thought'] to-d nys kóum nird ər at siu'qən [(shu'qən) ?] an do'n-sin. 27 dan bróur'dhər. 29 dat ik ma min fry'nə frə'e'lik bhee'ze kyy. 31 man saan, dyd bast a'tet báí mee.

[(klur'dhə, bi'r'dhə, bhi'r'dhər, bróur'dhər) are spelled by Winkler with *th*, as *kluthe*, *bithe*, *wither*, *brouther*, and similarly *lithan* to suffer, *ethe* to eat, *wethere* wether, or kid, *bleth* blithe, *tofrethe* content, German *zufrieden*, but *louð* only has a crossed *ð*, which he says is "a soft *th* as in English, sounding almost as *s*." I have supposed that where he wrote *th*, he meant the same thing, that is, (dh), or to a Dutchman almost (z). similarly in specimen 15.]

15. *Karrharde*, district about *Stedesand* town (54 n 44, 8 e 56). I. 81.

11 en mon néi tbi'éur see'nə. 12 an hi dild jem dat ghod. 15 de sbhin to ghii'tən. 18 teetə, ik hebbe me farzee night jin dee. 22 briq dat best klee'dadhe ʒhurt an ti-i't ham ən; duu ham en go'lrq áurə a fe'qər an skur áurə a fe'jt. 23 en fat kuar'lebh. 24 áurə de hərə fon min bi'r'dhə see'nə bhas dud, an hee es bhi'r'dhər fy'nən bho'r'dən. 25 aa'bhə də a'lstə sen bhas to fe'j'ldə, an as ər ta'ghdə ['thought'] to-d nys kóum nird ər dat siu'qən [(shu'qən) ?] an do'n-sin. 27 dan bróur'dhər. 29 dat ik me min fry'nə frə'e'lik bhee'ze kyy. 31 man sen, dyd best a'tid báí mee. [See note to specimen 14.]

16. *Gosharder* dialect about *Hattstedt*, *Bredstedt* and *Husum*, town (54 n 28, 9 e 3). I. 84.

11 diir bher en me'n'she, dii néi tbbhen sens. 12 un di faa dər dia'led dat ghod unər namən. 15 bhuu sbhi'n-bə'r'dər. 18 faa'dər, ik nee sendighet, for dii. 22 bri'qet dat best klee dadhe ʒhurtə un ti-i't ham ən, un steeghət ham en gho'lrq an a fii'qər un ti'et ham shyy'rə ən. 23 en faat kúalf. 24 den man sen bho'r'dəd, un ik néi ham we'dər fy'nən. 25 dā a'lstə sen bher to fe'e'lə; es hi nyy to nys ghii'q niirt ni al fon fii'rəns ['all from far'] dat siu'qən [(shu'qən) ?] un dat spe'lin ['play']. 27 dan broo'dər. 29 dat

ik miin fry'nə bebbhe'rti kyy. 31 man lii-bhə ju'qə, dyd best i'mər bai mií.

17. *Amrum*, island (54 n 38, 8 e 20). I. 89.

11 an maan ned tau søns. 12 an nii diald ʒha [this (ʒh) is doubtful] at ghud. 15 a sbhin to nærdin. 18 atj ik naa za'naght jin ʒou. 22 briq nam a best klúadər an tjii-m-s nam un, an duu-m nam an fa'qərriq áurə a nun an skur áurə a fet. 23 an teet kúa'lebh. 24 áurə dasni'r man sen bhéar dúad, an nii as bhe'dər fyndhən ['softened English *th*, nearly like *sh* or *zh* and *ð*, here written, 'sounds generally as *dj* or *dʒ*'] bhu'r'dən. 25 man di eelst sen bhéar áurə fial, an ys hi bhat náirə to-d nys kaam an nird at siu'qən [(sho'qən) ?] an daa'n-sin. 27 dan brúur. 29 dat ik mií mee min frindər næ'ghi kyd. 31 man søn, dyd best a'tiid bi mií.

18. *Sylt*, island (54 n 54, 8 e 21). I. 94.

11 en man ned tau dree'qər ['servants', lads]. 12 en de faa'dhər dii'let jam diit gud. 15 de sbhiin to jee'tən. 18 faa'dhər! ik naa zeudhikht to'e'ghən jum. 22 briq dit beest klúadh JAAT, en tií et nœm ən; ən deœ nœm ən fi'qərriq ən sin humdh, en skuur áur sin fet. 23 en fat kúalet. 24 for desji'rəm min dreeq bhéar dúad, ən es bhe'dhər fyndhən uurdhən. 25 man də fílst dreeq bhi'r yp mark, ən ys nii néi bi-i't nys kaam jert nii dit siu'qən [(shu'qən) ?] ən daa'n-sin. 27 diin bro'dhər. 29 dat ik mee miin frindər nii jens fry'ghə kydh. 31 miin dreeq, dyd best a'tiid bi mií.

19. *Helgoland*, island (54 n 11, 7 e 53). I. 99.

11 diar bhiar ian'maal 'n man, dee niid tau ʒo'qən. 12 en daa deelt de ool man jam det ghoud. 15 de sbhiin to nærdən. 18 faar! ik naa syn deen. 22 briqt dō bast kloor dúat, ən tiid nœm det un, ən dood nœm 'n riq om siin fi'qər, ən skuur ərər siin tu'tən. 23 'n fat ka'loeken. 24 den miin zœn hat dúad bheən, ən es blier fin blurn. 25 oovər de oldst søn bhiar un-t feld, ən as nee néi bi de ʒhyys [sounds at present like (niis), according to Winkler] kim uard ne det siqən ən sprí'qən. 27 diin brur. 29 dat ik met miin fren ferglu'għt bhees kiid. 31 miin lif ʒoq, dee nas alə tiidən bi mií bheən.

XI. TERRITORY OF THE FREE CITIES OF LUEBECK, HAMBURG AND BREMEN. I. 103.

20. *Schlutup*, village near *Lübeck* (53 n 52, 10 e 51). I. 104. [To serve in place of a *Lübeck* specimen, which Winkler could not obtain.]

11 een minsh nar tbhee zœns. 12 un he dee ldə dat ghoođ u'nər eer. 15 de sbhiin nœœ'dən. 18 vaa'dər, ik hev zyn daan fer dii. 22 naalt mi dat be'stə kkeed neru't, un tee -t em an, un doot əm een riq an zin hand un shoō an ziin fœt. 23 een ma'skalf. 24 den bhat min zœn is bhas dood, un is bhe'dər fun. 25 də œl'stə zœn œœvərs bhas in -t feld, un as he nee'ghər an -t nuus keem hœr he dat zi'qən un dantsən. 27 diin broō'dər. 29 dat ik mi mit miinē fryn shul lu'stikh nœ'lon. 31 min zœn, duu byst a'ltiit bi mi.

21. *Hamburg*, town (53 n 33, 10 e 0). I. 109.

11 een minsh nar tbhee zœœns. 12 un hee dee ldə dat ghoođ maq jym. 15 de sbhiin to nœœ'dən. 18 vaa'dər, ik hev zy'ndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stə kkeed neru't un trekt ət əm an, un ghevt əm eenən fi'qœrriq an ziinē hand un shoœ an ziinē fœœt. 23 een ma'sted kalf. 24 den dy'sə miin zœœn bhas dood, un hee is bhe'dər fun. 25 aa'bərs ziin œl'stə zœœn bhas up -n feld, un as he dat nuus nœœ ghœr kœm daa nœrdə dat zi'qən un dat dantsən. 27 diin broō'dər. 29 up dat ik mit miinē fryn'dən lu'stigh bheœ-zœn kyn. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst jy mœrs bi mi.

22. *Bremen*, town (53 n 5, 8 e 48). I. 117.

11 daas bhas en minsh de nar tbhee ju'qœns. 12 un he dee-ldə dat ghoođ u'nœr jœm. 15 dat he daas desbhiin nœ nœœ'dən shol. 18 vaa'dər, ik hebh zu'night ghee'ghœn dii. 22 naalt mi dat he stə kkeed neru't un teet id əm an, un steekt əm eenən riq an ziinē hand un trekt əm shoō an. 23 ən mœ'sted kalbh. 24 den min zœœn [for (œ see spec. 3, v. 11; here however it is said to be "a middle sound between œ and æ or ö and ä German, and that it sounds at Bremen very nearly as æ or a," that is (œ); this would favour the supposition that the sounds were nearer (œh) or (œh),] bhas

dood, un is nuu bhe'dər fu'nœn. 25 aa'vœr də œl'stə zœœn bhas up dœm fe'lə, un as he duun bi nuu'zə keem hœœrədə hee dat zi'qəndə un dant-sœdə. 27 diin broō'dər. 29 dat ik meel ['once'] mit miinēn frun'dən ferglunœœ'ght ziin shul. 31 miin kind, du byyst jy mœr bi mi.

XII. HANOVER, BRUNSWICK, SCHAUMBURG, OLDENBURG. I. 122.

23. *Deister*, district (52 n 16, 9 e 28). I. 124. [A remnant of the old Hanoverian speech of the Calemberg species.]

11 e miinshə harə tbhēi ju'qœns. 12 un hēi dē'lə u'nər zēi dat a-rīdēil. 15 də sbhiin-tə hœ'yən. 18 vaa'dər, ek he'və zy'nighət vœr jy. 22 bri'qət dat ghla'destə kkeed, un trek ət əm an, un gheevet ən riq an ziinē hand un sha'uə an ziin fœ'y'tə. 23 dat fet əmAA'ketə kalf. 24 den dy'sə miin zoon bhas doot, un hēi is əfu'nœn. 25 ziin œl'stə zœn aa'bər bhas up en fe'lə, un as hēi in də nee'ghəd ziinəs nuu zœs kam hœœ'rə hēi spe'e'l ['playing'] un dans. 27 juō brāur. 29 dat ek mit miinēn fry'nœn lu'stigh bhœœ'rə. 31 miin lēi-bhə kind, duu bist jy mœr bēi mek.

[Some additional words are given compared with German, on account of their vowel fractures.] 12 gūtœrn *gütern*. 14 vœrtœrt *verzehrt*, liœn *liden*. 17 vœ'lə *wule*. 19 bliœrt *wird*. 27 bhœœr *weder*. 29 zy'ə *siehe*. 32 guœr *guter*.

24. *Oldendorf-Himmelpforten* village (53 n 35, 9 e 13). I. 137.

11 da bhœr ins en minsh, dē'j nar tbhe'j zœœns. 12 un he'j deel jym dat ghoođ. 15 dē'j sbhin to nœœ'dən. 18 vaa'r, ik hef zy'ndight jœ'j ghœns juō. 22 briqt dat be'stə tygh he'r un trekt əm dat an, un gheeft əm ən fi'qœrriq an də hand un shoō an də fœt. 23 en me'jst kalf. 24 den dy'sə juq bhœr dood, un is bhe'dər fun'n [32 fy'n'n]. 25 bhiin'lders bhœr də œl'stə zœœn œp'n fe'l'n, un as me'j bi nuus keem hœr nœe'j dat zi'qən un dantsən. 27 jœn broō'dər. 29 dit ik mit miinēn fry'n'n fœrglunœœ'ght bhœœr. 31 min zœœn, duu bys a'ltiits bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 see *sagte*. 14 fyq *fiug*. 16 nyus *niemand*. 19 mœe'jr

bhe'jrt *mehr werth*. 20 see'jgh *sah*, ym *um*. 26 c'jnen *einen*, frægh *frug*. 29 zyy *sieh*, wæ'bhærtree'n *übertreten*.

25. *Altendorf*, village (53 n 36, 9 e 27). I. 140.

11 en vaa'dær nar tbhee zœgens. 12 un de vaa'dær deel jym dat ghoo'd. 15 dæ sbhin to hœœ'dæn. 18 vaa'dær, ik heebh u'nrekht daan vœr dii. 22 briqt dat best klee'd hœruurt un tee -t æman, un ghebbt em æn fi qœrriq an zin hand un shoo an zin fœœt. 23 æn mœ'st't kalbh. 24 den min zœœn bheer doot, un is bhe'dær fœr'n d'n. 25 aa'bhær dæ œl'stæ zœœn bheer op -m feld, un as he nœœghær naa hus kœm hœr he dat zi'qen un dæ'nson. 27 diin broœ'dær. 29 dat ik mit miin n'n fry'nd'n fœrghnœœgh't bheên kun. 31 min zœœn, duu byst jymær bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ghœœ'dœrn *gütern*. 13 ghyq *ging*, hindeœ'r *hindurch*. 19 ik byn *ich bin*. 26 frægh *frug*. 29 duu bheest *du weißest*, œœ'bhæ'gaan *übergangen*. 32 ghoo'dæs moœ'ds *gutes muthes*.

26. *Rechtenfleth*, village between Bremen and Bremerhaven (53 n 32, 8 e 84). I. 143. [The speech is Friso-Saxon.]

11 en minsk nar tbhee sœœ'næn. 12 un hee deœ'ldæ jœm dat ghoo'd. 15 dæ sœœ'ghæn to hœœ'æn. 18 vaa'dær, ik hef zun'dight for dii. 22 briqt dat be'stæ tygh nœr un trek-t æm an, un ghevt æm æn fi'qœrriq an ziin uand un shoo an ziin fœœ'tæ. 23 æn mœest'd kalf. 24 den di'sœ, min zœœn bheer doot, un iz bhe'dær fœr'n dæn. 25 dæ œl'stæ sœœn aa'vœr bheer op-n fœ'ldæ, un as he naa nus keem hœœ'r dæ hee dat zi'qen un dat dæ'nson. 27 diin broœ'r. 29 dat ik mit miin nœ frœ'ndæ lœ'stigh bheer. 31 min sœœn, du bist æ'ltiud bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zœe *sagte*. 14 fuq *fung*. 15 nuq *hing*. 16 buk *bauch*, nuns *niemand*. 29 zyy *sieh*, aa'vœr-tree'æn *übertreten*.

a. LOW GERMAN IN OLDENBURG. I. 145.

27. *Eckwarden*, village between Jahde river (53 n 26, 8 e 12) and Weser river. I. 147.

11 ee nmal ins ['once,' Dutch *eens*, a repetition] bheer d'r een man, de

nar tbhee zœgens. 12 un hee deœ'ldæ er dat ghoo'd. 15 dæ sbhiin to hœœ'æn. 16 vaa'dær, ik heebh ghroœ'tæ zyn daan gheeh'ghæn dii. 22 naalt dat be'stæ klee'd nœr un teœt æm -t an un stœkt æm 'n riqk an 'n fi'qœr un shoo œœ'r vœr ziin fœœt. 23 'n good fet kalbh. 24 den di sœ miin zœœn bheer doot, un is fœr'n'n bhœ'ræn. 25 aa'bhær dæ œl'stæ zœœn bheer up-t land, un as he dikht bi-t nuns keem hœœ'r dæ he dat zi qœn un spriqœn. 27 diin broœr. 29 dat ik mit miin frœ'n'n fœrghnœœgh't bheer'zœn kun. 31 miin zœœn, duu byst jœ æ'ltiud bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 14 ghœqk *ging*. 16 buuk *bauch*, nymms *niemand*. 17 zœe *sagte*. 20 zeegh *sah*. 29 zyy *sieh*, noœ'nikh *noch nicht*.

28. *Jever*, town and district (53 n 35, 7 e 54). I. 150.

11 t-bheer mal ins ['once,' Dutch *eens*] een minsk, deœ nar tbhee zœgens. 12 un dæ vaa'dær deœ dat. 15 ziin sbhiin to bhœ'ræn. 18 vaa'dær, ik hef u'nrekht daan teœ'ghæn dii. 22 briqt up dæ stœe nœr dæ be'stæ klee'dazii un trekt ym deœ an un gheeft ym eœ'næn riq ym ziin vi'qœr un gheeft ym shoo œœ'bhær ziin fœœt. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den di'sœn zœœn bheer doot, un hee is bheer fœr'n dæn. 25 dæ œl'stæ zœœn bheer up dæn æ'kœr, un as he keem un dikht bi-t nuns bheer doo hœœ'ræ hee lœ'stikh ['merrily'] zi'qœn un lœ'mœu ['making a noise'] van dæ zœ'lschup ['from the company,' German *gesellschaft*]. 27 diin brœœ'r. 29 dat ik mit miin goœ'dæ fryn lœ'stikh bheer'zœn kyn. 31 miin juq, duu byst jymær bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 't-dyyrdæ *es dauerte*, dæ bhii'dæ bhelt *die weite welt*, 14 fuq *fung*. 15 gyqk *ging*. 24 'n ghroœ'tæ mœ'ltiit *eine grosse mahlzeit*. 26 frœgh *frug*. 27 zœe *sagte*.

29. *Rastede*, village (53 n 14, 8 e 11). I. 153.

11 en minsh nar tbhee zœgens. 12 un he deœ'ldæ er dat ghoo'd. 15 dæ sbhiin to hœœ'æn. 18 vaa'dær, ik hef zy'ndæ daan vœr dii. 22 naalt dat be'stæ klee'd nœr un teœt æm an, un stœkt -m 'n riq an-œ hand, un shoo aa'vœr ziin fœœt. 23 'n mœst kalf. 24 den di'sœ miin zœœn bheer doot, un is bhe'dær fœr'næn bhu rn. 25 aa'bhær dæ œl'stæ zœœn bheer up-t feld, un as

ne dikht biirt nuus keem noerdō ne dat zi'qon un dat dantsōn. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit miin frunō forghnōwght blee'zōn kun. 31 miin zōen, duu byst a'tiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 herdawer *hindurch*. 17 zee *sayte*. 26 to bōdyon *zu bedeuten*. [N.B. Final *r* scarcely heard; *d*, *l*, soft *r* confused, so that *wedder* sounds nearly *wedde*, *wedda*, *werre*, *werra*, *welle*, *wella*, in Winkler's spelling.]

b. FRIESIAN IN OLDENBURG. I. 155.

30. *Sagelterland*, district about *Friesoythe*, town (53n1, 7c51). I. 158. [The inhabitants are genuine Friesians in descent, language, dress, and customs.]

11 deer bhas ins en maa'nskō un dii hii'dō tbhee'n suu'nō. 12 doo deer-lōdō di oōldō mon it him too un fāa't him bhēt him too'keem. 15 num dō sbhiirō to bhāa'tjōn. 18 baa'bō, ['father'] ik hē'bō sendighed juun dii. 22 haa'bō mi ins ['once'] ghāu ['quickly'] dō be'st kloordōr hii, un hū'kōt him dō oon, niimēt ook en riq med, un dwoot ['dō, put'] him dii oon ziin hōōndō un rēek him skōōrō oon-ō feetō. 23 en ma'stōd koolv. 24 den dis zuun fon mi bhas foor nus zōo ghōod as dood, un nuu hē'bō bhi nim bhii'f fuurndōn. 25 too bhii'lōn bhas di oōl'stō suun op-t feeld too arbēidjēn ['work']; man doo hii-s ēeunds [almost spoken *s'evens*, says Winkler, 'in the evening,' old Friesic *iond*] fon-t feeld e'tōr ['after'] nuus bhēi ['away'] giq haa'rōdō hii det shu'qōn un det doomsjōn fon doo bhe'rskuplajy'dō ['workpeople']. 27 diin broor. 29 det ik un mi'ne frūyndō ook ins ly'stigh bhee'ze kuurdōnō. 31 miin liōōn beep'r'd'n, [the (r) scarcely heard] duu best a'tiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 dō bee' den *beiden*. 13 fāa'md *fremd*, jeeld *geld*, to lii'wōn *zu leben*. 14 lii'dō *leiden*, niks neen *nichts kein*, broō'd brodt. 15 dwoō *thun*, bhel bhii'l nim ook in ziin tjomst niimō? *wer will ihn auch in seinen dienst nehmen*, buur buuer, saa'ntō *sandte*. 16 a'r'dōn *gern*. 17 nī bitō'gts zī'k *er bedachte sich*, kwaad *sayte* [English *quoth*], fuur'ō *vieler*, steer'uē *darben*, nēēnd nīr'de *gehabt hatte*. 18 blii'uē *bleiben*, kwee'de *sagen*. 20 bloō'kōd

gebleicht. 21 lajy'dō *leute*. 26 to bitajy'dōn *zu bedeuten*. 29 siūkh *sich*, naa'n lii'tōō buk *keinen kleinen* book [English *little*, (li-tik) in other positions].

31. *Wangeroog*, or in North Friesian *Wangeroog*, island (53 n 47, 7 c 52). I. 171.

11 dōr is āinmool en shee'l ['churl,' used for married man] bhi'ziin, dan hāid tbiēin fentōr ['unmarried men']. 12 daa fardē'ld dan oō'l mon siin jil ['money,' *geld*] un ghōod fonōōrn [Dutch *van elkander*, from each other, apart] unōr dā bēidh, un ro't oon dan juqst siin dēil, saa fel as nim too kāūm. 15 un dā sbhiin too waarriin. 18 bab! ['father,' (maam) 'mother'] ik hēb symikht jen dii. 22 naa-liit jum mi ins ['once'] ki'tiigh ['quickly'] dā best kloō'dōr hōō'd ['hither'] un tjoōt nim dā oon; rēi'kōt nim uk en riq oon siin hāūm un nī skōō'r ['new shoes'] oon siin foot. 23 en fat kalf. 24 umdet diin fent fon mi sa ghōod as doō'd bheer, un nuu hē'bōt bhi nim bhii'dōr fuurndōn. 25 unōrsturskōn bheer dan mon siin alst fent up-t felt bhi siin, to arbēidōn. man daa ri āi'vōns ['in the evening'] naa nuus ghii'q un thiikht bi ki'miin bheer daa heerd nī dāit shō'qōn un dāit dō'nsōn. 27 diin broor. 29 dāit ik un miin frūy nuu āinmool irān kuurndōn. 31 miin lii'wōf beer'n, duu best ja a'tiid bi mi.

[*th* is both (th) and (dh); (dh) is assigned in (bēidh, kwī'dhiin, liidh, up, sti'dhi, siin lee'dhiigh) in German *beide, sprechen, liden, zur stelle, sein lebtag*; in (thiikht, thiōō'nstōn) German *dicht, dienstknechten*, it is not assigned, but it is stated that no rule can be given for the different use of (th) and (dh); (sh, tj, dj) are conjectures for *sj, tj, dj*. Winkler in his notes writes in v. 11, *sjel schelt*, but an East Friesian lady would not hear of (sh, tsh) for her *sj, tsj*, which are nearly (sj, tsj), see notes on specimen 87*; the plural in *u* is remarkable, as (nuus'u, skyy'pu) German *häuser, schiffer*. The whole dialect is remarkable.]

XIII. EAST FRIESLAND. I. 182.

[East Friesian consists at present of Low German, Friso-saxon (chiefly), and Old Friesian (as a trace). In Emden and near it Hollandish has also influenced the speech.]

32. *Esens*, town (53 n 39, 7 e 36). I. 187.

11 'n minsk har tbhee ZEENS. 12 un he de'e'ld HEF-t ghoo'd. 15 de sbhiin to bhAA'rdan. 18 VAA'dar, ik heb zy'ndight VEER dii. 22 briqt-t best kleed her un doot hym-t an, un gheeft hym 'n fi-qerriq an ziin hand un shoo an ziin foet. 23 'n ME'st't kalf. 24 den dis miin ZEEN bheer dood, un is bheer fu'nd'n bhur'd'n. 25 man dā olst ZEEN bheer up-t land, un as he naa bii-t nuus kweem hēer he dat ghēzi-q ['singing'] un-d ri'ghdants ['country dance']. 27 diin brœer. 29 dat-ik mit miin fry'nd'n ly'stigh bheer. 31 miin ZEEN, duu bist a'ttiid bi mi.

33. *Nesse*, village, near *Norden*, town (53 n 36, 7 e 12). I. 190.

11 en minsk har tbhee ZÆENS. 13 un dā VAA'dar deeld HÆER dat ghoo'd. 15 to sbhiin bhAA'rān. 18 VAA'dar, ik heb zy'nighd VÆER dii. 22 briqt dat best styk kleear neer un doot hym-t an, un gheeft hym 'n fi-qerriq an ziin hand un shoo an ziin foet. 23 'n mesd [mest?] kalf. 24 den dis miin ZÆEN bheer dood, un is bheear fu'n'n. 25 man dā o-lstā ZÆEN bheer up-t feld, un as he dikht bii-t nuus kbheem, HÆER he dat zi'q'n un spriq'n. 27 diin brœer. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'n ly'stigh bheer. 31 miin ZÆEN, duu bist a'ttiid bi mi.

34. *Norden*, town (53 n 36, 7 e 12). I. 192.

11 en minsk har tbhee ZÆENS. 12 un he vārdeel't dat ghoo'd un'ar hēer. 15 de sbhiin to HÆE'dan. 18 VAA'dar, ik hef zy'ndight vēr dii. 22 haalt dat bestā kleed her un trekt num dat an, un gheeft num 'n fi-qerriq an ziin hand un shoo an ziin foet. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den dis miin ZÆEN bhas dood, un is bheer funān. 25 AA'bār dā o-lstā ZÆEN bhas up-t feld, un as he dikht bi nuus keem, HÆER he dat zi'q'n un dā'nzān. 27 diin brœer. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'n ly'stigh bhEE'zān kum. 31 miin ZÆEN, duu bist a'ttiid bi mi.

35. *Nordernei*, island (53 n 43, 7 e 11). I. 195.

11 en minsk ha' tbbui zæns. 12 un hœ'i deel hœ'a dat ghoo'd. 15 dā sbhiinān to hœe'dān. 18 VAA'da, ik heb zyn dāan vā dii. 22 briqt dat mōist ['most beautiful,' Dutch *mooste*] kleed hēa un doot num't an un gheeft num 'n riq un ziin fi'qā un shoerān

un ziin foetān. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 diu di'sā miin zæen bhas dood, un hœ'i is bhēe'ar funān. 25 AA'bherst dœ'i olst zyn bhas up-t feld, un as hœ'i nān bii-t nuus kbheem, hœ'a hœ'i dat zi'q'n un spriq'n. 27 dii brœ'a. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'nān mūntā bhēea. 31 miin zæen, duu byst a'ttiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zai *sagte*, paat *part*, *theil*. 15 hœ'i vērhy'a zyk *er verniethte sich*. 17 ik vāgaur *ich vergahe*. 20 hœ'i mook zyk up *er machte sich auf*. ["The *r* final is pronounced indistinctly or not at all; if unaccented *e* precedes it, *er* sounds almost as *a*, *radar* as *vada*. The *r* is a stumbling-block for all Friesians and all Saxons that live near the coast." This final *r* has therefore been omitted throughout this transcript.]

36. *Borkum*, island (53 n 44, 6 e 52). I. 201. [This dialect is nearer Groningenish than East Friesian.]

11 'n seekar minskā har twēi zœens. 12 on hœ'i dēi lā hœer-t ghōut. 15 de swi'nān to wAA'rān. 18 VAA'dar, ik heb zœ'ndight tee'ghān dii. 22 breqt-t bestā klēid heer on trekt hōm-t an on gheeft hōm 'n riq an ziin hand un skhōu an dā fōutān. 23 't-mestā kalf. 24 want miin zœen was dood, on is hœ'i weer fōndān. 25 on ziin o-lstā zœen was op-t feld, on as hœ'i kbham, on-t nuus naa'dōrda, nœœ'rda hœ'i-t zi'q'n on dā'nzān. 27 sōu brœ'ir. 29 dat ik mi met miin fru'ndān vērmaa'kōn kōn. 31 kind, duu bist a'ttiid bi mi.

["The letter *o* in the words *on*, *jongste*, *honger*, *hom*, etc., is very obscure, almost exactly like High German *u* in *und*, *hunger*, etc., and hence is here given as (*o*). "The *w* is the usual Friesian and English *w*." I have hitherto used the German and Dutch (bh) even for Friesian; but in this example I have employed (w). Is Winkler right here? I shall venture to use (bh), except when specially directed not to do so. My Emden authority said (bh) distinctly, even in (kbham), not (kwam, *kīam*). See notes to specimen 87*.]

37. *Emden*, town (53 n 22, 7 e 12). I. 205.

[A lady, who is a native of Emden, kindly read over this version to me, and I give her pronunciation as well as I can remember, which is not very

distinctly, as there was not time to write anything from dictation. She found fault with some of the phrases, and supposed the writer to have been a German. I have followed her changes.]

11 *dər* *bhas* *eens* 'n *minsk*, *də* *nar* [the (r) effective, but almost (r_g)] *tbhee* *zœœns*. 12 *un* *də* *vaa*-r *dee*-ldə *də* *bôurdəl* [distinctly, not merely 'nearly' as Winkler says] *u*-nər *də* *bárdən* [distinctly (ái), not (éi)]. 15 *tu* *sbbiir*-nə *bhaa*-rən. 18 *vaa*-r, *ik* *bin* 'n *free*-sl'k *ghróurtə* *zu*-ndər *tee*-ghən *dii*. 22 *zee* *zu*-lən *up*-ə *stee*-t *best* *pak* *klee*-r *bree*-qən *un* *zə* *zu*-lən *zii* *zœœn* *dat* *ant*-rē-kən, *un* *ium* *ók* 'n *go*-l'n *riq* *an*-d *nand* *stee*-kən *un* *zu*-lən *um* *shóo*-u *an* *ziin* *fóurtən* *dóun*. 23 'n *fet* *kalf*. 24 *umdat* *ziin* *juq* *tu* *də* *doo*-dən *al* *nœrt* *nar*, *un* *bhas* *tu* *fí*-ndən *kœ*-mən. 25 *man* *də* *œ*-lstə *zœœn* *bhas* *up*-t *feld* *bhest*. *as* *he* *nuu* *dikht* *bi* *huus* *kbham*, *doo* *vœrna*-m *hə* *al* *fœ*-rən-t *zi*-qən *un* *spœœ*-lən *un* *da*-nən. 27 *jun* *brœœr*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mit* *miir*-nə *klær*-tən *mii* *dər* *bhat* *bii* *vœmaa*-kən *kun*. 31 *miin* *juq*, *duu* *bist* *jaa* *al*-tiid-ən *bi* *mii*.

38. *Leer*, town (53 n 13, 7e 27). I. 212. [My Emden authority said the writer of this was a native personally known to her, and the version good.]

11 *dər* *bhas* *ins* 'n *man* *dee*-j *har* *tbhee*-j *zœœns*. 12 *un* *də* *œ*-lə *dee*-j-lə *dat* *ghei*óud [(éiu) one tetraphthong, in rapid speaking sounds as (íou)] *u*-ndə *hœœr*. 15 *də* *sbbiir*-nə *tə* *hœ*-í-dən. 18 *vaa*-dər, *ik* *heb* *mi* *an* *dii* *vær*-zyndight. 22 *bregt* *də* *bestə* *klee*-j-rə *reer* *un* *trekt* *zə* *ium* *an*, *un* *steekt* *ium* 'n *riqə* *up* *də* *fí*-qər *un* *trekt* *ium* *shei*óu *um* *də* *fí*éiou-tən. 23 'n *mœ*-st-kalf. 24 *den* *kikt*, *dí*-sə *miin* *zœœn* *bhas* *dood*, *un* *nee*-j *is* *bheer* *fún*-ən. 25 *man* *də* *œ*-lstə *zœœn* *bhas* *up*-t *feld*, *un* *as* *nee*-j *dí*-khtə *bii*-t *huus* *kbham*, *hœœ*-rdə *nœi* *dat* *zi*-qən *un* *spri*-qən. 27 *dii* *brœœr*. 29 *dat* *ik* *maal* *mit* *miin* *fry*-ndə *ly*-stigh *bhee*-zən *kun*. 31 *miin* *lee*-j-rə *zœœn*, *duu* *byst* *al*-tiid *bi* *mii*.

[(*ee*-j) is a dull sound, like Dutch *ee*, approaching Dutch *ij*.] I have taken it as the London long *a*. "The fracture *aiou* (éiou) in the Dutch words *good*, *to*, *horen*, *scho*, *foten*, etc., as pronounced in *Leer*, is difficult to render. In Dutch letters *eiou* would come nearest; the stress is on *ou*. In rapid speech the sound is nearly *iou*, *jou* (íou, jou). The *ii* (œi) sound in *hoiden*, *brœir*, is nearest to Dutch *ui*."]]

XIV. WESTFALEN, in English WESTPHALIA. I. 216.

39. *Wittlage*, village, near *Osnabrick*, town (52 n 17, 8e 3). I. 218. [Transitional from Friso-Saxon to Low-Saxon.]

11 *een* *minsk* *ha*-rə *tbhee* *zœœn*-əns. 12 *un* *he* *dee*-ldə *tursən* *də* *beerdən* *dat* *vœrmyy*-ghən. 15 *dat* *nee* *də* *sbbiir*-nə *nœ*-rdə. 18 *vaa*-r, *ik* *he*-bə *zy*-ndə *dáun* *vœr* *dii*. 22 *haa*-lät *dat* *bestə* *kléid* *un* *tee*-ət *ət* *em* *an*, *un* *ghii*-bhat *əm* *en* *riq* *an* *də* *hand* *un* *shœœ*-ə *an* *ziir*-nə *fœœ*-tə. 23 *ən* *mœ*-stət *kalbh*. 24 *den* *dý*-sə *miin* *zœœn*-ə *bhas* *dáut*, *un* *is* *bhiir* *fún*-ən. 25 *aa*-bhər *də* *œ*-lstə *zœœn*-ə *bhas* *up* *den* *féi*-ldə, *un* *as* *he* *uēi*-ghər *an* *dat* *huus* *kbham*, *hœœ*-rdə *he* *zi*-qən *un* *spel* ['play']. 27 *dii* *broœœr*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mii* *mit* *miir*-nə *fry*-ndə *en* *vœrghn*-œœ-ghən *maa*-kədə. 31 *miin* *zœœn*-ə, *duu* *bist* *al*-ə *tiit* *bi* *mii*.

40. *Freden*, town (52 n 3, 6 e 49). I. 221.

11 *daar* *bhas* *es* 'n *man*, *dee* *had* *tbhee* *zœœn*. 12 *un* *he* *vœr*dee-lə *u*-ndə *hœœr*-t *vœrmyy*-ghən. 15 *də* *vær*kən *tə* *hœœ*-ən. 18 *vaa*-dər, *ik* *he*-bə *zy*-ndə *daan* *te*-ghən *dii*. 22 *haa*-lät 't *bestə* *klee*d *un* *trekt* 't *əm* *an*, *stekt* 'n *riq* *an* *ziir*-nə *hand* *un* *trekt* *em* *shœœ* *an* *ziir*-nə *vœœ*-tə. 23 't *mœ*-st-kalf. 24 *den* *dý*-sə *zœœn*-ə *bhas* *dood*, *un* *nee* *is* *bheer* *fún*-ən. 25 *doo* *bhas* *də* *œ*-lstə *zœœn* *in*-t *feld* *doo* *də* *nœ*o *kam* *un* *naa* *an* -t *huus* *bhas*, *hœœ*-ordə *hee* *də* *ví*oöl ['violin'] *un*-t *da*-nən. 27 *dii* *broœœr*. 29 *dat* *ik* *met* *miir*-nə *fry*-ndə *met* *plœs*ear 'n *maa*-l*tiid* *kon* *frœ*-lən. 31 *miin* *zœœn*-ə, *duu* *bist* *al*-tiid *bi* *mii*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 *vœ*-amd *fremd*, *vœdœr* *verthat*, *dē*-ar *durch*. 14 *vœ*-tē-ard *verzehrt*. 15 *kœ*-tər [Eng. *cotter*]. 18 *uu* *enck*. 19 *ik* *byn* *ich* *bin*. 20 *ghyqk* *ging*, *medlii*-digh *mitleidig*, *em* *tə* *mœ*-itə [Eng. *him to meet*]. [(*zœœn*) is pronounced nearly as Dutch *zonne*, variously with (ə, œ, əh), see (1292, a). (*Éy*) in (*vœrmyy*-ghən) is between Dutch *vermuggen* and *vermuigen*."]]

41. *Münster*, town (51 n 57, 7 e 37). I. 224.

11 *et* *bhas* *dœrmaa*-l *en* *man*, *də* *na*-də *tbhee* *zœœn*-ə. 12 *un* *he* *vœ*-dee-lə *ziin* *vœrmyy*-ghən *u*-ndər *də* *béi*-dən. 15 *də* *sbbiir*-nə *tə* *hœœ*-dən.

18 *VAA'dar*, ik *HE'və* mi *vərféilt* *ghii-ghən* dii. 22 *nuu* *men*, *füks* ['quickly'] un *HAAL't* den *a'lərbe'stən* *rok* un *tre'kət* *ən* *əm* an, *stiee'kət* *əm* *ee'nən* *riqk* an *də* *fir'qər* un *ghiv'ət* *əm* *shoo'e* an *də* *fœ'ertə*. 23 *ən* *iet* *kalv*. 24 den *dy'sə* *miin* *ZAAN* *bhas* *dānd*, un *ne* is *bhiir* *furnən* *bhAA'rən*. 25 *underde'sən* *kbbham* *ziin* *œldstə* *ZAAN* *fom* *fe'ldə* *NAA* *nuu'zə*, un *as* *he* in *də* *nei'ghdə* *bhas* un *də* *muzi'k* un *dat* *dar'tsen* *Hœ'erdə*. 27 *diin* *braar*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mi* *met* *miin'nən* *frœ* *ndən* *HE'də* *lur'stigh* *MAA'kən* *kœ'nən*. 31 *miin* *ZAAN*, *duu* *bliv'əst* *y'mər* *bi* *mi*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 *too'kypm* *zukommt*. 13 *liee'vən* *leben*. 14 *taqk* *fing*, to *lii'dən* *zu* *leiden*. 15 *bhu'ndə* *wohnte*, *kū'rtən* [Westphalian word, Eng. *cots*]. 16 *giee'rnə* *gern*. 17 *brāut* *brodt*, *stiee'rvē* [Eng. *starve*]. 21 *bhie'rt* *werth*. 22 *liy'v'dən* *leuten*. 23 *laa'tət* *us* *iee'tən* [Eng. *let us eat*], *ghā'dər* *guter*. 26 *rāip* *rief*, *fraagh* *frug*, *bədy'dən* *bedeuten*. 28 *to* *frāi'dən* *zufrieden*. 29 *nym's* *niemals*.

42. *Paderborn*, town (51 n 43, 8 e 45). I. 229.

11 *et* *bhas* *mol* *en* *man* *dēi* *ha'də* *tbbēi* *zy'nə*. 12 *doo* *dēi'ldə* *dēi* *VAA'r* un *ghaf* *nə* *bhat* *nə* *tāukam*. 15 *de* *sbbi'nə* *tāu* *hœ'yən*. 18 *VAA'r*, *ik* *he'bə* *zy'ndighət* *vœər* *dii*. 22 *HAALT* *mi* *den* *be'stən* *rok*, un *tre'kət* *nə* *ee'nə* *an*, *stee'kət* *nə* *āuk* *ən* *riq* *an* *ziin'nən* *fir'qər* un *ghii'bot* *nə* *shāu'e* *andə* *fœ'y'tə*. 23 *dat* *be'stə* *kalf*. 24 den *dī'sə* *ju'qə* *bhas* *vər* *mi* *DEET*, un *hēi* is *noo* *bhiir* *furnən*. 25 un *dēi* *o'lstə* *ju'qə* *bhas* *tər* *tiit* *ghraa'də* ['at that time exactly'] *up* *en* *fe'lə*, un *as* *də* *nuu* *tər* *hēi'mə* *kam* un *dat* *zi'qən* un *spektaa'kəln* *Hœ'rdə*. 27 *diin* *brāu'r*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mit* *miin'nən* *fry'ndən* *mi* *mol* *lur'stigh* *MAA'kən* *kun*. 31 *miin* *zuun*, *duu* *bist* *o'tiit* *bi* *mi*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 *kind'sdēi'l* *kind's theil*, *tāukymt* *zukommt*. 14 *nə* *ghREE'tə* *hu'qərzNEE't* *eine* *grosse* *hungersnoth*. 15 *vœ'mēi'rədə* *vermiethete*. 16 *kree'ghən* *kriegen*. 17 *breed* *brodt*, *ghēnaugh* *genug*. 26 *rēip* *rief*, *frœ'ədə* *fragte*. 30 *hāu'rəntykh* *hurenzeug*.

43. *Sauerland*, district about *Soest*, town (51 n 35, 8 e 7). I. 233.

11 *et* *bhas* *mol* *nə* *man*, *dāi* *nar* *tbbēe'i* *zy'nə*. 12 un *də* *vātər* *shikhtədə* ['shed, divided'] *ty'skər* [Dutch *tusschen*, between] *diee'n* *be'ghən* ['both, (d) changed to (gh)].

15 *də* *sbbēe'ina* *hāin* ['heed, (d) omitted]. 18 *VAA'r*, *ik* *he'və* *zy'nə* *doon* *tiir'ghən* *dik*. 22 *ghoot* un *HAALT* *də* *steœ'dighstən* ['stateliest'] *rok* un *tre'kər* *nə* *ie'mə* *an* un *ghiee't* ['give'] *mə* *nə* *riqk* *an* *də* *hand* un *shān* *an* *zēe'ina* *fāitə*. 23 *en* *fet* *kalf*. 24 *bhēe'la'qk* ['because'] *nii* *mēe'in* *zuun* *bhas* *dāut*, un *nie't* *zik* *bhiir* *furnən*. 25 *nūu* *bhas* *AA'bhər* *də* *œ'lestə* *zuun* *biur'tən* *op* 'm *fe'lə*, un *as* *ə* *ran* *kam* un *noo'ghə* *bēe'i* *huā'bbə* [German *hofe*, 'farmyard'] *bhas*, *doo* *hort* *ə* *muuzika'n'tən* ['musicians'] *spiilən* un *zi'qən*. 27 *dēe'in* *brāu'r*. 29 *dar* *ik* *traktō'mēntə* *fir'rən* ['celebrate' as a church feast] *kon* *mit* *mēe'inər* *frœ'ndskop*. 31 *mēe'in* *zuun*, *diu* *bist* *y'mər* un *a'thēe'it* *bēe'i* *mēe'i*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 *fyee'r* *vor*, *tāu'kyy'mət* *zukommt*. 13 *də* *bhēe'ə* *bhelt* *die* *weite* *welt*, *dāi* *ju'qəstə* *lāit* *sēe'i* *bhuāl* *zēe'in* *der* *juingste* *liess* *sich* *wohl* *sein*. 14 in *diee'r* *ghii'ghend* *in* *dieser* *gend*, 't *feqk* *ie'mə* [*ihm* dat., (*iee'nə*) *ihm* acc.] *an* *kāuim* *tə* *ghoon* *es* *fing* *ihm* *an* *kāum* *zu* *gehn*. 15 *būu* *ron* *bauer*, *kūātən* [*cots*]. 16 *doo* *HE'r* *hāi* *zēe'i* *gherən* *də* *hātte* *er* *sehr* *gern*, *det* *lēe'if* *vul* *ghie'tən* *den* *leib* *voll* *essen* (?), *van* *dem* *riutūigstə* *von* *dem* *raukzeuge*, *boo* *mee* *de* *sbbēe'ina* *met* *fāu'rdə* *wo* *man* *die* *schawine* *mit* *fütterte*. 17 *daa* *ghlōi'nər* *tagelöhner*, *ter* *he'imə* *in* *der* *heimath*, *ik* *goo* *hi* *dāut* *ich* *gehe* *hier* *todt*. 20 *bho'rtə* *bhe'imārdigh* *wurde* *wehmüthig*, *lāip* 'me in *də* *māite* *lief* *ihm* *entgegen* [Eng. *to meet him*], *kysər* *nə* *kūsste* *ihn* [-r for -d, in weak imperfect]. 23 *bhēe'i* *bhelt* *iee'tən* *wir* *vollen* *essen*. 24 *vœrluā'ren* *verloren*. 25 *biutən* [Eng. dial. *beuten*, without; similarly (*iut*) *out*, (*nūu*) *now*, (*biu*) *how* = *wie*]. 26 *rāip* *rief*, *frœ'oghər* *fragte*, *huās* *los*. 27 *hee'il* un *gezund* [Eng. *whole and sound*]. 29 *a'miədə* *antwortete*, *gebuāt* *gebot* [(*ēe'i*), (*e*) distincter than (*i*); (*iū*, *ūi*, *uā*, *yē*, *ie'*, *ēi*) have their stress vowel thus distinguished by Winkler].

XV. *NEDER - RIJNLAND*, in English LOWER RHINE, province. I. 239.

44. *Emmerik*, in German, *Emmerich*, town (51 n 51, 6 e 15). I. 241.

11 'n *mins* *had* *tbbēe* *zoon's*. 12 *en* *nei* *dēi'ldə* *zin* *vœrmœ'ghən* *met* *ən*. 15 *əm* *də* *vœrkəs* *tə* *huu'rən*. 18

vaardar, ik heb min vearzandighd teeghē on. 22 ghau ['quick'] breqd om 't besto kleed, trekt at om aan, on daud om 'n riq aan zin mand on shuun aan zin vyft. 23 't ghomisto kalf. 24 bhant deeze min zoon bhaas dood, en nēi is bheer ghavonda. 25 zin o'ldstē zoon eebhor bhas op-t veld, duu nēi nōu dikht bēi nyys kbham, hēerdē nēi dē muuziik on dōn dāns. 27 ou bruur. 29 dat ik met min vri nda 'n vearlika partēi kon hōldē. 31 min zoon, ghēi bant altoos bēi min.

[I have generally not distinguished Dutch *eu, u*, except as long and short (*ue, u*), considering it very uncertain whether in the specimens (*u, ə*) were consistently distinguished; but as Mr. Sweet gives (*u*) for long Dutch *eu* (1292, *u*), and as Winkler here states that his *ō* is used for short Dutch *eu*, "which cannot be easily rendered in Dutch letters," I have used (*u*) for his *ō* in this example.]

45. *Gelderen*, in English *Guel-ders*, town (51 n 31, 6 e 19). I. 244.

11 eene vaarder had thlee zoen. 12 gheft mikh min kinddeel ['give me my child's-share'] en dē vaarder dēi dat. 15 om dē verkes tō nyvān. 21 vaarder, ek heb gezēndighd teeghē an. 22 zō zolē ziinē zoon nēi kleeer gheevēn, om eēnēn riqk an dē fiqers steekē en om nēi shuun antrekē. 23 een vet kalf. 24 bhant ghēi mot bheete ['for you must know'] deeze miinē zōn bhor vōr mikh varloora, mar nen net zikh bakert ['he has reformed, converted, himself'] on es nāu bher min kind. bhoi zēi nāu tō zaamēn bhoren, 25 kbhom den e'lstē zōn van-t veld tērygh on nērdē dat ziqēn on dānsē. 27 diu bryr. 29 dat ek mikh met min vriindēn lystigh maakē kos. 31 min kind, duu blyft emēr bāi mikh.

46. *Meurs*, in German *Mörs*, county, and town (51 n 27, 6 e 37). I. 247.

11 eene man had thlee zoen. 12 on ne deeldē om net ghud. 15 om dē poekēn tō nyvān. 18 faarder, ik heb zeyn ghodaa'n for dikh. 22 briqd dat besto kleed miir on trekd-et om aan, on gheet-om eēnē fiqerriq aan zin mand, on shuun aan zin fyft. 23 an ghēnaast kalf. 24 den deeze miinē zōn bhor dood, on es bhiir ghetōndēn. 25 maar dē e'lstē zōn bhor op et feld, on es ne kort

be-t nuus kbhoom, hēerdē ne dat spōelēn on dānsēn. 29 dat ik ens mid min trēyn trēwēlik koos ziin. 31 miinē zōn, dōn bēs emēr bee mikh ghibbees.

47. *Düsseldorp*, in German *Dusseldorf*, town (51 n 13, 6 e 46). I. 250.

11 nō man had tsbhēi [High German form] joqas. 12 doo de'ldē eēnē dōr vātōr dē erishatt ['inheritance']. 15 dē verkes tō hēerdē. 18 vātōr, ek han ghezoendighd gheeghēn dekh. 22 breqt op dōr stel at besto kleid, on trekt at om an, on dod-'m on rekt on dē haqk ['hand'] on shoōn an dē fōes. 23 dat fētē kalf. 24 den hee miinē joq bhoor dood, on es bhi'dōr ghōfōqē bhoorda. 25 ziinē e'lstē joq bhoor e'bhor op dēm feld; as hēe nōo ['now'] nō nuus koom, hēerdēn-ē speel on dāns. 27 dii broōrdē. 29 dat ek met min frēndē ē e'sē hā'ldē kuunt. 31 zykh ['see'] joq, duu bēs i-mēr bēi mekh.

48. *Keulen*, in German *Köln*, in English and French *Cologne*, town (50 n 56, 6 e 59). I. 254.

11 nō vātōr hat tsbhēi zoen. 12 un hēe de'ltōn dat vēmōeghē uqōr zee. 15 dē verke tō hēerdē. 18 vātōr! ik han mikh vōryndigh gheeghēn deer. 22 floek ['quick'] brekt im dōr besto rok eruus, trekt en im aan, doot eēnē rik aan ziq nand on shoōn aan ziq fōes. 23 dat marskalbh. 24 dan d'rs, miqō zōn, bhor dunt, un nōo es hēe bhi'dōr fūqē bhoorda. 25 et bhor e'vōr siqōn ['his'] e'lstē zōn om feld. als dēe nuu hāiūn ghiq un ob et nuus a'nkoom noot hēe dii muuziik un dat dāntsē. 27 diu broōrdē. 29 dat ik met miqō ['my'] fryndēn ens ē fēstēqkhēn [diminutive from French *festin*] hā'ldē kunt. 31 zykh ['see'] juq, doo bēs i-mēr bēi meer.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEET sagte tsoo kyt zukōmmt. 13 bhys weise ['manner']. 15 boor bauer. 16 kein ziil ghōof zō im keine seele gab sie ihm. 19 bheet werth. 20 feen fern. 27 kreeghēn kriegēn.

49. *Bonn*, town (50 n 43, 7 e 5). I. 258.

11 nō man hat tsbhēi zoen. 12 on e deet dat vēmōeghē uqō zō de'ldē. 15 dē sū'y tō hēerdē. 18 vātōr,

ikh ham mikh vazyndigh gheegha dikh. 22 ghashbhi'nd ['quickly'], breqt em -t berstæ kleed ærurs, doot at em aan, on stekht eena riqk aan ziq hand on shoan aan ziq fœes. 23 't ghame'stæ kalf. 24 den di'se mi'qæ zon bhoor duut, on es bhi'de ghæfæ'qæ bhoor'dæ. 25 at bhoor e'væ ziqæ elst zon op den feld. alts dee nuu koom on dem huus noo bhoor, nyet-æ dæ muuzi'k on dæn danz. 27 di'qæ broor'dæ. 29 dat ikh met mi'qæ frœnd eena fræ'y'dæmoo'lsik [German *freundenzeit*, 'joy-meal-time,' jollification] gæ'laa'le het. 31 mi'qæ leevæ zon, duu bes i'mær bœi miir.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEET *sagte*. 14 hu'qærshnuut *hungersnoth*. 17 brund *brodt*. 26 reef *rief*, kne'khds *knechte*. 29 ghægho'væ *gegeben*.

50. *Aken*, in German *Aachen*, in French and English *Aix-la-Chapelle*, town (50 n 46, 6 e 8). I. 261.

11 e'qæ man hâu tsbhi'æ jœ'qsgheræ. 12 ghef mikh mi'qæ a'ndel. dær æuræ ['old man'] dogh dat. 15 dæ verkæs hœ'y'æ. 18 vādær, ik han berqkikh [? German *bengel-lich*, 'like a rascal'] ghæzæ'ndight an dær ni'mæl. 22 breqt hem dæ bœ'istæ montuur, en trekt dæi hem an; gheft hem næ req a'qon ['on the'] naqk ['hand'] 'n shoq ['shoes'] a'qæ puurtæ ['feet,' either an interchange of *f* and *p*, or related to Dutch *pooten*, paws; in Zeeland (puurtæn puurtæs) are hands, and in Leeuwarden, in children's language, both hands and feet are called (puurtæn, puurtækas) or (puurtæn, puurtækas); compare the English nursery term, 'little patches']. 23 en fet kâuf. — [This specimen contains only 23 verses.]

XVI. NEDERLAND, in English THE NETHERLANDS or kingdom of HOLLAND. I. 265.

[Winkler prefers calling the present kingdom of Holland, the North Netherlands, and the kingdom of Belgium, the South Netherlands. This is chiefly because the whole language is Low German. See No. XXVIII.]

XVII. LIMBURG, North-Netherlandish or Dutch portion. I. 269.

51. *Maastricht*, town (50n51, 5e42). I. 272.

11 daa bhaas ins næ maan, dee nat tbhii zœæns. 12 æn duu verdæ'ldæn ær zæ ghoot o'ndær z'n tbhii zœæns. 15 æm dæ verkæs tæ nœæ'jæ. 18 vaar'dær, ikh nœb tee'ghæ æekh zbhuur ghæzæ'ndigh. 22 briqk se'fæns ['fast,' a Flemish word] æin van dæ berstæ klêi'ær æn doot-æt-æm aan; ghef-æm næ riqk aan z'n vi'qær en doot m shœæn ['sjœæn'] aan z'n vœæt. 23 't vetstæ kaaf. 24 bhant dee zoon van mikh bhaas duut æn nuu is ær bheer ghæv'ondæ. 25 den a'lbhtstæ zoon bhaar op-t feld, æn bhii ær tæræ'k kaam, æn al kort bæ'i z'n huus bhaar, ny'rden ær daa zi'qæ æn dænsæ. 27 æær broor. 29 æm m'n vœæn ins ['onee'] tæ trakteeræ ['treat']. 31 ny'r ins nêi, joq, dikh bis altiit bæ'i mikh.

52. *Sittard*, town (51 n 0, 5 e 52). I. 277.

11 næ minsh heet tbhee zœæn. 12 æn hee vœrde'ldæn æ'qær nœæn-t ghôut. 15 æm dæ verkæs tæ æœ'ræ ['heed,' (n) lost, (d) changed to (j)]. 18 vaar'dær, ikh nœb ghæzuun'igh, tee'ghær æekh. 22 briq nuu rekht tuu zi ghôu ['good,' W.] klee æn doogh zæ-m aan, æn gjheef æœm næ riqk aan ziin enj en shunn aan dæ vœæt. 23 't vit kâuf. 24 bhent miinæ zoon bhaar doot, en zæ nœbæn-m bheer ghefuurnjæ. 25 æn dæn æaurtstæ zoon dee bhaar in -t feldj, æn bhii ær eevesh [Dutch *heemvaders*, 'homewards'] koom, duu nœærden heet-æz zi'qæn en-t dænsæn. 27 dii brôur. 29 om-dat ikh mit miin tœæn'j ookh ins dæ gjhek [Dutch *gek*, German *geck*, English *quack*, here for 'mad fun'], koos af-gjheevæ. 31 kindj, duu bis altiit bi mikh. — [The Limburgers pronounce *g*=(gh) in Dutch as (gjh) or nearly (j), and also palatalise *d*, *n*, and change *st*, *sl*, *sn*, into (sh), (shl), (shn). Possibly the (dj) may become (dzh).]

53. *Roermond*, town (51 n 12, 6 e 0). I. 280.

11 éi'næ zœekoræ mins had tbhee zœæn. 12 æn he dæi'ldæ nœær -t ghôod. 15 æm dæ verkæs tæ nœæ'jæ. 18 vaar'dær, igh nœb zœen'j ghædaan tee'ghan ægh. 22 briqt vaart 't berstæ klêid mi, æn doot 't hom aan, æn gheft éi'næn riqk aan ziin nandj en skhoon aan dæ vœæt. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant deezæ miinæ zoon bhaas doot, æn is tæræ'k ghæv'onnæ. 25 æn ziinæn ældstæn zoon bhas in-t veldj,

ən bhii dēē kbhaam ən kort bii-t huus kbhaam, hœærdə hēē zank ['song'] ən dans. 27 œær broor. 29 det igh mit miin vrœnj éins læstigh zœen kos. 31 kindj, duu bœs a'ttiid bii migh.

54. *Tenlo*, town (51 n 22, 6 e 10). I. 283.

11 éine zœærkəə mins had tbhee zœæn. 12 ən hēē déi'ldə œær-tghood. 15 œm də verkəs tə hnujə. 18 vaardər, ik heb zœnt ghədaan tēē'ghən ogh. 22 brœq bedéin [*bed* for *med*, 'with one,' 'at once'] -t bœstə kléid néi, ən doot t-œm aan, gheef éinə riqk aan ziin hand, ən skhoon aan də vœæt. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant deezə miin zoon bhaas dóoad, ən is tæræk ghəvœndə. 25 ən ziinən a'ldstə zoon bhas in -t veld, ən bhie dēē kbhaam ən kort be'j-t nuus kbhaam, hyy'ærdə hēē zaqk ən dans. 29 det ik mit miin vriundən éins læstigh ziin kos. 31 kind, dikh bis a'ttiid be'j migh ən't miint ['mine'] is-t tiint ['thine'].

55. *Weert*, town (51 n 16, 5 e 43). I. 286.

11 daa bhaas nə mins, dēē háai tbhee zœæn. 12 ən hēē skhe'də -t in də helft. 15 met də verkan. 18 vaardər, ikh heb zœnj ghədaan vœr œekh. 22 lœupjt ən haalt voort 't skhoonstə kléid ən doogh t-œm aan, aukh éinen riqk aan ziin viqər ən skhoon aan ziin vœæt. 23 ə vet kaaf. 24 bhant miinə zœ'n, dēē ghə zœetj, bhaas dóœat ən bhe ne'bən œm vrœm [Dutch *wederom*, 'again'] ghəvœnjə. 25 mœr ['but'] bhii-d'n aæ'elstə [*oa* and *ao* are here said to be between *o* and *a*, but *oa* nearer *o*, and *ao* nearer *a*; I have hence transcribed them as (aa, aa) respectively] zœ'n uut 't veljd nœ'vœrs [Dutch *huiswaarts*, 'housewards,' homewards] kbhaam, ən z'n nuus naa'dordjən, hœærdjən hēē-t ghœskhe'l ['sound'] van-t ghœpœœ'l ən -t danə. 27 œær broor. 29 œm ens met miin vrœnj tə fié'stə. 31 miinə zœ'n, umdət jēē bi mikh ghæblii'və zœetj es al miin ghood vœr dikh.

56. *Stamproi*, village (51 n 12, 5 e 43). I. 290. [This is a specimen of the Kempenland, a large, mostly barren and heathy district in Dutch and Belgian Limburg, which, owing to isolation, has preserved many peculiar words and expressions.]

11 'nə mins ha tbhii' zœæn. 12 ən ne vœrdé'ljdən zi ghood œqər éin. 15 œm verəkən tə hœææn. 18 vaarjær, [formerly (tāai)] ikh heb zœnj ghēdaan tēē'ghə œekh. 22 lœupjt mœr ghóu ['quickly'] də bœstə kléiær naa'lan, ən dootj zœ-n-œm aan: dootj œm éinən riqk in zin viqər ən shoön aan zin vœæt. 23 het vet kaaf. 24 bhant də zœon dēē ik me'ndjən ['minded,' thought] det doo't bhas, es bhrom vœnjen. 25 ziinən aadstə zœon bhaas op-t veldj, bhii dēē néi'vœrz ['homewards'] kbhaam, ən doœndər bi-t huus kwaam, hœærdjən-t-ær det binnən -t spœœl ghœq ['heard that within play was going on']. 27 œær broor. 29 œm ens met miin vrœnj kœræmis ['Christmas,' feasting] tə naa'æn ['hold']. 31 joq, duu best a'ttiid bi mikh.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 17 zeet *sagt* [but 12 *zagt* (zaght)]. 18 zegghen *sagen*. 19 mi' *mehr*. 20 kompas-i [*compassion*, used also in Belgium and Zeeland, where *medelijden* is as unknown as *kompassi* is in northern Netherlands.]

XVIII. NOORD-BRABANT, in English DUTCH BRABANT. I. 294. [Closely related to No. XXX. 152, etc.]

57. *Helmond*, town (51 n 28, 5 e 39).

11 œə mens haa tbhœ'ə zœns. 12 ən tuu niil zə va'dər dái'liq ['dealing,' dividing]. 15 dii mak'tə n'm vœer'kœshyy'jær. 18 va'dər, 'k heb-'r nœ'və ghədaan [German *ich habe neben gethan*, I have done beside—what is right, i.e. wrong, a euphemism] ti'ghə áu. 22 ghaa gráu ['go quickly'] in nœis ən vat 't skhaa'nstə jœ'skə, det i -t aandy ['œn-də,' don] ən skhuun ən z'n vœu'æt: ən nái dee-m œən riqk ən z'n hand. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mœne jœ'qə niejær bhaar zoovœœ'l as dænd ən náu heb k-m bhœœm [Dutch *wiederom*, again]. 25 ən zœnən áartstə jœ'qə bhas op-t veld, ə as i tóis [(tə óis) to the house] kbhamp, nœ'vœrdən ii -t z'qə ən't danə. 27 áu brua'jær. 29 dœr ik m'n karmœaa'tə op kos trakteerə. 31 mœnə jœ'qə, áu heb ik evəl al zə lœ'və niijær, ən wæ ik heb is evəl ook t-áu.

58. *Sambeek*, village in the north-east part of North Brabant, the

so-called Land of Knik (51n37, 5e58). I. 299.

11 dər bhaas-əs ['was once,' (əs) 'is the remains of eens] 'n mins dii tbhee zoons hāj. 12 ən də vaa'dər dēi'ldə z'n ghuud en ghaaf-'m ziin porsii-. 15 om də veerkəs tō hœw-jən. 18 vaa'dər, 'k-hōb bi'ter ghœw-ndight tœw-ghlōn ōu. 22 haa'l-s gāu ['quickly'] mē zō'ndaghsə ['Sunday's'] spœ'lōn yyt dā kiis ən trek-'m dii-s an, ən duu-'m enən riqk an ziin hant en skhyyn ən dā vyyt. 23 't vētə kalf. 24 bhaant dœw-zə miinē zoon bhaas doot, ən ii is bher ghaw-ndə. 25 en dā āurstə zoon bhaas in-t veld, maar tuun i kort bāi hys kwam, hœw-rdē ii-t ghēzi-q ən gheda'ns. 27 nu bryyr. 29 om ris ['once,' apparently *daar-eens*, German *darcinst*] vroo'lik met mō vryndə tō bheezə. 31 hœw-əs juq, jōi bint ən blēift a-ltiid bāi mee.

59. *Oorschot*, hamlet (51 n 30, 5 e 18). I. 302.

11 ənə mins hā tbhee zœw-ns. 12 ən dā vaa-jər dēi'ldə mēē w-ljə [contraction of Dutch *hunlieden*, 'them'] af. 15 op dā verkas tō pāsə ['attend']. 18 vaa-jər, 'k hēē-t'r neev'ghēdāā'n 'k bin ənə slēkhtē mins. 22 laq mē dā bēstē keel [Dutch *keel*, a peculiar frock worn by the Brabanters] ən laāt i 'm a'nskiit-ən dūn-'m nē riq aān zōnē hand ən skuunē aān dā vuutē. 23 't ghēmēstē kalf. 24 bhant dēw-zə mēnē zœw-ən bhaār dōo'd, ən ii is w-ndē. 25 ən d'n ōurdstē zœw-ən bhaār œp d'n a'kər, ən kwamp op hō'is aān, ən hœw-rdē-ə iit ['some-what'] af huu-t-ər snē'tōrdē ['was jolly']. 27 jō bruur-ər. 29 œm tō vētēer-ē. 31 jōqk, ghee zōit a-ltē'id bāi mee.

60. *Rijsbergen*, village (51n31, 4 e 41). I. 306.

11 nā zee-karē meens hāār tbhee zœw-nōn. 12 ən dā vaa'dər ghāaf aān a'lēbāai bhat-ər tuu'kbham. 15 daār mōs i dā vae'rkəs hyy-jē. 18 vaa'dər, 'k heb misdāān tēw-ghō jōu. 22 haa'l dā bēstē klee' ən skbiit zē 'm aān, ən duut-'m ənē riq aān zōnē vi-qər ən skhuun aān z'n vuutē. 23 't mēst'kalf. 24 bhant dēw-zə zœw-ən bhas doot, ən is bheer ghaw-nē. 25 dēn ōurdstōn zœw-ən bhaār in-t veld, ən tōēn i op dā bherf ['wharf,' barn, home-stead] kbham, hōw-rdēn i dat-ər ghō-spœ'ld ən ghēdānst bhiir. 27 jō'i-lōn

[= Dutch *jelieder* or *jeluiden* for *ulieder*, your] bryyr. 29 om mee mō kam-ō-FAA'dō dēwgh tō maa'ke. 31 jō-qə, ghō'i zōit a-ltiid bāi mee.

61. *Dussen*, village (51 n 44, 4 e 58). I. 309.

11 ins bhas-tər is ['once was there once'] nā miinsk dii-dər ghuud bāi kost, ən dii nā tbhee zœw-ns. 12 en i dēē'ldə aān iilk zōn paart. 15 om mē vērekēs tō hyy-jē. 18 ōo vaa'dər! ik vyyt in mēn naart dā-k grōw-tō zynd gēdāān heb. 22 ghāā'də ghō'i is ['once'] se'fes ['quickly'] -t bēstē stōk klee' yyt dā kaast haa'l-ē ən dā mōtē -m aā'nskhii'tē, ən stekt ənē mōw-jē ['beautiful'] riq aān zōnē vi-qər: briq dan medēē-nē ['at once'] 'n paār skhuun mee, dā ([a] quite short, "as if the consonant were to follow") i nīi lē-qər bē-rēvuut's huut tō ghāān. 23 dā ghēmīstē kalf. 24 nōu-k mēnē jō-qə, dii-k vyyr dōo'd nīil, bheer lēē-vēndigh [the Germans accentuate *leben-dig*] bāi miir magh ziin ə dii-k bheer ghaw-ndē hē. 25 s-bhō'is dā dā lōs vēw'ghēvā'lē bhas, bhas dēn aurdstē zœw-ən op-t veld. tuu i ōn-derdēhā'nd bheer aāa hō'is kbhaamp ən di'khtē bāi bōw-st tō kōmā, dōkht i; bhas dā nōu vēw-n a'lēm dā zē in hō'is maa'kō? 27 z'n jō-qərə bryyr. 29 daār -k mō kam-ōaarts is ['once'] op frakteer-əs kos. 31 zōi'də ghō'i dan nīi a-ltē'i bāi mee?

XIX. GELDERLAND. I. 317.

62. *Betuwe* district, between *Arnhem*, town (51 n 58, 5 e 53), and *Nijmegen*, town (51 n 51, 5 e 52). I. 318. [This may be taken as the type of the Frankish dialects in Gelderland].

11 'n zee-kār miin nad tbhee zœw-ns. 12 en nī dēi'ldē nœw-ly' -t ghuud. 15 œm dā verkes tō hyy-jōn. 18 'k bin 'n zō'ndaar vēw-ər ōu, vaa'dər. 22 bregt 't kārstantyygh ['the chest-dress,' stored clothes] vērtēbbegb miir, ən trekt 't nōm aān ən slēkt-œm-ən riq aān dā vi-qər, ən duut-œm skhuun aān dā vyyt. 23 't vētē kalf. 24 bhent dēw-zə, miin zœw-ən, bhas doot, ə ii is bheer-ghaw-ndōn. 25 ən ziin ōurdstē zœw-ən bhas iin-t veld, ən tuun i naār hys ghuuq, ən dikht bāi dā hōf-stēē kbhiim, tuun nœw-rdē ii-t ghēzi-q ən gheda'ns. 27 uu bryyr. 29 dā-k ook is ['once'] met miin kam-ōaā'dz kos vroo'lik zin. 31 kiind, ghō'i bint a-ltē'id bāi mē.

63. *Tielerwaard*, district (51 n 53, 5 e 27). I. 322.

11 'n mins na thhee zoons. 12 en i deê'ldo nedlîr -t ghuud. 15 om dâ verkes tō nyy'jā. 18 vaa'dor! 'k hee kbhaad ['sîn'] ghadaa'n tee'ghon ou. 22 bre'qdo ghêlîr -t be'stō klee'd en trekt-ot-om aan, en gheeft-om -enon riq aan dâ haand, en skuum aan dâ vuurtō. 23 't vetō kalf. 24 bhant deerz m'n zoon bhas dood, a ii is ghavōndō. 25 en z'n ôrdestā zoon bhas in-t veld, en tuu ii-t nō'is kbham, hœwerdōn ii-t si'qon en-t myzzîk. 27 uu bry'r. 29 dâ-k mee m'n vri'ndō kon vroo'lik bheerzō. 31 kō'ind! ghō'i zō'it a'tō'id bō'i mō'i.

64. *Uddel*, village (52 n 16, 5 e 46). I. 326.

11 'n mins aar'ghens nad thhee jorqons. 12 en nii doq-t ['did it']. 15 om dâ kœwōn tō nyy'jā. 18 vaa'jār, ik heb-t nii zōo best āma'akt met juu. 22 krii'gh-t be'stō ghō'rō'i [or (ghō'rēi), clothing, in Friesland *geroid* is 'horse-cloth'] yyt dâ karstā, en trekt-ot-om an, en steekt-en riqā an z'n vi'qer en laāt ni skhuurnen an duun. 23 't vetstō van dâ kyy'sjās [or (kyy'shas), 'calf,' occurs in other Gelder dialects, but Winkler does not know its origin.] dii bhe bhe'tōrōn ['water,' that is, fatten, eat and drink]. 24 bhant dî'sā miin zōonā bhas yyt dâ tiid, en is bheer ākōmōn. 25 tuu dâ ôldstā joq bi nyys kbham, hœwerdōn nii -n ghēzi'q en ghêbliir as van-en nee'ls viziit. 27 uu brœ'r. 29 dat ik-s met-t jorqō volk khlik ['jollification' same as Dutch *gek*?] sol ha'bōn. 31 jorqōn, ji bheer-rō a'tō'id bi miin.

65. *Nijkerk*, town (52 n 13, 5 e 29). I. 330.

11 'n man dii thhee jorqes nad. 12 en z'n vaa'r dii dee bhat ii-m vrœegh en ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op dâ kœwōn tō pa'sōn. 18 vaa'r, 'k hee nii ghuud ādaa'n tee'ghon juu. 22 bre'q zoo ghōu a jō kynt ['as fast as ye can'] dâ be'stō klee'r iir en trekt 'm dii an, en duut-om-en riq an z'n vi'qer en trekt 'm ook shuurnōn [or (si'urnōn)] an. 23 't iirnstō vetō kalf. 24 bhant deerz joq van mee bhas dood, en nuu nee bhee-m bheer tœrēg avōndōn. 25 dē oustō joq, dii bhas op-t land, en tuu dii bheer op nyys an ghœq, en kort bi nyys kbham, tuu hœwerdōn ii zō zi'qon en dā'nson. 27 z'n brœ'r.

29 dâ -k ook ees met dâ aarē jorqes pleziir kost maarkōn. 31 mō joq, ji binnōn a'tiit bii m'n.

66. *Scherpenzeel*, village (52 n 4, 6 e 30). I. 333.

11 dōr bhas as 'n man dii thhee zuuns nad. 12 en daa ghaf z'n vaa'dōr-om. 15 om dâ vaarkes tō hœwōn. 18 vaa'dōr, 'k het zōn ādaan en juu hee-k slekht bōuaandeld. 22 ghaat daa'dōlik ['quickly'] dâ be'stō klee'r haa'tōn en trekt-om dii an, en duu-n riq an z'n naand en gheeft-om shuun [or (si'um)] an z'n vuurtō. 23 't mēstō kalf. 24 bhant m'n zuun bhas dood, en ii is bheer-om avōndōn. 25 en z'n ôrstō zuun bhas op-t laand, en tuu dii dikht bō'i nyys kbham, hœwerdōn ii zō zi'qon en dā'nson. 27 jō brœ'r. 29 om-s vroo'lik tō bhœ'zōn mit m'n kammeraa'ds. 31 kiind! jii bint a'tōos bō'i mee.

67. *Dinaperlo*, village (51 n 52, 6 e 30). I. 337.

11 iimes nad thhee zōns. 12 en dâ vaa'dōr dē'ldō œwē-t ghuud. 15 œm dâ varkes tō nyy'dōn. 18 vaa'dōr, ik heb avœndighd tee'ghon ou. 22 naalt 't be'stō klee'd en trekt-ot-om an, en dood-om-en a riqk an dâ hand, en skhuurnō an dâ vyy'tō. 23 't vetō kalf. 24 bhant dî'sā miin zōonā bhas dood, en is avō'nōn. 25 en ziin ôldstōn jorqō bhas op-t land, a too ā kort bî [like a short Dutch *i* followed by *j*, possibly (bējah), which is on the way to (bēi bēi)] 't nyys kbham, hœwerdōn nî-t zi'qon en-t dā'nson. 27 ou bry'r. 29 œm met miinō vrēndō vrœo'lik tō bhœ'zōn. 31 kiind, jî bœnt a'tiit bî mî.

68. *Varsereld*, village (51 n 57, 6 e 28). I. 340.

11 iimes nadō thhee zōns [a brighter (that is, open) sound than *o* in French *sonnet*]. 12 en nii dē'ldōn œwē-t ghuud. 15 œm dâ varkens tō nyy'-dōn. 18 vaa'dōr! ik heb avœndighd tee'ghon ou. 22 krii'gh dâ be'stō klee'r iir en duut zō-m an, ste'k-en riqk an zi'nōn hand en skhuurnō an dâ vyy'tō. 23 't mēstō kalf. 24 bhant dî'sōn miinōn zōnā bhas dood, a nii is bheer avō'nōn. 25 en ziinōn ôldstōn zōnā bhas op-t land, en as ee kort bî nyys kbham, hœwerdōn œe-t zi'qon en-t dā'nson. 27 ou bry'r. 29 œm mî met miinō kamōraa'dō vrœo'lik tō maarkōn. 31 kiind, jî bœnt a'tiit bî mî.

69. *Winterswijk*, small town (51 n 58, 6 e 43). I. 342.

11 *daar* bhas *ens-ənə* man, dii *tbbii* zœns *hædə*. 12 *hə'i* għiəq *daarə-mə* *tət* dā *dii-liq* *aa-vər*. 15 *əm* dā *varkens* tō *nyv-ən*. 18 *vaadər*, ik *he-bə* *mə'i* *bəzəndighd* *tævghən* *ōn* [*ōn*] is said to be obscure, that is, close]. 22 *haalt-ən* *nə'i* *pak* *kleerə*, *ən* *treket* 'm *dat* *an*: *dumt-əm-ənə* *gōlden* *riqk* *an* *dən* *vi-qər* *ən* *skhuunə* *an* *də* *vy'tə*. 23 't *məstə* *kalf*. 24 *cemdāt* 'k *mīnə* *zœnə* *bheer* *əkræc-ghən* *he-bə*. 25 *dəno-ldstən* *zœnə* *kbham* *tævghən* *dən* *aa-vond* *van-t* *land*, *ən* *hœer-də*, *dun* *ə* *nogh* *bhiid* *van* *huus* *bhas*, *al* *dat* *ghəzəqk* *ən* *ghəspyy'əl*. 27 *ziin* *brœer*. 29 *əm* *mīn* *vre-də* *tə* *trakteer-ən*. 31 *mīn* *kind*, *dun* *bœstə* *tokh* *altiid* *bə'i* *mə'i*.

70. *Zutfen*, town (52 n 8, 6 e 12). I. 346.

11 *ee-mand* *had* *tbbēe* *zœens*. 12 *ən* *hee* *dēi-ldən* *œer-t* *ghuud*. 15 *əm* dā *varkens* tō *hœer-ən*. 18 *vaadər*, ik *heb* *ghəzəndighd* *tēvghən* *un*. 22 *bregt* *nūr* *voert* 't *bəstə* *kleed* *ən* *doot-ət-əm* *an*, *ən* *gheeft-əm-ən* *riq* *an* *ziin* *hand* *ən* *skhoonən* *an* *də* *voot-ən*. 23 't *ghəməstə* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *dīs-ən* *mīn* *zœen* *bhas* *dood*, *ən* *is* *ghəvond-ən*. 25 *ən* *ziin* *o-ldstən* *zœen* *bhas* *in-t* *veld*, *ən* *too* *ee* *kbham* *ən-t* *nyys* *naar-dərdən*, *hœer-dən* *ee-t* *ghəzəq* *ən-t* *ghodəns*. 27 *un* *brœer*. 29 *dat* *ik* *met* *mīn* *vriindən* *vœœ-lik* *mokh* *bhæv-zən*. 31 *kind*, *i* *bint* *altiid* *bii* *mīn*.

XX. UTRECHT. I. 349.

71. *Soest*, village (52 n 10, 5 e 18). I. 350.

11 'n *zeekər* *mīns* *had* *tbbēe* *zuurnə*. 12 *ən* *nī* *dēi-ldə* *nem* 't *ghuud*. 15 *əm* dā *varkes* tō *bhēi-ən*. 18 *vaa-dər*, ik *heb* *əzəndighd* *tævghən* *nun*. 22 *briqt* dā *bəstə* *kleerə* *nūr* *ən* *dun* *hœm* *dii* *aan*, *ən* *gheeft* 'n *riq* *aan* *z'n* *hand* *ən* *skuurnə* *aan* *də* *beemə*. 23 't *ghəməstə* *half*. 24 *bhant* *deezə* *miq* *zuun* *bhas* *dood*, *ən* *i* *is* *əvə-qən*. 25 *z'n* *əv-stə* *zuun* *bhas* *in-t* *veld*, *ən* *tun* *dii* *kbham* *ən* *dikht* *bə'i* *-t* *nuns* *kbham*, *noordə* *nii* *-t* *gheziq* *ən-t* *ghəraas* ['noise']. 27 *un* *brœer*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mit* *miq* *vriindən* *skik* *kon* *he-bən*. 31 *kiqd!* *ji* *bint* *altiid* *bi* *miq* ['the (i) in (miq) is somewhat longer than the usual short (i), so that the word sounds between (miin) and

(miq); this pronunciation of (n) as (q) was usual in peasant speech of the xvth and xvith centuries in other Dutch dialects, especially in Holland. It is still found in some dialects on the lower Rhine."]

72. *Utrecht*, city (52 n 5, 5 e 7). I. 353. [Older dialect, formerly common in Utrecht, and still spoken by older small-tradesmen or workmen.]

11 *dər* *bhas* *is* 'n *ma'n* *en* *dii* *ad* *tbbēe* *zœens* [(*ma'n*), "clear, or open short *a* rather lengthened, followed by obscure *e*," (ad), "the *h* very weakly aspirated, and sometimes quite mute"]. 12 *in* *i* *dī-ldə* *zə* *də* *buul* ['household stuff, all property]. 15 *əm* dā *verəkəs* tō *hœer-ə*. 18 *vaa-vər*, ik *heb* *ghəzəndigh* *tævghən* *jou*. 22 *briq* dā *bəstə* *kleerə*, *in* *trek* *zə-m* *an*, *in* *ghif-əm-ən* *riq* *an* *z'n* *ma'nd* *in* *skhuurnə* *an* *z'n* *beemə*. 24 *bhant* *mə* *zœen* *bhas* *daad*, *in* *ii* *is* *bhœer-əm* *ghəvondə*. 25 *maar* *z'n* *əv-stə* *zœen* *bhas* *op-t* *la'nd*, *in* *tun* *dii* *dikh* *bə'i* *-t* *nəs* *kbham* *tun* *haardən* *ii-t* *ghəzəq* *in* *də* *dəns*. 27 *jə* *brunr*. 29 *əm* *mīmə* [for (mit *mə*), that is, (met *mə'i*)] *kə-məraas* *pret* ['feast'] tō *maax-kə*. 31 *jə-qə*, *jə'i* *bint* *altiid* *bə'i* *mee*.

73. *Utrecht* city, I. 357. [See specimen 72. This is the dialect of the lowest classes heard in low pot-houses in the back slums. As this does not follow the verses enough to give parallels, and is curious, I transcribe the whole.]

dər *bhas* *əs* ['once'] 'n *man*, *dii* *had* *tbbēe* *zyy-us*. *də* *jə-qstə* *zee* ['said']: *vaa-dər*, *ghee* *mə* *m'n* *œrfənīs* ['inheritance, Dutch *erfenis*], *daa* *ghiaid* *ik* *də* *bhə'i-ə* ['wide'] *bhœer-eld* *in*. *z'n* *vaa-dər* *dee-t* ['did it']; *in* ['and'] 'n *horts-i* ['short-time'] *dər* *ən* *shœr-t* *jokhi* *vy't* ['the young one cut out, went off']. *maax* ['but'] *al* *hœe'l* *ghou* ['all whole quickly'] *bhas* *al* *z'n* *lii-və* *ghe-lets-i* ['money'] *nax* *də* *maax* *ən* *after* *the* *mouth*, 'swallowed up]. *də* *ghroo-stə* *por-sii* ['portion'] *na-də* *də* *mōo-ə* *mēs-iis* ['the pretty misses, girls'] 'm *aigh-əv-ko* ['stolen from him'], *bhant* *dər* *ghoq* *dii* *rēidy-yr* ['constantly'] *nax* *tun*. *nōu* *de'e* *dii* *z'n* *bes* ['his best'] *om* *i-bhērs* ['somewhere'] *ən-t* *bherk* *tə* *kō-mə*, *maax* *i* *kon* *nii-bhērs* *tōr-ekh* ['to-right, he could succeed

nowhere] omdat i dər zoo rōtigh
yy'tzagħ ['because he looked so
nasty']. nēi liip lāns dā hy'y-zə ['he
ran along the houses'] tē skhōoi-jə om
'n snēe'tsi brāad ['to beg for a slice
of bread']. op-t lāqə les ['at last']
kham dii bēi iimand, dii -m nāa-t
land lii khaan ['let go'] om dā vērkes
tə hy'y-jə. dā fōnd i 'n erch [Dutch
erg, 'terrible'] lēe' ['bad'] bheer in i
dōkh ['thought'] in z'n āighes: bhāa
bin ik tuu ghekom-mə? ik zee maar
bheer nāa m'n vāa-dər tuu khaan, in
vāa-ghə ott ii m'n as knekh bhil
ghəbryy'-kə, bhant nōu lēi-k tokh
erōmāui.

zoo ghezēēd, zoo ghedaan; maar
tuu z'n vāa-dər-m an zagħ kom-m, liipt
i āighes nāa-m tuu in hy'y'ldə van
blōfiskap. nēi nad net ['exactly']
'n kār-lēi vet gheme's, in daa mos voort
gheslakh bhōrdə in dər bhiir 'n khroot
fees ['a great feast'] gheviird ['cele-
brated,' German, *gefeiert*]. tuu dā
ōu-stə zyy'n nā hy'y's kham, dōkht i:
bhat zōu dər tokh tē duun bheezə dā
zə zōo 'n pret hē-bā, in i vāa-ghdō-t
an 'n kne'khi, ən dii vōrtēldə-m 't
nēē'ldə ghəvārl. tuu bhiird i erkh
boos ['angry'], bhant i bhas 'n rekhto
lēē'jas ['bad one'] z'n vāa-dər ghoq
nāa-m tuu, in zee: jō'khi, kom nōu
tokh binə, bhant jə bruur, dii bhekh
khabheers is ['who has been away'],
is bheer tōrə'kh khōkom-mə! maar i
bhōu mī, in i zee: nēēn! ik eb
āltə'i khund ['good,' well] op'ghepās
['given heed'], in jee heb nogh nōoit
'n gēi'tsi ['little goat'] voor mee
gheslakh, maar voor hem, dii al z'n
lēē-və mī khōdeor'kh nēit, in dii al jə
gheld bēi dā nuurən ghəbro'kh nēit,
voor zōo-n rōtzagħ maak i zōo 'n
sta'ntsi ['for such a nasty fellow you
make such state'].

XXI. OVERIJSEL. I. 360.

74. Oldenzaal, city (52 n 19, 6 e 56). I. 362.

11 eene hārde tbhee zāns. 12 en
nā deēldə eer 't ghlood. 15 əm dā
zbhiinā tē nēōrdən. 18 vāa-dər, ik
nē-bə zēnd ādaan tēeghən ōu. 22
bre'qət voort 't kistentygħ an trekt-
ət-ən an, ən doot-em-ən riqk an dā
nand ən skhōo an dā vōertə. 23 't
ghēm-stə kalf. 24 bhant dēs-ən miinən
zə-nə bhas doot, ən nēē is bheer əvō-n-
dən. 25 ən ziin-ən o'ldən zə-nə bhas
in-t veld, ən dōo ə bā 't nuus kbham,
nōrd-ət ziq'ən ən dānsən. 27 ōu

brēcər. 29 əm met mīnə vrēndə
bhi-lə tē nē-bən. 31 kind, dōu bis
āltōos bā mās.

75. Deventer, town (52 n 15, 6 e 9). I. 374.

11 zee'kər iimand nad tbhee zāns. 12
ən nēēdēi'ldə-t. 15 əm dā vārken
op tē pāson. 18 vāa-dər, ik nēb
əzēndighd vēcər uu. 22 bre'q daardelik
['workfully,' immediately] -t bēstə
kleed niir ən dōo 'm dat an, ən dōo-
əm-ən riq an dā hand ən skhōō-nən an
dā vōortē. 23 't ghēm-stə kalf. 24
bhant deēze jōq bhas doot, ən is əvō-n-
dən. 25 ən ziin o'ldstə zə-nə bhas in-t
veld, ən tuun dēē kbhamp ən-t nyys
nāa'dərdən, hēcərdən-ēē-t ghōzər'q ən-t
ghēdāns. 27 uu brēcər. 29 əm
mīn met mīn vri'ndən -s ['once']
vrēc-lik tē māk-ən. 31 kind, i bint
āltiud bii mī.

76. Zwolle, city (52 n 31, 6 e 5). I. 378.

11 dər bhas-əs ən ['was once a']
mān dii tbhii zāns ad ['(a) is the short-
est possible long a, not the short a of
Dutch *tadder*, but nearly so']. 12 ən
dā vā-dər deēldə ziin ghūud in tbhii-ən.
15 əm op dā vārkes tē pāson. 18
vā-dər, k-eb-t eel, eel slekht əmākt.
22 alt ['fetch'] 't bēstə kleed op ən
dunt-ət-əm an, stēekt-ən riqk ən ziin
viqər ən trekt-əm skūn-ən an. 23 't
vētə kalf. 24 bhant mīn zə-nə bhas
doot, ən is əvō-n-dən. 25 dā nōldstə
[(n) prefixed, but (h) omitted in (ad,
eel, yys)] zə-nə bhas nāa bytən, ə
tuu ə bheer dikht bēi -t yys kbham,
əōrdən ēē-t ziq'ən an dānsən. 27
uu brēcər. 29 əm-s-ən fēcēi'n tē
o'ldən met mīn vri'ndən. 31 kind, i
bint āltiud bā mās.

77. Zwartsluis, town (52 n 38, 6 e 12). I. 381.

11 ən vā-dər ad tbhii zāns. 12
ən nā dii'ldə əōr -t ghūut. 15 əm
dā vārken tē bhēi'dən. 18 vā-dər,
ik eb əzēndighd tēeghən uu. 22
bre'q 't bēstə kleet iir, ən dunt 't əm
ən en gheeft əm 'n riqk ən ziin aant
['hand'] ən skhūn-ən an dā vuurtən.
23 't ghēm-stə kalf. 24 bhant mīn
zə-nə bhas doot, ən is bheer əvō-n-
dən. 25 ən ziin o'ldstə zə-nə bhas in-t laant
ən as dā dightə bā -t yys kbhamp,
əōrdə dā -t ghōzār'q ən -t ghōrāas.
27 uur bryr. 29 dā-k iis mēt mīn
vrēndən vrēc-lik kon bheezən. 31
kiint, i bin āltiud bā mās.

XXII. DRENTHE. I. 387.

78. *Meppel*, town (52 n 42, 6 e 11). I. 388.

11 nā zee'kər mēnsə hā'də t̃bhēi zœəns. 12 ən hā'i gha'f -t œm. 15 ən daər mēs hā'i op də zbhii'nən pāsən. 18 vœə'dər, ik hē'bə ghroot kbhaad ədaa'n. 22 hœəl ghôu 'n zœndspak ['the Sunday's pack' of clothes] ən laāt 'm dat əntre'kən, ən gheef 'm ook 'n riqk ən ziin vi'qər ən nœ'ə skhoo'nən. 23 't dī-kstə kalf. 24 bhant ik meēndə dat miin zœə'nə dood bhas, ən-k heb 'm bheer əvœrēdən. 25 də ɔldstə zœə'nə bhas ər neet bā'i, ən duu dee bā'i hys kbham hœœrdə hā'i dat alarm. 27 ziin brœœr. 29 œm 's plezi'r tə maa'kən met miin kamer-aats. 31 miin kiind! i kœnt a'ltiəd bā'i mē'i blii-vən.

79. *Zweelo*, village (52 n 48, 6 e 44). I. 391.

11 daər bhas iis 'n mœəns ən dii hā'də t̃bhii zœəns. 12 ən də vaa'dər ghaaf hœm ziin part van -t ghui'd. 15 om ziin zbhii'nən tə hyy'ən. 18 'k hē'bə zœndighd vœœr dā'i. 22 krii'ghə mē'i na'ndigh 't bēstə ghui'd iis nut 't kammet ['cabinet'], ən trek 't hœm an, ən gheef əm-ən riqk ən ziin vi'qər ən skhui'n ən də vuurtən. 23 't vœ'tə kalf. 24 bhant miin zœə'n bhas dood, ən is bheer-vœnən. 25 ən ziin ɔldstə zœə'n bhas krek ['direct,' correctly, exactly] in-t veld, ən duu mi diklit bā'i huus kbham, duu hœœrde mi dat zə zœ'qən ən daa'nstən. 27 diin brœœr. 29 da -k ər met miin klantən iis plēzi'r van kœn maa'kən. 31 dōu ziis jaa a'ltiəd bā'i mē'i.

XXIII. GRONINGEN. I. 396.

80. *Sellingen*, village (52 n 57, 7 e 10). I. 400.

11 dər bhas éis 'n man ən dā'i nar t̃bhēi zœəns. 12 ən nē dēi'ldə hœœr -t ghout tōu. 15 bhaa'r nē op də zbhii'nə pāsən skol. 18 'k kan-t nikh vœœr juu verantbhoorden. 22 ghaat hən ən haalt 't a'larbēstə kléid, ən dōu hom dat an; dōu hom ook-ən riq an də vi'qər ən steevəls ['boots'] ən də vœurtə [with these 'boots on the feet' compare the 'shoes on the legs,' frequent hereafter, see spec. 101]. 23 't a'larbēstə kalf. 24 'k dərkhēd nikh a'nders as dat hē dood bhas, ən syynā'i leeft tokh nogh nā'i is tot bhest ən is tər nōu bheer. 25 ən də ɔldstə zœə'n

bhas op-t land, ən dōu dā'i bi huus kbham, hœœrdə hā'i daa'r zi'qən ən dan'sən. 27 juun brœ'ir [compare (rœ'ip) called (vrœ'igh) asked]. 29 dat 'k bhat plēzi'r maa'kən kœn. 31 miin joq! dōu bist jaa a'ltiəd bi mi.

81. *Oldambt*, district, containing *Winschoten*, town (53 n 8, 6 e 57). I. 404.

11 ər bhas is 'n vaa'dər dēi t̃bhēi zœəns na. 12 ən ɔ'i mōuk dat elk bi ziin part kbham. 15 om op ziin zbhii'nən tə pāsən. 18 'k heb zœ-n-dighd tee'ghən juu. 22 ghaat i hēn ən trek hom 't nœ'ə zœndaghspek an, ən dōut i hom ən riq an ziin vi'qər, ən skōurən ən də vœurtən. 23 't vœ'tə kalf. 24 bhant dī-sə miin zœə'n bhas stœrvœn, ən is bheer tə rekhtə. 25 ən ziin ɔldstə zœə'n bhas op-t land, ən daa dēi hēn ghœq ən si'kom bi ['close by,' Winkler has not been able to trace this word] huus bhas hœœrdə ɔ'i-t spœœ'lən ən dan'sən. 27 diin brœœr. 29 da -k mi mit miin kaməraatən éis blii'd kœn maa'kən. 31 miin joq, duu bist dagh ən dœœr ['day and night,' local] biimii.

[Winkler remarks that most writers in this and the Groningen dialect write *ij* = (ɔ'i) in many words which have *ie* = (ii) or *ee* = (ve, e) in Dutch. In his opinion the real sound is (éi), not (ɔ'i), nor (ái). But where *ei* is an original diphthong, as in *ei*, *meid*, *leiden* = *egg*, *maid*, *suffer*, the sound approaches (ái), and cannot be considered anything else in some mouths. Such remarks are important in respect to the confusion of writing *ei*, *ai*, in Early English and modern High German. In these transcriptions my (éi, ái, ɔ'i, ɔ'i) indicate Winkler's *ei*, *ai*, *y*, *ui*.]

82. *Woltersum*, village (53 n 16, 6 e 44). I. 408.

11 dər bhas áis 'n mensk dā'i nar t̃bhēi zœəns [áis, dā'i, t̃bhēi], specially identified with German *ai* and nearly Dutch *y*. 12 in nāi dāi'ldə hœœr -t ghoud. 15 om zbhii'nən tə bhai'dən. 18 vaa-ər, ik heb zœndighd vœœr juu. 22 briqt ghau 't bēstə kláid, in dōut 't hom an; in gheelt 'n riq an ziin nand, in skōurən om -ə vœurtən. 23 't vœt kalf. 24 bhant dī-zə zœə'n van mi bhas dood, ən is vœnən. 25 in ziin ɔldstə zœə'n bhas in-t land, in dōu ə dikht bi huus kbham, hœœrd ce myzzi'k in dan'sən. 27 juun brœ'ir [also (vrœ'igh), but (ráip)]. 29 da -k

mit miin vrœndon bliid ['blithe']
bheerzon kon. 31 kiind, duu bi'so
a'ttiid bii mi.

83. *Utrum*, village (53 n 22,
6 e 19). I. 411.

11 daas bhas râis ['once'] 'n man dâi
tbhâi zœens naar. 12 en nâi dâi'ldo
-t ghôud tœskhon [t'kh] nœer. 15 om
op zbhii'nôn to paarsen. 18 vaa'dor,
ik heb mi bœzœ'nighd an juu. 22
briqt 't œvœnstaans ['at the hour,' at
once] 't a'lorbesto pak klâiror neer,
en trekt 't nom an, en dœkht nom 'n
riq om vi'qor, en skœurnôn om vœrton.
23 't vœto kalf. 24 om di'so miin zœen
bhas dood, en is bheervœnôn. 25 in
ziin o'ldsto zœen bhas op-t laand, en
dœu dâi dikht bi muus kbham, nœer'do
nœer zi'qon en daarnsôn. 27 juun
brœ'ir [but (vrœugh) asked]. 29 om
mit miin vrœndon râis plezâir to
maa'kôn. 31 kiind, dœu bi'so ja a'ttiid
bii mi.

84. *Groningen*, city (53 n 13,
6 e 34). I. 415.

11 dœr bhas râis 'n man dâi tbhêi
zœens nad. 12 en dœu dâi'ldo hâi
nœer uit bhat zœ krii'ghôn kœnôn.
15 om op dœ zbhii'nôn to paarsen. 18
vaa'dor, ik heb zœndighd tœ'ghôn
jœu. 22 breg hiir vort 't besto klêid
en trek 't nom an, en dœu-œm-œn riq
om ziin vi'qor, en skhœurnôn an ziin
vœrton. 23 't vœto kalf. 24 bhant
deezœ zœen van mœ'i bhas zoo ghôud
as dood, en is bheervœndon. 25 dœ
o'ldsto zœen bhas jvyst op-t veld œ dœu
œ dikht bœ'i nyys kbham, nœer'do hâi
dœ myyzûik, en nœu zœ dœnsten in dœ
rii'ghœ ['rows,' as in country dances].
26 jœu brœ'ir [also (rœ'ip), (vrœ'igh),
called, asked]. 29 om met miin vrœn-
dôn bhat plezêir [printed *plezêir*, I
have presumed by mistake for *plezêir*]
to maa'kôn. 31 jœ'qœ, dœu bist ja
a'ttiid bœ'i mœ'i. [Winkler remarks
that *t, v, s, f*, are constantly pronounced
by the small tradesmen as (*d, b, z, v*).]

85. *Den Ham*, village (53n17,
6 e 27). I. 419.

11 zœ'kœr man nad tbhêi [not (âi),
rather (êi)] zœens. 12 in mœ'i vœr-
dâi'ldo -t ghôud œndor nœer. 15 om
op dœ zbhii'nôn to paarsen. 18 vaa'dor,
ik heb zœndighd tœ'ghœ juu. 22 breg
hiir vot ['forth'], 't besto klêid, in
trek nom dat an, in dœu-œm-œn riq an
ziin nad, in skhœurnôn an ziin vœrton.
23 't vœto kalf. 24 bhant di'sœ zœen

van mi bhas dood, œ is bheer vœnôn.
25 maa'r dœ o'ldsto zœen bhas op-t land,
in dœu dâi bœ'i nyys kbham, nœer'dœr
-t zi'qon in dœnson. 27 juun brœ'ir
[(rœ'ip) called, (vrœugh) asked]. 29
dat 'k ook râis met miin vrœndon ple-
zêir maa'kôn kon. 31 jœ'qœ, duu
bi'sœ a'ttiid bi mi.

86. *Grijskerk*, village (53n16,
6 e 17). I. 421

11 'n man nad tbhii jœ'qœs. 12 en
mœ'i partœ nœer 't ghund. 15 met dœ
zbhii'nôn. 18 vaa'dor, ik heb vœr-
keerd nandeld tœ'ghôn jœu. 22 briqt
niir daa'delk dœ besto klee'rôn, in
laax-œm dii aantrekôn, in gheeft-œn
riq om ziin vi'qor, in skœurnôn an œ
vœrton. 23 't bestœ kalf. 24 bhant
miin jœ'qœ bhas dood, in nœu heb 'k
niir bheervœnôn. 25 in ziin o'ldste
zœen bhas naar 't land, in duu dii
bheerom kbham, in dikht bœ'i nyys
bhas, nœer'dœ mœ'i -t alarm. 27 jœu
brœur [(riip) called, (vrœugh) asked].
29 om mit miin vrœndon-s pleziir to
maa'kôn. 31 miin jœ'qœ, jœu bin
ja a'ttiid bœ'i mœ'i.

XXIV. FRIESLAND. I. 424.

a. FRIESIAN IN FRIESLAND. I. 428.

87. *Friesland*, province (53n5,
5 e 50). I. 433. [The present *Dia-
lectus Communis* of the whole province.
The spelling of the original is that of
G. Colnjon, and no explanation is
given, being of course well known—in
Friesland, as this dialect is spoken with
tolerable uniformity over the whole
province, except at Hindeloopen and in
Schiermonnikoog. Hence my interpre-
tation is more than usually doubtful.
—The above was written before I had
had the assistance of my two authori-
ties from Grouw (see the next speci-
men), but I let it stand, together with
the interpretation I had given, in order
to shew the difficulties I had to contend
with, and the degree of approximation
to correctness which my renderings may
be supposed to furnish.]

11 dœr wi'r [the (w) is very doubtful
to me, but Winkler speaks of the Fries-
ian *w* being the same as the English,
and hence I have used it for this *dia-
lectus communis*, but I think (bh) more
probable] i'nkœar œn man (minkœ) end
dâi ni' twaa so'nôn. 12 œnd mœ'i
di'ldœ niarœn 't ghund. 15 um dœ

ba'rghen to wéi'dæn. 18 héit ['father'], ik hab suu'ndigha tshiin [written *tsjin*, and may be (tsjin, tsim, tsin), and the last is probable] ju. 22 briq forth 't be'sta pak kléan jhír [written *hjir*, possibly only (jir, jiir) is said] and tséan nim dái o'n, and jón nim en riq o'n sin hand, and sko'n o'n dā fo'tan. 23 't me'sta kéal. 24 whent

[written *luent*] di'sə so'n fen mǝi wi'r déa, and nuu is werfuu'n. 25 and sin a'ldstə so'n wi'r in-t field, and doo dái néi nuus ghūq, and dhi'khtə [written *thichte*] bǝi nuus ka'm, néar-də nǝi -t sín-qən and -t duu'nsən. 27 diin brō'r. 29 dat ik méi miin friú'ndə ek ris froo'lik wee'sə mu'khtə. 31 be'rn, duu bist a'ltid bǝi mǝi.

87*. *Grouw*, village (53 n 6, 5 e 50).

[Mention is made of this place in Winkler I. 428, but no specimen is given. I was fortunate enough to find two London merchants, who were born in this village, and who spoke the dialect as boys—Mr. de Fries, and Mr. van de Meulen, and they were so kind as to read me the specimen 87 separately. I made notes of their pronunciation at the time, and wrote out the following attempt to reproduce it, on the next day. But on hearing the sounds for the first time, with only one reading from each native, I have doubtless made many errors. The following will, however, probably give a sufficiently approximate representation of the real sounds. As this dialect is, of all others, most interesting in relation to our own country speech, I give the whole parable at length. The fractures should be especially noticed, and at the same time the difficulty I felt occasionally in determining which vowel had the stress, as in English (p. 1312). The length of the vowels varied with the two authorities in several cases. The *v* seems to be generally (v), varying to (f) rather than (y), and I have written (f) throughout, following Winkler's spelling. The *v* seems to be (bh), judging rather from the English of my authorities, who did not then seem to use (w) at all. But a clear (uá), etc., occurs, so that there is a false appearance of (wa). The (sh, tsh, dzh) seemed to be clearly developed out of *sj, tj, dj*, although occasionally I seemed to hear (si-, ti-, di-). I did not attempt to distinguish (t, d) from (t, d), but I believe the dental form is correct. Where I have written (j), I did not hear a trill, but only a vocal effect. Sometimes the *r* was quite lost. There was no great certainty about (s, z), or about final (t, d), and the two authorities did not always agree. The *g* was certainly not

always (gh, gh), but was frequently simple (g).

I adopt Mr. de Fries's pronunciation and variations from the text of Winkler's specimen 87, simply because I heard him read first; but I add any variants that I noticed in Mr. van de Meulen. F. and M. indicate my two authorities.

The following couplet I give as it was pronounced first by Mr. de Fries, and secondly by Mr. van de Meulen.

1. (bǝtər bréa ən tsiiz
dər dat nǝt se'e'zə kǝn is geen
əp'rió'khtə Friiz.
2. bǝtər bréa ən grii'na tshii's,
dii dat nǝt se'zə kǝn es nǝt ən
ríó'khtə Friis.)

I am inclined to consider the second most correct. This couplet reminded me of one I had seen cited in Mr. C. C. Robinson's writings, as current in Halifax, Yorkshire.

3. (gǝuid bré'd, bǝtər, ən tshiiz,
iz gǝuid El'ífeks ən gǝuid Friiz),
implying a felt resemblance between the pronunciations. Mr. C. C. Robinson says that (uət) is used for *not*, and that the same fracture as (iiz) is not unheard in Halifax, but is more characteristic of Leeds, where also (bǝtər) is used. Mr. Robinson had no faith himself in the correctness of the assumption that Halifaxish is like Friesian; but it occurred to me that it would be interesting to contrast this very singular Yorkshire dialect (23b of the following classification), which has adopted the popular Friesian test as a rhyme of its own, verse by verse, with the Grouw Friesian version, which I had already obtained. Mr. Robinson was kind enough to attempt a version, which I here annex, with notes principally due to his observations. The resemblance is very far from close, but there is sufficient similarity of pronunciation to justify such a popular rhyme.

Here then follow, first, the *Dialectus*

Communis of Friesland in the orthography adopted by Winkler, with, on the opposite column, a verbal translation, the English words which differ from the Friesian being in *Italics*.

Then, also in parallel columns, come the Friesian pronunciation taken from Mr. de Fries, with the variants of Mr. van de Meulen, who agreed with the former generally, and the Halifax rendering

of the English verbal translation of the Friesian by Mr. C. C. Robinson, who strove to keep to that version for the sake of comparison, as far as was consistent with not straining the dialect.

Finally, I add notes, referring verse by verse to both the Friesian and Halifax versions, giving translations or other remarks which were suggested by the text.

1. *Winkler's Friesian Orthography.*

11 der wier ienkear en man (mynske)
end dy hie twa soannen.

12 de jungste fen dy twa sei tsjin sin
heit: heit! jow my 't diel fen 't gûd
dat my takumt. end hy dielded hiarren
't gûd.

13 end net fulle dagen der nei (end
en bitsje letter) forsamm'le de jungste
soan alles by enoar, teach forth up reis
nei en fir land end brocht der al sîn
gûd der thruch in en oerdwealsk libben.

14 do er alles der thruch brocht hie
kaem der en greate krapte oan item
(hungersnead) in dat selde land, end
by bigûn brekme to lyen.

15 end hy gung hinne end gung by
ien fen de borgers fen dat land end dy
stiurde him up sîn land um de bargaen
to weidjen.

16 end hy woe wol jerne sîn bûk
fol ite mei 't bargefoer; mar nimmen
joech him dat.

17 do kaem er to himselm end hy
sei: ho fulle fen mîn heite fulk habbe
oerfloedig hiar brea end ik kum um fen
hunger!

18 ik seil upstean end nei ûs heite's
gean end ik seil tsjin ûs heit sidze:
heit! ik hab sûndige tsjin de himel
end foar (tsjin) ju.

19 end nu bin ik net mear wurdig
juw soan to hietten; meitsje my mar
lîk as ien fen juw arbeiders.

20 end hy stoe up end gung nei sîn
heit ta. end do er yctte fir fen him of
wier, seach sîn heit him al, end dy
waerd mei inerlike barmhertigens

2. *Verbal Translation.*

11 there were one-*turn* a man [per-
son], and that-one had two sons.

12 the youngest *of* those two said
against [= towards, to] *his father*:
father! give me the deal [=portion]
of the good [=property] that to-me
to-comes. and he dealt [=divided]
to-them the good.

13 and not *many* days there *after*
(and a bit later) *collected* the youngest
son all by one-another [=together]
marched forth on journey *after* a far
land and brought there all *his* good
there through [brought there through
=spent] in an over-*luxurious* living.

14 then [=when] *he* all there through
brought had, came there a great *pinch*
on eating (hunger's-need) [=famine]
in that self land, and he began break-
ing [=want] to *suffer*.

15 and he ganged (=went) hence
and ganged by one *of* the burghers
of that land, and that-one steered
[=*sent*] him up his land *for* the farrow
[=swine] to *feed*.

16 and he would well yearningly
[=*willingly*] *his* belly full eat *with*
the farrow-fodder [=pigs' food]; *but*
no-one gave him that.

17 then came he to himself and he
said: how *many of* my *father's* folk
have over-flooding [=superfluous] *their*
bread and I come round [=die] *of*
hunger.

18 I shall up-stand and *after* our
father's go and I shall against our
father say: *father!* I have sinned
against the heaven and before (against)
you.

19 and now be I not more worthy
your son to be-hight [=be called];
make me *but* like as one of your *work-*
men.

20 and he stood up and ganged *after*
his father to, and then [=while] *he*
yet far of him off *was*, saw *his father*
him all, and that-one *became* with

oandien; hy rûn up him ta, foel him
um sîn hals end patte him.

21 end de soan sei tsjin him: heit!
ik hab sûndige tsjin de himel end foar
ju, end ik bin net langer wîrdich juw
soan to hietten.

22 de heit likwol sei tsjin sîn fûlk:
bring forth 't beste pak klean hjir end
tsiean dy oan end jow him en ring oan
sîn hand end skoen oan de foetten.

23 end bring 't meste keal end slacht
it; lit ûs ite end frolik wêse.

24 hwent disse soan fen my wier dea
end nu is er wer libben wîrden; hy
wier forlern end nu is er werfûn. end
hia bigûnen frolik to wîrden.

25 end sîn aldste soan wier in 't
field en do dynei hûs gung end thichte
by hûs kaem, hearde hy 't siungen end
't dûnsjen.

26 end hy rôp ien fen sîn heite feinten
by him end frege him hwet dat to
bitsiutten lie.

27 end dy sei tsjin hem: dîn broer
is kumd end jimme heit heth 't meste
keal slachte, um 't er him sûnd wer
krige heth.

28 mar hy waerd nidieh end wol net
in 'e hûs gean: do gung sîn heit nei
bûte end bea him der um.

29 hy likwol joech sîn heit to 'n
andert: siuch! sa fulle jierren tsienje
ik ju al end ik hab nea net hwat tsjin
juw sîn dien end dochs hadde ju my
nimmer nin bokje jown, dat ik mei
mîn friûnden ek 'ris frolik wêse muchte.

30 mar nu disse soan fen ju kummen
is, dy juw gûd mei hoeren der thruch
brocht heth, nu hadde ju 't fetmeste
keal for him slachte.

31 do sei de heit tsjin him: bern!
du bist altid bij my end al hwet mines
is, is dines ek.

32 me moast den frolik end blîd
wêse; hwent disse broer fen dy wier
dea end hy is wer libben wîrden; end
hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn.

inward *compassion* on-done [=attaeked];
he ran him to, fell him *round* his *neck*
and patted [=caressed] him.

21 and the son said against him:
father! I have sinned against the
heaven and before you, and I am not
longer worthy your son to be-hight.

22 the *father* like-well said against
his folk: bring forth the best pack
clothes here, and tug [=draw, put]
him them ou, and give him a ring on
his hand and shoon on the feet:

23 and bring the masted [=fatted]
calf and slay it; let us eat and frolic-
some [=merry] *be*.

24 *because* this son of me were dead
and now is *he again* living *become*; he
were *lost* and now is *he again*-found.
and *they* began frolicsome to *become*.

25 and *his* oldest son were in the
field and then [=when] that-one after
house ganged, and thick [=close] by
house came, heard he the singing and
the dancing.

26 and he rooped [=called] one of
his father men by him and asked him
what that to *mean* had.

27 and that-one said against him:
thy brother is come and your *father*
hath the masted calf slain, for it [=
because] *he* him sound again *caught*
hath.

28 *but* he *became* angry and would
not in the house go; then ganged *his*
father after be-out and *begged* him
there for.

29 he like-well gave *his father* to
an answer: see! so *many* years *serve* I
you all, and I have never not what
against you sin done, and though [=
yet] have you never none buck-ling
[=kid] given, that I *with* my friends
also once frolicsome *be* might.

30 *but* now this son of you come is,
that your good *with* whores there
through brought hath, now have you
the fat-masted calf for him slain.

31 then said the *father* against him:
bairn! thou be'st *all-tide* [=always]
by me and all what mine is, is thine
eke.

32 men [=one, Fr. *on*, Old English
mē] must then frolicsome and blithe
be; *because* this brother of thee were
dead and he is *again* living *become*;
and he were *lost* and now is he again-
found.

3. *Friesian Pronunciation.*

11 dei bhi'ɪ i'n'ke'rɪ ən mən² (mən'skə), ən dii³ nhio tuāa suā'nən [soon'n M⁴].

12 dō jæ'qstə¹ fien² dii tuāa sæ'i³ tshen⁴ sin⁵ nhæ'it⁶; nhæ'it! jōu mæ'i-t di'l fien-t gu'd⁷ dat me⁸ tak'armit,⁹ ən nhæ'i deē'də¹⁰ nhæ'rən [jæ'rən M¹¹] -t gu'd.

13 ən næt fæ'lə daa'ghən¹ dər næ'i² (ænd ən bi'tshə³ [biitshə M³] læ'tər) fæsaamla⁴ dō jæ'qstə suā'n [soon M] a'ləs bæ'i ənnuā'a,⁵ téakh⁶ fúort⁷ əp ræ'is mæ'i ən fiir lan⁸ ən brokht⁹ deēa al⁰ sin gu'd træk'h in ən nūrduēlsk¹¹ leb'ən.

14 doo ər a'ləs deēa træk'h brokht nhio, kaam¹ dər en gréatə kræptə² o'n¹ iirtən [(nhæ'qərsno'əd) M⁴] in dat sæ'lə lan, ən nhæ'i bego'q⁵ gəbræk [bræ'k'm M⁶] tō læ'i'en.⁷

15 ən nhæ'i gœq nhen¹ ən gœq bæ'i i'n fien dō bua'ɪ gœrs [bua'gœrs M] fien dət lan, ən dii shtuurdə [shtuurdə M¹] nhem əp sin lan əm dō bargən tō bhæ'i-dzhən.²

16 ən nhæ'i bhūu bhol jernə (graakt, graagh M¹) sin bunk fōl iitə mæ'i-t bargətuur²; maar³ ne'mən⁴ juug [juukh M⁵] nhem dət.

17 doo kuām [kaam M¹] ər too nemse'l'm² and nhæ'i sæ'i: nhoo fæ'lə fien min nhæ'i-tə fœlk nhæ'bə uurluudəgh³ nhær [jæx M⁴] bréa,⁵ and ek kœm əm fæn nhæ'qər!

18 ek sel¹ əp'ste'n² and næ'i us³ nhæ'itə ge'n² ən ek sel tshen us nhæ'it seezə [sezo M⁴]; nhæ'it, ek nhæ'b zæn'deghə [son'dəghə M⁵] tshen dō nhæn'rəl [nhæe mæl M⁶] ən fō'r (tshen⁷) jōu.⁸

19 and nōu¹ ben ek næt méar bhœagh [bhœardəgh; bhœarəgh M²] jōu suā'n [soon M] tō nhætən [jæ'tən M³]; mæ'itshə me maɪ lik əs i'n fien jōu arəbæ'irdərs⁴ [arəbæ'irdərs M].

20 and nhæ'i stiɪ¹ əp and gœq næ'i sin nhæ'it taa, and doo ər nokh² fiir fien nhem aa³ bhio, sēakh sin nhæ'it nhem al, and dii bhaar [bha'rd M⁴] mæ'i enarlikə barmnhæ'itəghən⁵ o'n'di'n⁵; nhæ'i rum [rœn M⁶] əp nhem taa, fuul⁷ nhem əm sin nhæ'is ən pə'tə⁸ nhem.

21 ən dō suā'n [soon M] sæ'i tshen nhem: nhæ'it ek nhæ'b zæn'deghə [son'dəghə M] tshen dō nhæn'rəl [nhæe-mæl M] ən fō'r (tshen) jōu.

22 dō nhæ'it li-kbhol sæ'i tshen sin fœlk: breq¹ fúort² t bæ'stə pek kle'n

4. *Mr. C. C. Robinson's Halifax Version.*

11 dhi' wə wən taim⁵ ə man, ət-əd tuu ledz.⁶

12 th-jæ'q'is¹² ən əm sed təl-t fee-dhə¹³; fee-dhə¹⁴ gi-mə-t shee'r-ə-t-staf wot-s tō kum tu-mə,¹⁵ ən-i de'ld t-staf təl-əm.

13 ən ə pis ət-af-tə¹² th-jæ'q'is led samd¹³ ool əp, ən meed iz ruu'd¹⁴ tūl-əd-z¹⁵ ə faa lend,¹⁶ ən brout isen-throo ool ət i ed,¹⁷ wi ōwər-ēi¹⁸ lev'in.¹⁹

14 wen i-d dhi' brout isen-throo ool, dhə kum ə gət⁸ uqər⁹ i-t lend, ən-i bigon' tō tlem.¹⁰

15 ən-i went agee'təd-z³ ən-went bi-wan ən-t te'nmen⁴ dhi' ə dhat lend, ət⁵ sent im i-t wūdz,⁶ fə-tə rūit t-pigz.

16 ən i-d fee'ɪ ə eet⁶ iz bel'i ful ət pig'ment,⁷ bəd noo'bdi gav im nout.

17 wen i kuum təl isee'l,⁶ i spek əp, ən sed: ə mi fee-dhə-fook ee mən'i ən-əm ev əv-er-nhef ə bre'd,⁷ ən oo-m kəm tō pər'ish ə uqər.

18 oo-shəl əp ən gu' təl əz fee-dhər ən oo-s⁹ see təl-əm: fee-dhər, oo-v send¹⁰ əgi'i'n ev-ən, ən əgi'i'n¹¹ dhii.

19 ən nee⁵ o am-rət⁶ wəth bin koold⁷ dhi san: mek mē nēb-ət⁸ see'm əz wən ə dhi waa'kəz.⁹

20 ən-i əp ən went tūl-əd-z t-ə⁹ fee-dhər, ən wəl¹⁰ i wəɪ jət ə gūuid pis ət-ən-īm,¹¹ iz fee-dhər siid im, ən bi-kam əv-əmce'stəd ət ee't¹² fər-īm, ən-i ran təl-īm, ən fel ətəp-ə-iz nek, ən patəd¹³ im.

21 ən-t san sed təl-t fee-dhə: fee-dhər oo-v send əgi'i'n ev-ən ən əgi'i'n dhii, ən o am-rət wəth tō bi koold dhi san ən-i laqər.

22 ən-t fee-dhə sed təl iz fook: breq əz-t best tluu'z ii',⁶ ən dən-əm ən-īm,

[kle'e'n M] *jea*, æn *tsh'e'n* [tshokh M³] *nhem* dii o'n [oon M], æn *jou* *nhem* æn *req* o'n [oon M] *sin nhan*,⁴ æn *skûen* o'n [oon M] *də fôo'ten* [fœ'ô'ten M⁵].

23 ænd *breq-t* *mæ'stə*¹ *ke'l*² æn *slækt* et: *let* us *iitə* æn *froo'lek* *bhee'zə*.

24 *bhænt*¹ *də'sə suən* [soon M] *fæn* *mæ'i* *bhi'r* *déa* æn *nôu* es ær *bheer* *le'bən* *bhærdən*; *nha'e'i* *bhi'r* *fœ'læ'e'n*² æn *nôu* es ær *bheer'fôn* [bheer'foun M³]. æn *ja* *bægo'qən*⁴ *froo'lek* *tə* *bhærdən*.

25 æn *sin* *a'l'tə*¹ *suən* [soon M] *bhi'r* æn-t *fiel'd* [fielt M²] æn *doo* *dii* *næ'i* *nhuus* *gœq*, æn *tekh'tə*³ *bæ'i* *nhuus* *kuəm* [kaam M] *nheerdə* [jeerdə M] *nha'e'i* *tsho'qən*⁴ æn-t *dô'r'shən* [doo'nshan M⁵].

26 æn *nha'e'i* *roop* i'n *fæn* *sin* *nha'e'itə*¹ *fæ'inton* *bæ'i* *nhem* æn *free'ghə* *nhem* *bhæt* *dat* *tə* *bitsheertən*² *nhiə*.

27 æn *dii* *sæ'i* *tshen* *nhem*: *din* *bruu* es *kœmd*¹ æn *je'mə* *nha'e'it* *nhaet*² 't *mæ'stə* *kéal* *slæ'khtə*, æm-t ær *nhem* *suund* *bheer* *krii'ghə* *nhaet*.

28 *mæ* *nha'e'i* *bhaar* *nii'dækh*¹ æn *bhuu*² *næt* *in-t*³ *nuuz*⁴ *ge'n*; *doo* *gœq* *sin* *nha'e'it* *næ'i* *buurtə* æn *béa* *nhem* *der* æm.⁵

29 *nha'e'i* *likbhol* *jukh* *sin* *nha'e'it* *tə-n* *a'ntuət*¹ [a'ntbæt M]: *shieekh* [shokh M]! *sa* *fœ'lə* *je'ran* *tshæ'njə*² *ek* *jou*, æn *ek* *nhab* *néa* *næt* *bhæt* *tshen* *jou* *sen* *di'n*, æn *dokhs* *na'bə* *jou* *me* *ne'mər* *nən* *bœ'kjə* *joun*, *dat* *ek* *mæ'i* *min* *fræ'nən*³ *æk-rəs*⁴ *froo'lek* *bhee'zə* *mæ'khtə*.

30 *mæ* *nôu* *də'sə suən* [soon M] *fæn* *jou* *kœ'mən* es, *dii* *jou* *guəd* [guæ'd M] *mæ'i* *nhuurən* [wœm M²] *dæx* *trækh* *brokht* *nhaet*, *nôu* *na'bə* *jou-t* *fæt-mæ'stə* *kéal* *fœ* *nhem* *slæ'khtə*.

31 *doo* *sæ'i* *də* *nha'e'it* *tshen* *nhem*: *bæn* [bæn M¹]! *dôu* *best* *a'l'tid* *bee'mə* [bæ'i mæ'i M²], æn *al* *bhæt* *mii'nəs* es, es *dii'nəs* *æk*.

32 *me* *mô'st*¹ *dæn* *froo'lek* ænd *bliid* *bhee'zə*; *bhænt* *də'sə*² *bruu* *fæn* *dæ'i* *bhi'r* *déa* ænd *nha'e'i* es *bheer* *le'bən* *bhærdən*; æn *nha'e'i* *bhi'r* *fœ'læ'e'n* æn *nôu* es ær *bheer'fôn* [bheer'foun M].

æn *gi'im* æ *req* æn-t and,⁷ æn *shuu'in* æ-t *fiit* (iit).⁸

23 æn *breq-t* *fed* *koof*, æn *sleft-ə-t*;³ *let-s eet*, æn *bi* *mæ'ri*.⁴

24 *kos* *dhis* *led-ə* *mæ'in* *wə* *di'd*⁵ æn *næe* *iz* *lev'in* *ægi'i'n*; *i* *wə* *lost*, æn *næe* *iz* *fæn*⁶ *ægi'i'n* æn *dhe* *bi'gən* *tə* *bi* *gam'sam*.⁷

25 æn-t *ôurdis*⁶ *led* *wær-i-t* *floo'is*,⁷ æn *wen* *i* *went* *tæl'ædz* *t-æ'e'z*,⁸ æn *kum* *tlôis*⁹ *be-t*, *i* *i'i'd*¹⁰ *t-* *seq'in* æn *dôn'sin*.

26 æn-i *koold* *wæn* æ *iz* *fæer'dhæ*³ *mæn* *bi* *im*, æn *ekst* *im* *wat* *it* *wæ*.⁴

27 æn-i *sed* *təl-im*: *dhi* *brærdhæ-z* *kœm*, æn-dhi *fæer'dhæz* *sleft-əd* *t-fed* *koof* *fær-im* *kum'in* *bek* *see'nd*.³

28 *bæt-i* *get* *med*⁶ æn *wæd'nt* *goo* *in*,⁷ *soo* *iz* *fæer'dhæ* *went* *ee't*, æn *bisôu't*⁸ *im* *təl*.

29 *dhen* *i* *spek* *tə-t* *fæer'dhær* *i* *dhes* *ruu'd*,⁵ *sez-iir*: *nœb'æt* 'sii *ee'*⁶ *mæn'i* 'jæ'7 *oo-v* *saavd* *j-ool*,⁸ æn-z *niv'æx* *dæn* *nôut* *raq'* *ægi'i'n* *jo*, *bœd*¹⁰ *joo-v* *nii* 'mii *nu'n-ə-ə* *ked* *gm*,¹¹ *soo* *æz* 'oo *ænoo'*¹² *mœd*¹³ *fə* *wæns* *bi* *mæ'ri* *wi* *dhem* *æt* *o* *noo*.¹⁴

30 *bœd* 'næe *æt* *dhes* *led* æ *jæe'rz*³ *ez* *kuwm*, æt-s *get'n* *throo* *wat* *ji* 'ev *wi* *uu'z*,⁴ 'næe *joo-v* *guu'n*⁵ æn *sleft-əd* *t-fet-fed* *koof* *fær-im*.

31 *dhen* *sed* *t-fæer'dhær* *təl-im*: *bee'n*,³ 'dhaa-z⁴ *oo'las* *bi-mə*, æn *ool* *æt-s* *mæ'in* *iz* *dha'in* *ænoo*.¹⁵

32 *wi-mən* *dhen* *bi* *mæ'ri* æn *dled-sœm*³ *lâik*, *kos* *dhes* *brærdhær-ə-dhə* *wæ* *di'd*, æn-i *wæ* *lost*, æn *næe* *iz* *fæn* *ægi'i'n*.

5. Notes on the Friesian and Halifax Versions.

11 *Fr.* ¹) approaching (kêar). ²) at times approaching (mon, mən, man), and sometimes rather lengthened, as also in (lan, nhen), both F and M. ³) although written *dy*, both F and M agree here. ⁴) "almost three o's," as M said; but I sometimes

thought I heard (so'n'ən, soo'n'ən). F called attention to the resemblance and difference between the word and Dutch *zwaan*, swan.

Ha. ⁵) Mr. Robinson marks (tá'ám), as a general rule I have marked the medial vowel in diphthongs as short in

dialectal transcriptions, its real length is in such cases rather variable. ⁶⁾ 'lads,' there is a great tendency to this thinning in the more refined speech.

12 *Fr.* ¹⁾ the sound which I have here throughout written (æ) seemed at times (a) or (o), and may have been (ah); the English (a) may certainly be always used. ²⁾ this vowel hovered between (e, æ), but on the whole (æ) seemed to be nearest. ³⁾ the diphthongs *y, ei*, were both pronounced alike, but both seemed unfixed, and hovered among (ø'i, æ'i, æ'i) for the first element, and (æ'i, æ'i, æ'e, æ'e) for the second. as I use (æ) in *fen* (fæn), I write (æ'i) as a compromise throughout. ⁴⁾ the (tsh) was distinct in both F and M, and hence probably in all the other Friesian specimens it ought to be used, but occasionally I seemed to hear (ti-, tsi-). the vowel was unfixed as (e, e), at least I could not feel certain, except that it was not (E), and not (i, i). ⁵⁾ (sin) had distinct (i), not (e), and hence is clearly (siin) shortened by rapid utterance. ⁶⁾ (nɪh) was generally distinct (nɪh), not simple (n). this is the general word for *father*, as (mæm) for *mother*. F and M did not know *tete, tata*. ⁷⁾ the (g) seemed clear, not (gh, gh), as in Dutch, but in Emden, sp. 37, it was (ghout). (u') seemed to vary as (uø'), thus (gu'd, guø'd, guæ'd), exactly as in English, in both F and M. (d) final was distinctly not (t); I did not sufficiently notice the dental (d) to be sure of it. ⁸⁾ (me) for (mæ'i) when without force, shewing that (me, mæ, mæ, mæ'i) were the probable stages; it is *not* a change of (æ'i) into (ee). ⁹⁾ the short vowel in (ta) must be noticed, it was quite run on to the consonant, as I have indicated. ¹⁰⁾ in Winkler (di'lda), but F knew only (dee'lda) ¹¹⁾ here F and M differed materially, one ignoring the inserted (i), and keeping the aspirate, and the other allowing the aspirate to be driven out by the inserted (i); both occur in English dialects.

Ha. ¹²⁾ 'youngest,' no *t*. ¹³⁾ 'till = to the father,' the *r* vanishes frequently. ¹⁴⁾ "when the word stands isolated, or when it ends a sentence, or is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, then the *r* must necessarily be heard; in other positions the word is, by rule, deprived of the *r*."—C. C. R. ¹⁵⁾ 'give me the share of the stuff what is to come to me,' or, more character-

istically, (de'l æz e't æz oon) 'deal us out us = our own.'

13 *Fr.* ¹⁾ here I seemed to hear (gh) clearly. ²⁾ Dutch *na*, German *nach*, 'after, towards.' ³⁾ F's (bi'tshə), not (be'tshə), may have really been (bi'tshə), as M lengthened the vowel; short (i) seems most probable, as a representative of long (ii). ⁴⁾ both F and M agreed in long (aa), though the original has short (a). ⁵⁾ I doubt the (aa), it may have been only (ənu'di); (aa) does not seem to occur intentionally, but only to be generated by following consonants. ⁶⁾ the (éa) was here distinct; it is the German *zag* (tsəogh). ⁷⁾ (fúart), both F and M agreed, in (úə), in trilled (r), and in final (t), and not (th) or (dh). F said that so far from (th) being Friesian, he had had very great difficulty in mastering it. ⁸⁾ (lan), at times (laan), and nearly (laan), quite as in Scotch. ⁹⁾ (brokht) with (o) rather than (ə). ¹⁰⁾ (al) was always very like (Al). ¹¹⁾ Winkler, noting the Hindeloopenish (sp. 89) form *oerwealdsk*, which he considers to be more correct, translates it into Dutch as *overweelderig*, over-luxurious or wanton, and derives it from old Friesian *weald*, English 'wealth,' as respects the *d*, however, we must remember the old Saxon forms *glot-uuelo*, *gold-uuelo*, *ōd-uuelo*, for riches in the plural, see Schmeller's glossary to the Heliand, sub *uuelo*.

Ha. ¹²⁾ 'a piece at after,' a little after that, observe short (i), not (i). ¹³⁾ 'gathered,' this is quite Friesian. ¹⁴⁾ 'made his road.' ¹⁵⁾ 'till-wards' = towards. ¹⁶⁾ 'a far land,' the refined (lend) is most usually heard, the unrefined is (lond). ¹⁷⁾ 'brought himself through all that he had.' ¹⁸⁾ 'over-high,' or, equally common, (ōwæden'ti) 'over dainty.' ¹⁹⁾ 'living.'

14 *Fr.* ¹⁾ F preferred (kuám), M said that was Dutch. ²⁾ Dutch *krap*, narrow. ³⁾ or (oo'n, oon). ⁴⁾ this was the form M knew, not (néad). ⁵⁾ both F and M seemed to say (q) at the end. ⁶⁾ F said *brekme* was quite out of use, Winkler says it is becoming rapidly obsolete, and is replaced by Dutch *gebrek*, M admitted (bræ'k'm). ⁷⁾ for *leiden*, the *d* lost as usual.

Ha. ⁸⁾ for (gæ't, gæ't), 'great.' ⁹⁾ 'hunger,' observe absent aspirate, and the (q) for (qg). ¹⁰⁾ 'starve,' a common Yorkshire word, usually written *clem*, *clam*; another phrase is,

[*kud*-'nt báid], 'could not bide' or last out.

15 *Fr.* ¹⁾ both F and M agreed in (sh), but with F the (i) seemed to have exhausted itself in making this change, while in M the (i) remained with its original stress. the Dutch has made the juncture (yy) in *stuiuren* (styy-rən) to steer, or send. ²⁾ (dzh) was clear in each, the word stands for Dutch *weiden* (bhā'idən), and the change of (d) into (dzh), instead of (ɹ), or simple omission, as in (he'irən) v. 14, is noticeable, the two seem to point to an intermediate (bhæ'idjən), which would easily fall into either. the word is connected with English *weed*, *with*.

Ha. ³⁾ 'agatewards,' on his gate or road; although *gang* is known so near as the Craven district, it is not used in Halifax. ⁴⁾ 'townsmen,' burgesses, citizens. ⁵⁾ relative *at* = *that* in meaning, but the derivation is disputed. ⁶⁾ 'woods.' ⁷⁾ 'root,' give roots to, feed.

16 *Fr.* ¹⁾ (*jerna*) was pronounced by both F and M as obsolete, they did not know it, and both used the Dutch word *graag*, 'eager, desirous, hungry,' but F seemed to say (graakt), possibly my mishearing for (graakh), while M said (graagh). ²⁾ this seems to be Dutch *voeder* 'fodder,' with the *d* omitted. it is curious that (uu) is sometimes spelled *oe* as in Dutch, and sometimes *û*. ³⁾ 'more,' and hence 'but,' as French *mais* = Latin *magis*. ⁴⁾ Dutch and German *niemand*. ⁵⁾ although I noted (*jung*), F may have said (*juugh*).

Ha. ⁶⁾ 'he would fair have eaten.' ⁷⁾ 'pigment' is "any offally mess, unworthy food, a mixture of ingredients of any kind; one of the commonest of South Yorkshire words; it has nothing whatever to do with paint, and would not be understood dialectally in this sense."—C. C. R.

17 *Fr.* ¹⁾ see v. 14, note 1. ²⁾ this was from M, I have not noted F; observe the final ('m). ³⁾ the (-dagh) as in Dutch, a short faint deep guttural vowel sound, possibly (-dēhgh), very peculiar in character. ⁴⁾ see v. 12, note 11; it is the old English *here*. ⁵⁾ final (d) omitted, the fracture strong, the (a) clear.

Ha. ⁶⁾ 'himself,' the vowel in (seel) is rather medial than long. "in the villages about Halifax and Keighley, and generally in the Lower Craven district (classification, variety 23a), the

l is usually followed by *n*, as (*isee*-ln, *wasee*-ln, *osee*-ln, *misee*-ln, *dhasee*-lnz), and these are casual Halifax forms; so also *n* is added in (*m*/ln, *me*ln) for *mill*. sometimes the *l* is lost to the ear in (sen) for *self*; and when *l* is heard in this word, *n* is lost, as (seel). I have also often heard people add on an *m*."—C. C. R. ⁷⁾ "(bre'd), usually (bri'd) in South Yorkshire, and many Halifax speakers use this sound; the vowel in this word, is unsettled and varies in localities but little distant from each other."—C. C. R.

18 *Fr.* ¹⁾ the *e* in *seil* was not noticed in pronunciation, it seems to be entirely etymological. ²⁾ (e'n), and not (éan), in each. ³⁾ (us), this is merely remembered, not noted, in other Friesian I find (yys). ⁴⁾ both F and M objected to the *d* in *side*, but F seemed to lengthen the vowel. ⁵⁾ neither F nor M acknowledged *sún* = (suun), but I seemed to hear (zən) from one, and (son) from the other; the (z) was slight, "more of a *z*" as F said, and may have been (sz). ⁶⁾ here there was the same difference in the length of the vowel as in note 4. ⁷⁾ both objected to *foar*, and Winkler says "or *bifoar*, but *tsjin* is better Friesian." The Greek εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐν ὧραιον. σοῦ seems to have led all translators to adopt a real Hebraism in this place. ⁸⁾ both F and M said (jóu) exactly as in v. 12 for 'give,' and objected to the *ju* of Winkler.

Ha. ⁹⁾ 'I shall,' or *Ise*. ¹⁰⁾ 'sinned.' ¹¹⁾ "(foor) is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (*tuw*)."—C. C. R.

19 *Fr.* ¹⁾ I am not quite certain whether F said (nuu) or (núu), but I think the latter; and M certainly did say so. ²⁾ F gave the two first, and said that (bhæigh) was commonest, "as if written with Dutch *u*," M omitted the (d), and made two syllables. ³⁾ same variety as in v. 12, note 11. ⁴⁾ this (ar-ə) may have been accidental.

Ha. ⁵⁾ 'now.' "here (nee), because of the following (o) for *I*; (uee) is the usual form in Lower Craven; (net) is also used."—C. C. R. ⁶⁾ 'I am-not.' ⁷⁾ 'worth being called.' "(b'n) is in v. 21 (tə b'i), both forms are in use, but the first is considered to be most refined."—C. C. R. ⁸⁾ 'nought but,' only. ⁹⁾ 'workers.'

20 *Fr.* ¹⁾ both F and M objected

to *stoe* (stuu), but *M* said (stuu) could be used, though (stii) was more common.

²) *F* said (jæ:tə) was not heard, *M* said it was still used "by old-fashioned people." ³) (aa), the (f) of *off* dropped.

⁴) *F* did not pronounce the *d* or attend to the *e* in *ae*, but *M* did both. ⁵) both seem to be old-fashioned words. ⁶) this is another confusion of short and long. ⁷) this was from *M*, I have not noted *F*. ⁸) 'patted,' not 'kissed,' as I was told, but Winkler says, on the Hindeloopenish *paaike* (specimen 89, v. 20), "kissed, from *paaike*, to kiss; the usual Friesian is *patsje*, *patte*; *een zoen*, 'a kiss,' is in Hindeloopenish *en paaike*, and in usual Friesian *en patsje*, and formerly, as still found in Gysbert Japicx, *en pea*."

Ha. ⁹) 'to the.' "in the Leeds dialect (tət, tət), the latter emphatic and before a pause; in Halifax the heavy sound may be either (tət, tot), but seems most like the latter."—C. C. R. ¹⁰) 'while.' ¹¹) 'off on him,' off of or from him. ¹²) 'overmastered at heart,' or (wə slutt ə-t siit ən im), 'was sloughed, or choked with sobs, at the sight of him.' ¹³) Mr. Robinson says there is no other word for *caress* than *pat*; *caress* would not be understood, at least when spoken.

²¹ *Fr.* and *Ha.* see the notes on the parallel passage, v. 18.

²² *Fr.* ¹) not (breqk) or (breqk) ²) see v. 13, note 7. ³) *M* admitted (tshe'n), but said (tsbokh), German *zog* (tsbokh), was more usual. ⁴) see (lan), v. 13, note 8. ⁵) I hesitated as to (fúə'tən) or (fuə'tən), the (u) was clear, but the force seemed to vary.

Ha. ⁶) 'clothes here.' ⁷) 'on the hand.' ⁸) 'feet,' either with short (i) or short (i). "(fuə't) is occasionally heard for *foot* in Halifax and Lower Craven, but it is more general towards the north."—C. C. R.

²³ *Fr.* ¹) 'masted,' fed on mast, as beech-mast, oak-mast, hence fattened. ²) the (f) lost.

Ha. ³) 'slaughter it.' ⁴) 'let us eat and be merry.'

²⁴ *Fr.* ¹) I did not observe any aspirate or approach to (uhuənt), but I may have overlooked it. ²) no trace of (r) or (x) in the second syllable certainly, in the first I am doubtful. ³) (bheə, bheə) 'again,' Dutch *weder* with omitted (d), as our old *whether* for *whether*, the last syllable (fo'n, foun), seemed to vary thus, but the distinction

is too fine to insist on. ⁴) see v. 14, note 5, the (q) was in this case noted from both *F* and *M*.

Ha. ⁵) 'this lad of mine was dead.' ⁶) 'found.' ⁷) 'gamesome.'

²⁵ *Fr.* ¹) the *d* was not heard, the (a) was nearly (A). ²) the final (d) of *F* was distinct, and the final (t) of *M* quite as clear, the (e) of (ie) was distinct, and hence the force doubtful (ie, ie). ³) no (th), German *dicht*, 'close.' ⁴) the (tsh) arises from the coalescent article (t), (sho'qən) is the word otherwise; this serves to shew the correctness of the analysis (tsh). ⁵) as (daun'shən) is implied by the spelling, it was probably also so heard.

Ha. ⁶) 'oldest.' ⁷) 'in the close' or field. ⁸) 'the house.' ⁹) 'close,' adv. observe the difference between (⁷) and (⁹), (tloo'is, tlóis). ¹⁰) 'heard.'

²⁶ *Fr.* ¹) uninflected genitive. ²) Dutch *beduiden* (bədæ'í'dən) 'signify.'

Ha. ³) uninflected genitive. ⁴) 'asked him what it was.' observe that both (wəx) and (wəx) occur in this example, and compare (475, c).

²⁷ *Fr.* ¹) the final (d) distinct, almost the vulgar English *comed*. ²) final (t), not (th).

Ha. ³) 'for him coming back sound,' on account of his coming back sound.

²⁸ *Fr.* ¹) properly 'envious,' Dutch *nijdig*, German *neidisch*. ²) as both *F* and *M* said (bhuu), probably *wol* is a misprint for *woe*, which is written in v. 16. ³) I presume in 'e hús is a misprint for in 't hús, I did not particularly notice the *t*. ⁴) the (z) seems due to the following (g). ⁵) German *bat ihm darum*.

Ha. ⁶) 'gat mad.' ⁷) 'go in,' viz. to the house; the word *house* is generally omitted in ordinary speech, and invariably in the dialect. observe that the sound is here (goo), but in v. 18 it was (gu'); when the fracture occurs, the vowel changes, and whether the fracture should be used or not depends upon the context. we find therefore in one word, having an original (aa) vowel, ags. *gán*, both an (oo) and an (uu) sound subsisting side by side in the same dialect; of course (goo) comes through (gaa, gaa, gaa, goo), and (gu') through (guáa, guá, guá, gu'); but the example is extremely instructive, and shews the necessity of great caution in older cases. ⁸) Mr. Robinson says that the past participle of *beg* is scouted, except in 'begged and prayed.'

29 *Fr.* ¹⁾ *andert* was not acknowledged; the two forms given were merely Dutch *antwoord*, with the second syllable obscured and *r* omitted. ²⁾ a form of Dutch *diene*, serve; this is taken as *tjenje*, and so becomes (*tshænjə*). ³⁾ *F* almost said (*frœænjən*), I have not noted *M.* ⁴⁾ German *auch dereinst*.

Ha. ⁵⁾ 'in this road,' in this *way*. ⁶⁾ 'how,' a regular change. ⁷⁾ 'year,' the singular of quantity. ⁸⁾ 'served you-all.' ⁹⁾ 'wrong.' ¹⁰⁾ 'but.' ¹¹⁾ 'you have never *me* none of a kid given,' observe the order of the words. ¹²⁾ '*I* and all,' the words 'and all' are a very common expletive in several dialects. ¹³⁾ might. ¹⁴⁾ 'those that I know'; Mr. Robinson observes that the word *friend* is very rarely heard in dialect speech.

30 *Fr.* ¹⁾ (*gûəd*, *guæ'd*), I did not notice this variable force in v. 12. ²⁾ this (*wæ:m*) is evidently obtained thus:

(*nhûərən*, *nhuœ'ərən*, *wœ'rən*, *wæ:m*), if indeed I ought not rather to have noted (*uœ'm*), as I think more probable.

Ha. ³⁾ 'yours.' ⁴⁾ 'whores.' ⁵⁾ 'gone.'

31 *Fr.* ¹⁾ perhaps both said (*bæn*), the *r* was quite unpronounced. ²⁾ the variation between (*ee*, *æ'i*) is here important in respect to Early English, for the speakers were two men of the same village, and nearly of the same age and standing.

Ha. ³⁾ 'bairn.' ⁴⁾ 'thou is.' ⁵⁾ see v. 29, note 12.

32 *Fr.* ¹⁾ (*mo'st*) was *M*'s pronunciation; I am inclined to think that his (*sooon*), see v. 11, note 4, was rather (*soo'n*) or (*so'n*). ²⁾ for the rest of the verse see notes on the parallel passage in v. 24.

Ha. ³⁾ 'gladsome,' for (*dl*) compare v. 14 (*tlem*).

88. *Workum*, town (52 n 58, 5 e 26). I. 441. [As it was still generally spoken up to the year 1800.]

11 *dər bli'r ris en mĩnskə*, *də'i hĩ t̃bha so'nən*. 12 in *hə'i dee'ldə jərən* 't *ghud*. 15 *om də bə'ghən to wé'rdjən*. 18 *héit!* *ik hev suu'ndighə tshin* [or (*t̃iın*)] *jou*. 22 *briq jir daa'lik də be'stə kléan*, in *doogh sə him oon*; in *jéan him en riq oon siin haaan* in *sku'nən oon ə furtən*. 23 't *mə'stə kéal*. 24 *bhant di zə soon fan mə'i bhi'r déa*, in *hə'i is bher fuu'ndən*. 25 in *də man siin aa'dstə soon bhi'r in-t fiild* [or (*fiild*)], in *doo də'i koom*, in *bə'i -t huus bhi'r jhe'rdə hə'i -t siə'qən end -t spii'ljən*. 27 *jou bro'r*. 29 *dat ik m̃aai miin friœæ'nən froo'lik bhe'zə mo'khtə*. 31 *ba'rn*, *dou bi'stə a'ltiit bə'i mə'i*.

89. *Hiindeloopen*, town (52 n 57, 5 e 24). I. 445.

11 *si'kər mĩnskə hee'b t̃bhaa soon*s. 12 in *hi dee'ldə jem-t ghoo'd*. 15 *om op də bə'ghən to pa'sjən*. 18 *feer, iik heb suu'ndighe t̃jen ji*. 22 *br̃iq hir daa'lik 't be'stə pak kléan*, in *du'ān it him oon*, in *jaan him ən riq oon siin haand*, in *skoon oon siin furtən*. 23 't *mə'stə kaal*. 24 *bhant di zə miin soon bhe'e'r daa*, in *hi iis wor fuu'ndən*. 25 in *siin ea'lstə soon weer iin-t fiild* in *dæe ñi tikht bi hyy's* [(*huu's*)] *kāam*, *nee'rdə hii-t ghesu'rq in-t gheduu'ns*. 27 *diin bro'r*. 29 *dot iik*

mēi miin free'ndən ek ris no'khlik ['agreeable,' *genoeglijk*] *bhæ'zə kaa'st*. 31 *bo'rn*, *duu bist a'ltiit bi mi*.

90. *Schiermonnikoog*, island 53 n 28, 6 e 12). I. 458. [In Friesian (*ski'rmnu'ntsiækh*) or (*ski'rmuu'ntsiækh*).]

11 *dər bhi'r réis 'n man*, in *dii hiéa t̃bhaa jo'qes*. 12 in *har héit* ['father'] *dee'ldə har -t ghyy'd*. 15 *om har sbhi'nə to hyy'dən*. 18 *ik hev seáu'nə diin tshin* [or (*t̃siin*)] *joo*. 22 *br̃iq miir -t bost pak kláainə*, in *tshokh it him oon*, in *jœw'n him 'n riq oon siin haaun*, in *skyy'nə oon siin fərtən*. 23 't *ma'stə kalf*. 24 *bhant di jo'qə bhiéa dáaid*, in *hi is bhiir fiéaun*. 25 in *də óurdstə sæcen bhiéa iin -t láaun*, in *daa -t ər nooi ñy's to syy'a*, in *ti'khtə bi koom*, *nee'rsə ñi siə'qən* in *dáaurnsən*. 27 *diin bryy'ar*. 29 *dot ik móoi miin fréaunə réis plesi'r met'shə kyy'a*. 31 *be'rn*, *də bi'stə o'lə daa'ghən bi mi*.

[There has been much difficulty in translating the symbols. The (*uu*) seems not to occur. On *dao jauid* = (*daa jyy'd*), Winkler says it is 'the people,' Dutch *de lieden*, 'usual Friesian *liu*, *liuwe*, which word is in some places called *lyue*, *lyuwe*, and in others *lyouwe*,' ? (*liúə*, *li'yə*, *lióuə*). "*L* and *r* are for Friesians, as for their national relations the English, difficult letters to pronounce, and are often omitted,

and hence the Schiermonnikoogers omit *l* and *r* in the combinations *lj*, *rj*." Then he gives examples, *juued* for *liu*, "as the Hindeloopers say *leed*" = (*lêe'd*)?; *juocht* for *riucht*, *sjuocht* for *sliucht*, so that *sjuocht* in *juocht* = high German *schlecht und recht*, is a shibboleth of these islanders; and may be (*siy'*kht in *sy'*kht) (1397, *b'*). Another curious point is the use of (-s) for (-th, -dh) final, or of (dh) or (d) medial, even in participles, as *fortaors* = (*fortaars*), high German *verzehrt*, 'devoured,' usual Friesian *fortard*. "The Friesians on the continent have frequently softened the old *th* to *d*." Examples are *stjuersene*, 'steered, stirred, sent,' usual *stiürden*; *we, sig* 'worthy,' *we, sen* 'become,' *heer, se* 'heard,' *ierse* 'earth,' *hers* 'hard.']

b. LOW GERMAN IN FRIESLAND.
I. 461.

91. Leeuwarden, city (53 n 12, 5 e 47). I. 468. [This is where Winkler resides.]

11 *dor* bhaar-as-en man, in dii ha'de tbbhi'e soe'en-nen. 12 in duu fêrde'e lde dâ ôur'de man har -t ghyyd. 15 op â barghen tã par'sen. 18 faa'd-er, ik hee so'ndâ deen tœe'ghen jôu. 22 briq niir ghôu ris 't be'stê pak klee-ran, in trek nim dat an, in gheef-âm-en riq an siin han, in skyy-nen an siin fyy-tan. 23 't me'stê kalf. 24 bhant di-zê soe'en fan mæ'i bhaar dood, in nôu hee bhee-'m bheer-'m t'non. 25 in dâ man siin ôur'stê soe'en bhaar op-t lan, in duu dii bheer-'m kbham, in di-khtô bæ'i nyys kbham, noord i huu -t sê si'qon in dan'sen. 27 jôu bruur. 29 daa -k uuk -s met miin frîndon froo'lik bhee-zê mo'khtê. 31 kiin, dôu bist a'ttiid bæ'i mæ'i.

92. Dokkum, town (53 n 19, 6 e 0). I. 477.

11 *dor* bhar-as-en man, in dii had tbbhi'e soe'en-nen. 12 in hâ'i ghaf nor nobr ghoy'd [*"a very short perfect o preceeds a long, perfect, and somewhat lengthened u, on which the stress falls,"* this is the noun *goods*; the adjective *good* is (ghu'd)]. 15 om op â barghen tã par'sen. 18 faa'd-er, ik hev so'ndighd tœ-on [and (tœe'ghen)] faa'd-er. 22 briq daa'dêlik dâ be'stê klee-ran niir, in duun nim dii an, in gheef-âm-en riq an siin han, in skuu-nen an â fuur-tan. 23 't me'stê kalf.

24 bhant di-zê soe'en fan mæ'i bhar dood in nôu is ærfo-nen. 25 in siin ôur'stê soe'en bhar in-t lan, in duu-t ær dikht bæ'i nyys kbham, noord-ær-t si'qon in-t dan'sen. 27 jôu bruur. 29 dat ik ok-s froo'lik bhee-zê kon met miin frîndon. 31 kiin, dôu bist a'ttiitên bæ'i mæ'i.

93. Bolsward, town (53 n 3, 5 e 32). I. 481.

11 'n man ('n mins) had tbbhi'e soe'en-nen. 12 in hâ'i dee'lde nyir -t ghoe'd. [*"the imperfect u in put"* = (pot, pot), see (1292, *a'*), Dutch for *pit*, or *well*, "with preceding perfect o."'] 15 op â barghen tã par'sen. 18 uêit, ik hef so'ndâ deend tœe'ghen jôu. 22 briq 'm niir siin be'stê klee-ran, in trek see 'm an, in gheef-âm-en riq an siin han, in skuu-nen an â fuur-tan. 23 't fê-tê kalf. 24 bhant di-zê soe'en fan mæ'i bhar doo'd in ii is bheer-'m fœ-nen. 25 in siin ôur'stê soe'en bhar op-t lan, in duu dii dikht bæ'i nyys kbham, hœrd ii -t si'qon, in -t dan'sen. 27 jô bruur. 29 daa -k met miin frîndon -s froo'lik bhee-zê mokht. 31 kiin, dôu bist a'ttiid bæ'i mi. [We find 20 (lii'p) ran, (tiil) fell, (in duu -t i nogh 'n heel ind fan 'm o bhar) 'and when he yet a whole end from him off was,' (ô) for (of) off, with (f) suppressed.]

94. Nes op't Ameland, village of Nes in the island of Ameland (53 n 27, 5 e 45). I. 486.

11 'n seek-er minsk had tbbhi'e soe'ens. 12 gheef mæ'i 't deel fan-t ghuu'd. in dâ faa'd-er ghaf sê elk siin paapt. 15 om dâ barghen tã huu'den. 18 ik hev mæi an jôu besœndighd. 22 briq -t be'stê pak klee-ran niir, in trek -t im an, in gheef 'n riq an siin han, in skuu-nen an â fuur-tan. 23 't me'stê kalf. 24 bhant doe-e-zê miin soe'en bhaar doo'd, in is bheer-fœ-nen. 25 mar dâ mau siin ôur'stê soe'en bhar op-t lan, in duu dii kam, in dikht bæ'i -t nyys komon bhar, noor'de hâ'i -t si'qon in dan'sen. 26 ii'n [one]. 27 jôu bruur. 29 om met miin frîndon froo'lik tã bhee-zê. 31 miin kiin, jôu bi-nê a'ttiid bæ'i mæ'i. [*"The pure long (ii) has often been changed into the Hollandish (j'i), but the Amelanders are not consistent, and you may hear them say: (bhæ'i se'ghê a'ttiid tæ'id, in niit tiid), 'we all-teed (tiid) say tide (tæ'id), and not teed (tiid).'"* Such in-

consistencies are valuable for shewing the unconsciousness of transitions.]

95. *Het Bildt*, parish, a Dutch *gemeente*, and lordship, Dutch *grietenij*, containing *St. Anna-Parochie*, village (53 n 17, 5 e 40). I. 492.

11 dər bhæær əs 'n man, dii hād tbbæe sœœnən. 12 ən nœi pær'tə hœær -t ghuud ȳt ən'əndər. 15 om də ferkəns tə bhæi'ən. 18 hait, ik hev mæi bəso'ndighd tœæn jœu. 22 hæel -t be'stə kleed foor -t likht ən duun him dat an, ən gheef him 'n riq an siin hand, ən skuu'nən an ə fuu'tən. 23 't fœt'mest kalf. 24 bhant dœæzə sœœn fan miinən bhæær doo'd, ən nœi is fœ'nən. 25 mæær də man siin œurdstə sœœn bhæær in -t feld, ən duu dii bheerom kam, ən di'khtə bœi -t hyys bhæær, noord ii-t ghæsi'q ən-t ghæspri'q. 27 jœu bruur. 29 dat ik met miin ghuudə frindən əs froo'lik bheezə mœ'khtə. 31 kiind, dœu bist a'ltiid bœi mœi.

96. *Noordwold*, village (52 n 53, 6 e 8). I. 498.

11 'n zee'kær meens hādə tbbii' zœœnən. 12 ən nœi dii'ldə hœær 't ghuu'd. 15 om də var'kəns tə hyy'dən. 18 hait, ik hEE zœœndighd tœe'ghən jœu. 22 breg miir aar'nstons 't be'stə kliid, ən trek -t nom an, ən gheet 'n riq an ziin haand ən skhuu'nən, an ə biinən. 23 't vœ'tə kaalf. 24 bhant di'zə zœœnə van miz bhas dood, ən nou is nœi vœ'nən. 25 ən ziin o'lstə zœœnə bhas op ə ak'ər, ən tuu is kbham, ən bi' hyys bhas, hœœrde nœi-t ziq'ən ən juu'lən ['revel,' Dutch word]. 27 jœu brœær. 29 om mit miin kameraa'dən vroo'lik tə bheezən. 31 kiind, is bin a'ltiid bi' miz.

XXV. NOORD-HOLLAND, in English Province of NORTH HOLLAND. II. 1.

97. *Wester-Schelling*, west part of island of *ter-Schelling* (53 n 20, 5 e 13). II. 10.

11 dir bhaas in minsk, dii nii tbbaa sins. 12 in ta ['father'] jookh ['gave'] elk siin o'ndeel ['share']. 15 om op də barghən tə pær'sən. 18 ta, ik na so'ndighd tshin [or (tsi'n)] jo. 22 naalə ghœu də be'stə kle'n, dokh 's him o'n, stek 'n riq o'n siin fi'qər, in dokh skœ'nən o'n siin fœ'tən. 23 't me'stə kéal. 24 bhant miin sin, dii for ȳs deed bhas, is bher foq ['found,'

or 'caught']. 25 də aA'dstə sin bhaas iin -t fiild [or (fiild)] in daa ni, biit nœi hyys tAA gheen, ti'khtə bi' koom heerdə nii -t siœ'qən in-t spiil'ən. 27 diin bruur. 29 om mi' mœi miin fro'qən froo'lik tə mæi'tæn. 31 okh, miin boqrn, doo bi'stə o'məs a'ltiid bi' mi.

98. *Ooster-Schelling*, east part of island of *ter-Schelling* (53 n 20, 5 e 20). II. 15.

11 dər bhaas ris 'n minsk, in dii nii tbbaa sins. 12 in də man de'e'ldə -t ghuu'd. 15 om op də barghən tə pær'sən. 18 ta, ik ha ghre'tə so'ndə tshin [or (tsi'n)] ta bidru'ən. 22 briq də be'stə kle'n, in dokh him dii o'n, in jœkh him-ən riq o'n siin naan, in skœ'nən o'n siin fœ'tən. 23 't fœ'tə ke'l. 24 bhant dœæzə sin fan mi' bhas deed, in nii is bher fœn. 25 in də aA'dstə sin bhaas op -t fiild [or (fiild)], in as ni tikht bi' hyys koom, heerdə nii siœ'qən in spiil'ən. 27 diin bruur. 29 dak ik mœi miin froe'nən froo'lik bhe'zə kuu'. 31 miin sin, doo bist a'ltiid bi' mi.

99. *Midslands*, village, middle-of-the-land of *ter-Schelling* (53 n 20, 5 e 15). II. 18.

11 dər bhaas ris-ən mins, di hād tbbii' sœœns. 12 in nœi de'e'ldə har-t ghuu'd. 15 om op də barghən tə pær'sən. 18 ta, ik hef so'ndighd tœe'ghən ta. 22 naal ghœu -t be'stə kleed, in duu'n him dat an, in duu'n him-ən riq an siin fi'qər, in skuu'nən an siin fuu'tən. 24 bhant miin sœœn dii ik mi'ndə ['thought'] dat dood bhaas, is bher fœ'nən. 25 də œurdstə sœœn bhaas in-t feld, in duu nœi naa hyys ghœu, in di'khtə bœi kbham, noerdə nœi -t si'qən in -t dær'sən. 27 diin bruur. 29 om mæi met miin maats ['mates'] ris froo'lik tə maakən. 31 miin jœ'qə, dœu bist i'məs a'ltœs bœi mœi.

100. *Flieland*, island (53 n 15, 5 e 0). II. 22.

11 deer bhas dris 'n man, nen dii ad tbbii' seens. 12 nen taat dœi'ldən -t ghuud no'ndər œm nen sin no'urdstən bruur. 15 nom də sbhœ'nən tə bhœi'ən. 18 taat, rik eb so'ndighd tœe'ghən jœu. 22 breg jœlœ'i ['you,' Dutch *gijlieden*] 't kna'pstə pak iir, nen trek-œt-œm nan, non gheef 'n riq nan sin aqd ['hand'], non skuu'nən nan sin fuu'tən. 23 't kalf dat bhe nop -t ok

mest e-ban. 24 bhaqt dæcæzə min seen bhas dood, nan əi nis forndən. 25 heu de man sin nōurdstə seen bhas nop -t feld, tuu dii nee iis ['near house'] kbham, oordən əi-t ghəsiq nen-t ghədans. 27 jə bruur. 29 nom ris froo'lik tə bheezəu met min maats. 31 kiind, jə bint harltəd bəi mee.

[Observe the regular omission and insertion of (n). (iis), for *house*, is said to have "a very peculiar sound between (iis) and (æs).", (driis), once, shews the form (ris) to be *derienst*.]

101. *Texel*, island (52 n 5, 4 e 47). II. 26.

11 deer bhas əri:s 'n man dii tbhii sœcəns nad. 12 ən də vaardər deed-ət. 15 om op də forkes tə pə:sə. 18 taat, ik nebh ghroo'tə so'ndə deen tœcə'ghə jōu. 22 briq in 'n amərə'i:tsjə ['in an *ave-maria*!'] in a moment! miin bestə rok niir ən duun -əm dii an, ən gheef nim-ən riq an siin hand, ən skuunə an siin bi'ne ['put shoes on his legs.' Winkler says he has been asked by a maidservant at Haarlem to wipe his *legs* (instead of his feet) on the doormat: *meheer! sel uwes assiblijf je bevine of fege?* see spec. 80, for *boots on feet*. 23 't fet mēstə kolf. 24 bhant dæcæzə sœcən bhas foor mōi net ['neat,' quite] so ghuud as dood, ən nōi is bheero'm forndə. 25 ən də ɔr-stə sœcən bhas op-t land, ən duu i bheero'm kbham, ən dikht bəi nyys bhas, noord i si-qə ən spœcə-lə. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mit me frii'ndən əri:s 'n partə'i an tə le'ghə. 31 kiind, jəi bent i mers o-lan bəi mee.

102. *Wieringen*, island (52n55, 5 e 0). II. 30.

11 dər bhas əri:s 'n man dii tbhii jorqes nad. 12 iin fan di jorqes, də jorqstə, fruugh an siin taat ['dad'] om siin mēmes ['mammy's'] bəbhii's; ən dat kreegh i. 15 om də farkes tə bhāi'dən. 18 ik sel tœcə'ghən taat se'ghə dat ik so'ndighd neef. 22 maar siin taat sēi'də tœcə'ghən siin kneehs, dat sə siin bestə kleerə bre'qə mōstə, ən sən a'ntre'kə mōstə, ən dat sən riq an siin naqd, ən skuunə an siin bi'ne duun mōstə. 23 't mēstə kalf. 24 bhant siin sœcən dii i dokht dat dood bhas, bhas nōu bheero'm forqən. 25 maar tuu kbham dii aarə ['other'] jorqə fan-t laqd-t nyys, ən dii noo'rde nuu-r so'qən ən daqst bhii'd. 27 siin

bruur. 29 bheer nōi met aarə jorqes ris klukht [local word for 'pleasure'] mee maar kə mō'khtə. 31 kiin, jəi bin a'ltoos bəi mee.

103. *Schagen*, country town (52 n 47, 4 e 47). II. 35.

11 dər bhas-ər-s 'n vaardər ən dii nad tbhee sœcəns. 12 hōi ghōq ər den maar tuu o'vər om-əm z'n por'sii tə gheevən, deer i 'anspraak op had. 15 op də varkəns pə:sə. 18 m'n vaardər is zəən gūni-jə kee'rəl, as k-ər-s nee 'm tuu ghōq, ən zēi'də dat -ət-m'n spōit ['food'] daa -k zəə raar deen nep, dan, deqk ik, zōu-k bhel bheer in hōi's kōm'ə maghə. 22 hōi most in iinən dii sti-kəndə kleerə ət duun, ən də knekht most ny'və naa-lə, ən dii most i a'ntre-kə, ən i kreegh 'n ghēu'rən riq an z'n vi'qər, ən skhuunə an. 23 't mee'stkalf. 24 bhant m'n zœcən bhas zəə ghuud as dōd, nōu is i o'nvərbbhakhs bheer opərdan [Dutch *opwärts an*, upwards on] kōmən. 25 tbhōis zə in nōi's a'ləs klaar maakt na-də, bhas də ɔr-stə zœcən nogh op-t land, ən tuu -t zəə bhat omēenəbēi [Dutch *om ende bij*, nearly] skheemōree'vōnd bhas, hat i deen ən tuu ghōq i nee hōi's tuu, maar tuu i bhat di-klitər bəi hōi's kbham, nōrd i dat zə zəə əisələ'ik ['awfully'] vrə-lək bhar-zə. 27 jə broo'r. 29 tuu ik iiməsdaa'ghə kaməraa's bəi m'n nad. 31 m'n jorqən, jee bin a'ltoos bəi m'n bheest.

[The open long *e* and *o* are clearly pronounced and kept distinct from the close long *e* and *o*. The open long *e* in West Friesian pronunciation sounds "almost like the Friesian diphthong *ea*," or (éa, éə, e'), "and the open long *o* nearly agrees with the Friesian *oa*," (óa, óə, o'); but I have put (ee, ə) in the transcription, because the fracture was not sufficiently clearly indicated.]

104. *Benningbroek*, village (52 n 42, 5 e 2). II. 41.

11 deer bhas ər-s 'n man, in dii had tbhee sœcəns. 12 ən hái dee'ldə nœcərlēi-t ghuud. 15 om də ver'kəns tə bhāi'dən. 18 vaardər, ik nebh kbhaad deen tœcə'ghən jōu. 22 breq niir ghōu də bestə plæn ['clothing,' old (plynnə)], in Ōstend (plə'i:tsjəs), origin unknown], in duun 't m an, in gheef om-ən riq an s'n nand, in skuunə an s'n bi'ne. 23 't meest kalf. 24 bhant dæcæzə m'n sœcən bhas dood, in

nái is bheer vōndən. 25 in s'n ōurdstē sœen bhas in -t veld, in tuu dii dikht bái nœ'is kbham, noord i ziqən in spœælən. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vriandē ær-s vroo'lik bheezə mokht. 31 kind, jái binə a'ltaid bái mee.

[On the word (bøk) for Dutch *buik* (bœ'ik), Winkler remarks that long (yy) and (ii) were anciently common all over Holland, as at present in Zeeland, West Flanders, Friesland and most other Netherland provinces. Only Holland, Brabant, and East Flanders have changed long *u* = (yy) into *ui* = (œ'i), and long *i* = (ii) into *ij* = (œ'i), which Winkler identifies with (ei). See (1292 a). "But even in Holland the old pronunciation is not thoroughly extinct. Some words, as *duvel*, *duzend*, *iverig*, are pronounced with (yy, ii) by almost all Hollanders, even townsmen, and those who speak so-called 'fashionable' *fatsœndelĳk* Hollandish. But in some Holland dialects the sounds sink to an intermediate sound, as *buk* (bøk) rather than *buik* or *buuk* (bœ'ik, byyk), and *dik* (dik, de'k), rather than *dijk* or *diik* (dæ'ik, diik), and this is the case at Benningbroek." In spec. 105 these are apparently rather (*æ*, *ii*). All this confirms what was said on page 295.]

105. *Enkhuizen*, town (52n42, 5 e 17). II. 45.

11 dər bhoōndə a'rgħəns 'n man di argh riik bhas ən dii t̃bhee zœœns ad. 12 ən i deē'ldə z'n ghuud o'ndər 'rlœ'ir. 15 om op də varkəns op tē parsə. 18 vaardər 'k eb zo'ndighd tœœghən jōu. 22 aa'lt 't bēstə pak kleērə r's iir, ən hæet ["sounds as long *e* with a slight inclination to *a*; this sound is not easy to describe, and is very peculiar"] -æt -əm a'nduun, ən gheef-əm-ən riq ən z'n and, ən skuunə ən z'n biinə. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant dœœzə miin zœœn bhas dœd ["a sound between Friesian *oa* and *ooa* (o', oo' ?), the Netherland *boom* (boom ?) a tree, and the Netherland *bot* (bot, bōt ?)], ən is vōndən. 25 ən z'n ōurdstē zœœn bhas in-t veld, ən duu dii bhrom kbham, ən kort bi æs bhas oōrdə ii-t ghəzəq ən-t dānsə. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat 'k œk ær-s mit m'n ma'kərz ['mates'] pret e'ba kon. 31 kind, ji bint a'ltaid biī mii.

[On (*æ*, *ii*), see note on spec. 104.]

106. *Hoorn*, town (52 n 36, 5 e 4). II. 47.

[As a workman would relate the parable to his children.]

11 dər bhas ærs 'n e'regh rœ'ik heer dii t̃bhee zœœns rad. 12 mē taat, jə mōrstə mō'in mē muurdərs bebhœ'iz ghee'və. 15 op z'n varkəns in-t land tē parsə. 18 taat, zo'ndighd heb ik, voor jōu. 22 steekt jœ'ilœ'ir di jœ'qə dər's ghāu fern in dē plœnə [‘clothing’] dat ii-r bheer kadree' ['smart'] œ'itziit. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant mē jœ'qə bhas zoo ghuud as dood maar nōu kan a'les nogh bheer in-t e'fə kōmə. 25 maar nōu dē ōurdstē zœœn dii kbham-t nœ'is van-t land ən dii hōōrdə dat labhái ['uproar,' row, used in all Dutch dialects] ən dii zagħ dat spektaa'kəl. 27 z'n bruur. 29 dat ik m'n éighə mit mē kameraats verdii'vartēerə kon. 31 jœ'qə, jœ'i binə o'mərs a'ltœ'id hēn ən o'mtrənt mee.

107. *Urk*, island (52n40, 5e37). II. 54.

11 dāar bhas ær-s 'n man, in dii a'də t̃bhii' zyyns. 12 in z'n taa'tə dii'ldə 't ghuud, ən għat 'm z'n part. 15 om op də varkəs tē parsən. 18 taa'tə, ik æv æzœndighd tyy'ghən juu. 22 briq iir dāa'delik 't bēstə klii'd, in trek-ət-əm ən, in ghii'f-əm-ən riq ən z'n aand, in skhuunən ən z'n biinən. 23 't ghœmestə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zyyn bhas dood, in ii is bheer øvuurndən. 25 in d-ōurdstē zyyn bhas in -t laand, in duu ø'i kort bœ'i -t œœs kbham, oord ii -t ghəzəq in-t ghədəns. 27 jə bryyr. 29 dat ik mit m'n vriandən øk ær-s vroœ'lik bheezə mokht. 31 keend, ji binən o'mərs a'ltoos bœ'i m'n. ["Long *a* has four sounds, as long *o* in *goon*, *stoon* (oo); as *oa* (aa) in *doar*, *toate*; as pure *a* (aa) in *dagen*, *maak*; and finally as *æ* (æe) in *mæer*, *wæerdig*, etc." Although initial *h* is omitted, it is not unduly inserted.]

108. *Marken*, island (52 n 27, 5 e 8). II. 58.

11 dər bhas-æs 'n man, ən dii ad t̃bhee zœœns. 12 ən ø'i vērdeē'ldə 't ghuud. 15 om op də ver'kəns tē parsən. 18 taa, ik ebh øzœundighd tœœghən jōu. 22 briqt iir ghəqk ['quickly'] 'n bas ['beautiful,' old Friesian *bask*] kleeed, ən trekt-ət-əm ən, ən gheeft 'n riq ən z'n æend, ən skhuunən ən z'n biinən. 23 't ghœmestə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœn bhas dood, ən ø'i is øvōurndən. 25 ən z'n ōurdstē zœœn bhas op-t lœ'end ən tuun ø'i dikht bōi ø'is kam, oōrdə ø'i -t ghəzəq ən-t ghədəns. 27 jə bruur.

29 om mit m'n maats ær-s vroe'lik to bheezə. 31 kə'ind, jə'i bi'nə a'l'tə'id bə'i mē.

109. *Holijssloot*, village, near *Buiksloot*, village (52n24, 4e55). II. 62.

11 deer bhas ær-s 'n man dii tbhee zœæns nad. 12 ən tuu vœdœ'ldə də vaadər z'n ghuud. 15 om de varkis tə drô'ivə ['drive,' Dutch]. 18 vaadər, ik heb æzœndighd tœæ'ghə jœu. 22 breq də be'stə klee'rə niir, ən trek-əm dii an, ən gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuurnə an z'n bi'nə. 23 't vœ'tə kalf. 24 bhant dœæ'zə zœæn van mee bhas æstœrvə, ən is bheer ævœ'ndə. 25 ən z'n œrstə zœæn bhas in-t land ən tuu dii deer æ'it ghoq, ən dikht bə'i hœ'is kbham, noorden ii-t gheza'q ən də nyzi'ik. 27 jə bruur. 29 om met mē kāmœraas ær-s pret tə hœvə ['hold']. 31 zœæn, jə'i bent a'l'tə'id bə'i mē.

110. *Zaankant* or coast about *Zaandam*, in English *Saardam*, town (52 n 26, 4 e 49). II. 65.

11 dər bhas 'r 's 'n man, ən dii had tbhee zœæns. 12 ən də vaadər dœ'ldə-n-t ghuud. 15 œm œp də varəkəs tə parsə. 18 vaadər, 'k hev æzœndighd tœæ'ghə jœu. 22 haal anstons ['at the hour,' immediately] 't mœoi'stə klee'd, ən duu-m dat an; steek-ən riq an z'n hand, ən trek skuurnə an z'n vuurtə. 23 't mœ'stə kal'f. 24 bhant dœæ'ze zœæn van mee bhas æstœrvə, ən is ævœ'ndə. 25 ən də œrstə zœæn bhas in-t veld ən duu ii -t hœ'is kwam ["the *ui* of *huis*, etc., is nearly between *ai* (ái) and *oi* (ói)"], noorde ii-t zi'qə æn-t dænsə. 27 jə bruur. 29 œm mit mē vrində bhet pláizi'r tə hevə. 31 kind, jə'i bint œmærs a'lə dagh bə'i mē.

111. *Heemskerk*, village (52n30, 4 e 41). II. 68.

11 dər bhas réis 'n man met tbhee zœæns. 12 ən də vaadər dœ-t. 15 om œp də varəkəs tə parsən. 18 vaadər, ik heb ghæzœndighd tœæ'ghə jœu. 22 breq niir 't be'stə pak, trek-t-əm an, gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi'qə, ən trek-əm skhuurnen an z'n bi'nən. 23 't vœ'tə kalf. 24 bhant dœæ'zə zœæn van mee bhas doo'd, ən ik heb 'm bheer ækre'ghən. 25 z'n œrstə zœæn bhas in -t veld, ən tuu i bə'i hœq ['home,' a good Friesian word, in full use in Friesland] kbham,

noorden ii-t zi'qən ən dænsən. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat ik met mē vrində vroe'lik kon bheezə. 31 kind, jə bin a'l'tə'id bə'i mē.

112. *Egmond aan Zee*, village (52 n 36, 4 e 38). II. 71.

11 deer bhas 'n man dii a'də tbhii zœæ'nə. 12 hən ái dœ'ldə z'n ghuud œqər [Dutch *onder* 'among'] dœrlœi [for *heurlui*, Dutch *huntlieden*, literally them people]. 15 nom nop də var'kəns tə parsə. 18 taat, rik e'e bha zœ'q'dighd tœæ'ghə jœu. 22 breq prakhtkái ['immediately,' a word in daily use among the Egmond fishermen, of unknown origin] 't zi'ndagh'sə pak ['Sunday's pack'], hən trekt 't im an, hən gheef-im-ən riq, an z'n aqd ['hand'], hən skuurnə an z'n bi'nə. 23 't ghæmœ'stə kalf. 24 bhagt mē zœæn bhas dood, hən ái nis bheer ævœ'qə ['found']. 25 hən z'n œrstə zœæn bhas in-t laqd, hən tuu ái báí 't óis kbham, oord ái ráikələ'ik zi'qə ən dæ'qə. 27 jə bruur. 29 nom ris mit mē mak'ers bláid tə bheezə. 31 kind, jái ben a'l'táid báí mē.

113. *Zandvoort*, village (52n23, 4 e 32). II. 74.

11 dər bhas ærés 'n man, ən dii had tbhii zœæns. 12 ən tuu ghaf də vœæ'dər-əm z'n pœrsii, ən liit 'm ghææn. 15 jə, bhái ['yes, feed'] mē var'kəs mæær. 18 vœæ'dər, ik heb æzœndighd tœæ'ghə jœu. 22 hææl də be'stə plœ'njə, ən duut-əm dii an, ən gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuurnə an z'n bi'nə. 23 't vœ'tə kalf. 24 bhant mē zœæn bhas dood, ən is berœm [Dutch *wederom* 'again'] ækœ'mə. 25 ən z'n œrstə zœæn bhas in-t veld, ən tuu dii nææ hœ'is kbham, noorden ii al in də vœrtə 't zi'qə æn-t spriqə. 27 jə frœrə. 29 om mit mē vrində vroe'lik tə bheezə. 31 kind, jái bent a'l'táid báí mē.

[On the west coast of Holland generally, long *a* is (ææ), *ei* and *ij* are (ái, ái), *ui* is (ói, ói), close *e* is (ii); *h* is usually left out and put in exactly contrariwise, but this is not so in Zandvoort.]

114. *Haarlem*, city (52 n 23, 4 e 38). II. 79.

[“The present mode of speech in Haarlem is undoubtedly that which, of all used in the province of Holland, and hence in the Netherlands, approaches nearest to the genuine Netherlandish;

it is nearest to the present literary language. Genuine Haarlemish, as far as it exists, is certainly not spoken by more than half the inhabitants; the other half, including many strangers, speak modern Hollandish." The *g* is very strongly guttural, and *l* and *n* final cause the insertion of (i) before, and (ə) after, the preceding short vowel, as (khiə'ə:ldə) for *gulden* (ghæ:ldən). Both the specimens 114 and 115 are dated, August 1870.]

11 dər bhas ærēisi:s ['there-once-once,' a repetition] 'n man, ən dii həd tbee zoons. 12 ən də va:dər vərdeə'ldə z'n buu'ltshə [or (buu'ltjə)] ən khaf-əm z'n porsii:. 15 əm z'n vərəkəs tə bhēi:ə. 18 va:dər, 'k nep khə-zo:ndikh't tee'ghə jəu. 22 breq mə rēis kháu ['quickly'] mə be'stə jas [= *lias*, 'bundle,' a Dutch French word] hiir, ən duu-m dii ən, ən duu-n riq ən z'n hənd, ən skhuu:nə ən z'n bēi:nə. 23 't vet khəmi'stə kə'l'f. 24 bhant mə zoon bhas dood, ən nōu is-t-i khəv'ndə. 25 ən z'n ōr'stə zoon bhas op't land, ən tuu dii dikht bə'i't hē'is kbham, noo:rdən ii-t khəzə'q ən-t khə-dəns. 27 jə bruur. 29 əm-s-ən fē'si ['feast'] mit mə vri'ndə tə hē'bə. 31 bhiel ['well'] jə'qə, jə'i bent əltə'id bə'i mee.

115. *Haarlem*, see specimen 114. II. 82.

["Modern Hollandish," that is, literary Dutch, called "of course almost exclusively in the province of Holland the polite (*beschaafde*) pronunciation of Netherlandish." See pp. 1292, and 1377, c'.]

11 iimand həd tbee zoons. 12 ən tuu vərdeə'ldə də va:dər z'n ghuud. 15 əm də vərəkəs tə bhēi:ə. 18 va:dər, ik heb ghəzo:ndighd tee'ghən yy. [(yy) is a contraction for (yy-ee), still used by ladies' maids, and that a contraction for (yy eedəle) *uw edele*, 'your nobility'; *gij* (ghə'i) is used in writing.] 22 breq-s ghōu -t be'stə pak kleerə hiir, ən duu-m dat ən, ən duu-n riq ən z'n hənd, ən skhuu:nə ən z'n vuur-tə. 23 't ghəme'stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoon bhas dood, ən ii is bheer ghəv'ndə. 25 də ōr'stə zoon bhas op't veld, ən tuun i dikht bə'i nē'is kbham, noo:rdə hē'i -t ghəzə'q ən-t ghə-dəns. 27 yy bruur. 29 əm-s met mə vri'ndə feest tə kē'nə viirə ['celebrate']. 31 m'n jə'qən, jee bent i mers əltə'id bə'i mee.

116. *Amsterdam*, city (52n22, 4 e 53). II. 93.

[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journeymen still speak Amsterdamish, which was original Friesian; in the xivth and xvth centuries it was still half Friesian; in the xvith and beginning of the xvith it agreed most closely with the speech of Leeuwarden, specimen 91; and Winkler thinks that old Amsterdamish is nearer to Friesian than the present Friesian itself, and refers to the verses of Gijsbrand Adriaenszen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the latter part of the xvith century, and now barely half of the genuine Amsterdamers speak Amsterdamish. "Busy intercourse with fellow-countrymen and strangers, improved education, greater wish to read, and above all *fashion*, which rejects all that is original, or that is inherited, has made old Amsterdamish what it is." Winkler recognises at present *nineteen* varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the following specimen, the *Kalverstraatish*, or speech of Kalver Street, which runs South from the Palace; this mode of speech is spoken in parts which are "*zeer fatsoendelijk*" (very fashionable), and is corrupted by "*elegante expressies*" (elegant expressions); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the Heeregracht and Keizergracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabitants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.]

11 dər bhas-ærēisi:s 'n man-ən [the hyphens are here all in the original, and shew rather a different union of words from that used in English] dii nat tbee zoons. 12 ən hē'i ghaf 'm zooveel-as əm tuurkbham. 15 ghə mar na bə'i'tə-n-op mə lant, tan kēi-j-op ['then can ye upon'] mə vərəkəs parsə. 18 okh-ik nep ghəzo:ndight tēə'ghə-n-yyee. 22 naal jə'i rēis-astə-bhnt m'n zo:ndagh'sə rok niir-ən trek 'm dii-j-ən-ən gheef 'm-as 'n fatsu:ndelik mans kind ['as a fashionable man's child'] 'n riq-ən z'n vi'qer; -ən ja, skhuu:nə mot-i-j-ook-ən nē'bə! zegh! breq mə be'stə nyyə mə'r mee-j-ən duu 'm dii-j-ən z'n vuur-tə. 23 't ghəme'stə kə'l'f. 24 bhant mə zoon bhas zoo ghuut-as doot-ən 'k neb 'm bheer-əm ghəv'ndə. 25 ən d ōr'stə

zoon bhi-sta-r nogh niks nii-mëndal van, bhant hā'i bhas net niit 't hā'is, ma'r tuun-i na hā'is kbham, noor-dā-n-i dat-r braaf ghazō-qā-n-ān ghada-nst bhiir-ān dat-tō vicoo'l ghiq. 27 yy'es bruur. 29 om 'n vriind-maa-lt-hā [or (-tjā)] met m'n kernisā tō nōu-bhā. 31 kind, zēi dā vaad-ār tun, neb-jā-n-t niit-ā-lā daarghā vol-op bā'i mee ghaurāt?

117. *Laren*, village (52 n 15, 5 e 13). II. 98.

11 'n zee-kār mins a-dā tbhee zæens. 12 ān hā'i deēldā nōn 't ghoud. 15 om dā varkes tō hœœ-ān. 18 vaad-ār, ik eb æzō-ndighd tœœ-ghān jōu. 22 breg ghōu-t be-stā kleed iir, ān doo-t æm ān, ān gheef æm-ān riq ān z'n aqd, ān skhoo-nān ān z'n beēnān. 23 't vêtā kalf. 24 bhant dii zœœn van mee bhas dood, ān is ævō-qdān. 25 z'n ōurstā zœœn bhas op-t veld, ān too hā'i kbham ān kort bā'i hā'is kbham, oordā hā'i ghāzi-q ān ghada-q's. 27 jā brœœr. 29 om met m'n vriindān is vroo-lik tō bheezān. 31 kē'ind, jā'i bin altā'id bā'i mee.

118. *Huizen*, village (52 n 18, 5 e 14). II. 102.

11 'n mins had tbhee zæœnān. 12 ān hā'i deēldā z'n ghoud. 15 om dā varkens tō bheir-ān. 18 vaad-ār, ik heb æzō-ndighd tœœ-ghān jōu. 22 briq daarlāk 't be-stā pak ān dōou-t hœm ān, gheef-ām-ān riq ān z'n haqd, ān skhoo-nān ān z'n beēnān. 23 't vêtā kalf. 24 waqt dœœ-zā zœœn van mee bhas doo'd, ān is ævō-qdān. 25 ān dā ōurstā zœœn bhas op-t laqd, ān too' hii dikht bā'i hā'is kbham, zagħ hii 'n ghroo'-tā vāra-qoriq [Dutch *verandering*, 'change']; zā zo-qān, spœœldān ān dā-qstān. 27 jā brœœr. 29 om met m'n vriindān vroo-lik tō bheezān. 31 kē'ind, jā'i bint altā'id bā'i mee.

XXVI. *ZUID-HOLLAND*, in English Province of SOUTH HOLLAND. II. 105.

119. *Woubrugge*, village (52 n 10, 4 e 37). II. 106.

11 dār bhas ærasi's 'n man dii tbhee zæœns nad. 12 ān d-ōu-ā man vā-deēldān z'n gheld ān ghoud. 15 om dā varkes tō nūui-jōn. 18 vaad-ār, ik heb æzō-ndighd tœœ-ghā jōu. 22 breg 's ghān-t zœœndaghskhā ghoud niir ās trek-t-ā-ām ān, ān steek-ān riq

ān z'n vi-qār, ān trek-ām skhuu-nān ān. 23 't vêtā kalf. 24 bhant dœœ-zā zœœn van mee bhas dōoud ["long o with the accent, and a faint aftersound of ou"] ān ik heb 'm bheer ævō-ndā. 25 zāin ōurstā zœœn bhas 't land in ægha-ān, ān tuu dii bheer op hā'is ān ghōq, ān op dā bhœrf [Dutch *werf*, 'wharf,' homestead], noor-dā hā'i zā zi-qān ān dā-nān. 29 om met mō kamaraa's skhik tō hē-bā. 31 kind, jā'i bent o-mārs altā'id bā'i mee.

120. *Leiden*, city (52 n 10, 4 e 30). II. 111.

["The speech of Leiden is undoubtedly by far the ugliest (*de leelijste*), most unpleasant, and most countrified (*plats*) sounding in all Holland." The open country is said to be *plat*, 'flat,' in contradistinction to the town, so that when those who speak Low—that is Lowland—German, talk of a *plat* pronunciation, they mean one which prevails in the country, which is so flat that the plain is not even broken by a collection of houses! All the terms *high*, *low*, *flat*, *upper*, applied to German, have reference to the conformation of the country, like Lowland and Highland applied to Scotch. The educated speak literary Dutch.]

11 dār bhas eri's 'n man dii tbhee zæœnā nad. 12 ān tuu deēldā dā vaad-ār z'n ghoud mit ærlōy ["the diphthong *ui* is not pure *oi* (*oi*), but has something of the *ou* sound," and Winkler writes *ou*, which I interpret (*oy*)]. 15 om op dā varakes tō pā-sā. 18 vaad-ār ik eb zōndā ghada-ān tēi-ghā jōu. 22 haal æri's ghāu-t sœ-ndasā pak, ān trek-āt-ām ān, ān stēik 'n ghōu-ā riq ān z'n vi-qār, ān trek-ām skhuu-nān ān z'n vuutā. 23 't ghāme-stā kār-lōf. 24 want dœœ-zā zœœn van mee bhas dōoud, ān hā'i is bhēir tœœ-gh ghavō-ndā. [The (*ei*, *ai*) are here separated, according as Winkler writes *ei*, *ai*, but he says *ei* and *ij* are not pure *ai*, but are somewhat prolonged, as *a-ai*.] 25 ān dā man z'n ōurstā zœœn bhas op 't land, ān tuu dii ghada-ān ad mit bherākā, ān naa hōys ghōq ān dikht bā'i hōys kbham, noor-dān ii dat zā zo-qān ān dā-nstā. 27 jā bruur. 29 om mī-mā ['with my'] kamaraa's vrooi-lik tō bhēir-zā. 31 jā, jā'i bint altā'id bā'i māin.

121. *Katwijk aan Zee*, village (52 n 12, 4 e 23). II. 122.

11 dər bhas əri's 'n man, dii tbhee jo-qə's nái, də iin 'n pæar jæ-ærtshəs [or (tjəs)] au-ər ['older'] as d-əndər. 12 in tuu dee'ldə də væ-ædər z'n gheld in ghuud, in ghaf 'm z'n porsii [or (porsjə)]. 15 om də varkəs tə bhā'i. 18 væ-ædər, ik neb æzæn-dighd tœ-æghə jóu. 22 næ-æ-əl əri's ghóu-t móo'i-stə pak kleerə, in trek-ə-əm an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi-qər, in skuu-nə an z'n biir-nə. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant dœ-æ-zə zœ-æn van mee bhas doo'd, in náu ne-bə bhee-m bheer oov-ndə. 25 də áur-stə zœ-æn bhas in-t veld, in tuu dii-t hœ-is kbham, noo-rd-i-i-t zi-qən in-t dæ-n-sən. 27 jáu bruur. 29 dat ik mit mə kaməraa's əri's vroo'lik kon bhee-zə. 31 mə jo-qə, jáu bint a'táid báí mee.

122. *Scheveningen*, village (52 n 16, 4 e 16). II. 126.

11 dər bhas əri's- 'n man, ən dii ad tbbii zœ-əns. 12 ən z'n væ-ædər dee'ldə də buul of voor zœ-ən ['him,' Dutch *zijn*, properly 'his'] ən z'n bruur. 15 om z'n varəkəs tə úui-jə [remnant of *hoeden* (nuur-dən)]. 18 væ-ædər, ik ebb æzæn-dighd tœ-æghə jóu. 22 laq dæ-æ-dəlik 't bestə ghuud, ən dunt-əm dat an, ən duu-n riq an z'n and ən gheef ən skhuu-nə an z'n biir-nə. 23 't əm-ə-stə kal'f. 24 bhant dœ-æ-zə zœ-æn van mee bhas doo'd [written *doad*, and said to be the "Friesian and English *oa* in *boat*," the former is (óa, o', oo'), the latter is certainly not so in lettered English], ən ii is bhæ-ro-m əko-mə. 25 ən də man z'n óur-stə zœ-æn dii bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii næ-æ o-əs ['house'] ghuq, oo' rdə-n-ii zə zi-qə ən dæ-n-sə. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mit mə kamə-ræ-ə's əri's vroo'lik tə bhee-zə. 31 jóoi ['young one'], jə-i ben a'táid báí mee.

123. 's *Gravenhage*, in English *the Hague*, city (52 n 3, 4 e 18). II. 131.

11 dər bhas əri's 'n man, ən dii nad tbbæ'i zaa-nə. 12 ən tuu dæ'i-ldə də vaah-dər z'n ghuud o'ndə n/ílii. 15 om də varəkəs tə núui-jə. 18 vaah-dər, ik hep ghæzœndighd tœ-æghə yv. 22 breq níir ris gháu-t bestə klæ'id ən dunt-at-əm an, ən ghæ'ift-əm-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu-nə an z'n vuur-tə. 23 't ghə-mə-stə kal'f. 24 bhant dœ-æ-zə zaa-n van mee bhas daad, ən nóu hēe-m-əm tœ-æghə ghævo-ndə. 25 ən z'n óur-stə zaa-n bhas in 't veld, ən

tuu dii kbham ən dikht bēe-t hœ'is bhas, noo-rdə-n-ii-t ghæzəq ən-t ghæ-dæns. 27 jə bruur. 29 om dər met mə vri-ndə vfaa'lik mæ'i tə bhee-zə. 31 m'n kind, jee bin a'toos bēe m'n.

["e and o are very broad; e comes near *ai*, and o near *ao* (AA). *ei, ui, ou, ij*, are close and pinched (*beuipens*); *ei, ij*, are almost long French *è*; *ui* is *cui* with second *eu* in French *heureusement*, and *ou* is very near *oe* (uu).] In the text I have followed his spelling, where I have used (æ'i) to express an "imperfect, obscure" *ai*, because he says that where it stands for *e* long, it must not be spoken "perfect" nor "too clearly," and that long *a* "approaches the bleating *æ* (ææ)," which I have represented by (ah).]

124. 's *Gravesande*, village (51 n 59, 4 e 10). II. 134.

11 dər bhas is 'n man dii tbhee zœ-əns nad. 12 ən op 't la-qə lest ['at the long last'], dœ-ædər z'n zani-kə ən dréinə mos z'n vaarder bhel tuu-ghē-və, ən zoo kreegh-d-i z'n zin ['he got his mind,' got what he wanted]. 15 om də varkəs tə núui-jə. 18 vaardər, ik neb mæ-ergh slekht tœ-æghə jee ghedraa-ghə. 22 breq in 'n omæziirntshə [or (-tjə)] də bestə kleerə dii jə vinda ken, ən duu z-əm an, ən gheef-əm-ən ghóu-rə riq an z'n vi-qər ən skhuu-nə an z'n vuur-tə. 23 't vətghə-mə-stə kalf. 24 bhant dœ-æ-zə zœ-æn van mee bhas dood, ən nóu is-t-i bhæ-ro-m ghævo-ndə. 25 tuu dat zoo plaas nad, bhas dən óur-stə zœ-æn in-t veld, ən tuu dii van 't land kbham, ən dikhtə bə'i hœ'is bhas, noo-rdə-n-ii-t ghæzəq ən-t ghæ-dæns. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat ik m'i-mə vri-ndə ris vroo'lik mœkh ['might'] bhee-zə. 31 okh, mə kind, jee ben o-mərs a'tə'id bə'i mee.

125. *Groot-Amers*, village (51 n 54, 4 e 49). II. 138.

11 dər bhas-əs 'n man ən dii nad tbhee zœ-əns. 12 ən də vaardər dee'ldə-n-ært ghuud. 15 om də ver-kəs tə núui-jən. 18 vaardər, ik nee ghæzœndighd tœ-æghə jóu. 22 breq mə m'n bestə kleerə, ən duu z-əm an, ən gheef-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu-nə an z'n vuur-tə. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœ-æn níir bhas dood, ən nii is ghævo-ndə. 25 də man z'n óur-stə zœ-ən bhas op 't veld, ən tuu nii bíi 't nyys kbham, noo-rdə nii -t ghæzəq ən ghæ-dæns. 27 jə

bruur. 29 om mit mē vrinde vrootlik
tā bheezā. 31 kind, jee bint altiid
biī mee.

126. *Gorinchem*, town (51n49,
4 e 59). II. 140.

11 daār blas is nā man mi tbbec
zoons. 12 an tuu deeldā dā vaa'dar
z'n ghuud. 15 om op dā verakes tā
parsā. 18 vaa'dar 'k neb zoo slekht
ghelceft dat 't skhandā-n-is vœor jōu.
22 naal is ghāu, zee i, 't mōoi'stā
kleed, an trek-ot-ām is ['once'] AAN,
en-en riq mot i AAN z'n uand ne'bā,
en duut-ām skhuurnān ok AAN z'n
vuutā. 23 't vetā kalf. 24 omdaā
manā-jōqān op d'n hol blas ghēghaan
['had gone to the hole,' as it were 'to the
bottom,' the word *hol* is very idiomatic-
ally used in Dutch], en nōu bheer boorvā
waartor is ['and is now above water
again']; — nōi blas op-enān dbhaa'l-
bhegh ['lost path'], en ii is bheer tā
rekht. 25 nōu blas d'n ōurstā jōqā
net ['exactly'] op 't land, en tuun i nā
hœ'is tuur'kbbam, dokh ii ['thought
he']: bha noor-k vœer-en ghāzi'q
en-en ghada ns? 27 jō bryyr. 29 om
is mi m'n vrinde tā smœ'lā [Dutch
'feast,' gormandise] 31 jōqāskā, jee
bent o'mars al'tā'i bā'i mee.

127. *Rotterdam*, city (51n55,
4 e 29). II. 145.

11 dār blas iis 'n man dii tbbec
zœens nad. 12 in dā vaard'or ghaaf-
ām z'n porsii'. 15 om dā varakes op tā
parsā. 22 naal mē iis ghāu dā be'stā
kleerān ō'it-ā kast, in duut-ām dii an;
gheef-ām-en riq an z'n viqor, in
skhuurnā an z'n vuutā. 23 't vetā
kalf. 24 bhant mē zœen dii -k dokh
['thought'] dat dood blas, heb ik
bheer-ām ghavō'ndā. 25 tuu zā nōu
braaf an dā ghaq bhaa rā, kbbam dā
ōurstā zœen dii van 't ghavā'l nogh
niit en [this (en) is a mere expletive
associated with niit] bhist, in i noor-dā
zā zi'qān in dānsōn. 27 jō bruur.
29 dat-i [that he, the words are re-
ported in the third person] voor uem
of z'n vrinde nogh nōoit zoo ō'it'ghe-
naa ld ['fetched out'] nad. 31 kind,
jee bint o'mars bā'i mee.

["The sound *ai* must not be pro-
nounced too broadly (*colmondig*), it is
intermediate between *ei* and *ai*; the
orthography *ai*, with high German *ā*,
comes nearest to the sound." Hence
my (æ'i). Compare the note on (æ'i)
at the end of specimen 123.]

128. *Vlaardingen*, city (51n54,
4 e 21). II. 150.

11 dār blas ō'is 'n man, in dii ad
tbhec zœen nā. 12 in tuun deeldān-
ii-t. 15 om dā varakes tā ōu'jōn
[remnant of (noe'dān)]. 18 vœe'dar,
ik eb ōzōndighd tee'ghān jōu. 22
aelt jālii' m'n be'stā kleerā -s iir, in
duut-ām dii an, in steekt-en rā'iq an
z'n and, in gheef-ām skhuurnā an z'n
vuutā. 23 't ghēmestā ka'll'f. 24
bhant dœæzā zœen van mee blas
doo'd, in ii is ōvō'ndā. 25 z'n ōurstā
zœen blas in -t veld; in tuu dii
kbbam in dikht bā'i z'n vœe'darz
ō'is kbbam, oordān-ii-t zā'iqān in-t
dānsōn. 27 jō bruur. 29 om mit m'n
vrinde vrootlik tā bheezā. 31 kind,
jāi ben o'mars al'tā'id bā'i mee.

129. *Dordrecht*, in English
Dort, city (51 n 49, 4 e 41). II. 154.

11 dār blas ōs nā man, en dii had
tbhec zœens. 12 an tuu gha'f dā
vaa'dar-ām z'n zīm ['mind'] en dā
zœen kreggh dā hē'lef. 15 om op dā
verkāns tā parsā. 18 vaard'or, 'k neb
ghāzōndighd tee'ghān yy. 22 naalt
dā be'stā kleerā, trekt-ām dii an, duut
nā riq an z'n hand, en skhuurnā an z'n
vuutā. 23 't ghēmestā ka'lef. 24
bhant hīir nāb jee manān-zœen dii
bhec dō'khtā dat doo'd blas, en ii is
bheer ghavō'ndā. 25 dā ōurstā zœen
dii op-t veld an-t arābē'ān ['work']
blas, blas in-t ghōueel ['altogether']
niit in z'n sklik ['delight'] tuun-d-i
dikh bā'i 't nō'is kbbam, en-t ghāzā'q
en-t ghada'ns noor-dā. 29 om met mē
vrinde vrootlik tā bheezān. 31 kind,
jee bint al'tā'id bā'i mee ghābbheest.

130. *Oud-Beerland*, village
(51 n 48, 4 e 55). II. 157.

11 dæær blas ris 'n man, en dii had
tbhec zœens. 12 an tuu deeldā dā
vaard'or z'n ghuud. 15 om dā varkāns
tā bhā'ā. 18 vaard'or, ik heb ghāzōn-
dighd tee'ghān jōu. 22 breqt ris
ghāu m'n be'stā spw'le voor dān dagh,
en duut zā-m an; gheeft ook-en riq
an z'n hand, en skhuurnā an z'n vuutā.
23 't ghēmestā ka'll'f. 24 bhant
dœæzā zœen van me blas dood, en is
ghavō'qā. 25 an dā man z'n ōurstā
zœen blas in-t veld, en tuu dii kbbam
en dikht bā'i nō'is kbbam, tuu noor-dān
ii-t zi'qān en dānsōn. 27 jō bruur.
29 dat ik mit m'n vrinde ook ris
vrootlik mokh bheezā. 31 kind, jāi
bin al'toos bē'i mō'in.

131. *Brielle*, or *den Briel*, town (51 n 53, 40 e 10). II. 160.

11 dər bhas is 'n man [(máin) in country Briellish], dii had t̃bhee zoonə. 12 ən n̄əi v̄ardēldə -t gl̄uud ʔndər n̄əliir [Dutch *hunlieden*, 'them'] b̄é-rə ['both']. 15 ʔp d̄ə v̄arəkəs t̄ə p̄ə-s̄ə. 18 v̄aa'dər, ik neb z̄ənd̄ə ghedaan tee'ghə j̄ou. 22 b̄rēq 't b̄est̄ə kleed niir ən duut-t-əm an, duut-əm-ən riq an z'n v̄i-q̄ər, ən skhuurnə an z'n vuurtə. 23 't v̄et'ghəməst̄ə kal'f. 24 bhant m̄ə zoon dii bhas dood, ən n̄on is-t-i ghəv̄ə-nd̄ə. 25 ən d̄ə man z'n ʔrst̄ə zoon dii bhas ʔp 't land, ən tuu-d-i d̄ə-kht̄ə b̄əi -t n̄ois kbham, hoo-rdii'd̄ə [contracted form of (hoo-rd̄ən-ii), used in Brielle] 't zi-q̄ən ən-t d̄əns̄ə. 27 j̄ə bruur. 29 ʔm met me kameraad̄ə is læc̄et [leut, leute, is in general use in Belgium and Zeeland for great pleasure, unbounded enjoyment, *dolle pret* 'mad frolic,' and plays the part of the Friesian *tol*. Brielle is the northern limit of *leut* and southern of *tol*. In Flanders a merry witty man is called *leutegard*. Compare high German *leutselig*, social, affable] t̄ə k̄ənə n̄ə-b̄ə. 31 kind, j̄ee bin a'ltiid b̄əi mee.

132. *De Tinte*, hamlet of *Oostvoorne*, village (51 n 54, 4 e 6). II. 163.

11 d̄əər bhas is 'n man dii t̃bhee' z̄əenz nad. 12 ən d̄ə v̄aa'dər d̄ee-t. 15 ʔm d̄ə v̄arəkəs t̄ə bh̄éi-ən. 18 v̄aa'dər, ik neb kbh̄æəd gh̄ə-d̄ə-ən tee'ghən j̄ou. 22 b̄rēq d̄ə-əd̄əlik 't b̄est̄ə kl̄ē-əd niir, ən tr̄ek-ət-əm an, ən duu-n riq an z'n hand, ən skhuurnən an z'n b̄ē-ə-n̄on. 23 't gh̄ə-m̄est̄ə kalf. 24 bhant d̄ə-ə-z̄ə z̄ə-ən van mee bhas d̄aad, ən is gh̄əv̄ə-nd̄ə. 25 ən z'n ʔrst̄ə z̄ə-ən bhas in 't land, ən tuu dii kort b̄əi n̄yys kbhiim, hoo-r̄ən-d-ii zi-q̄ən ən d̄əns̄ən. 27 j̄ə bruur. 29 ʔm is v̄rool̄ik t̄ə bh̄ee-z̄ə mit m'n kam̄-ə-r̄aas. 31 kiind, j̄ee bint a'ltiid b̄əi mee.

[The sound (ē) is said to be "peculiar, but nearly the same as the Friesian *ea*," and in (ēē) there is "the same sound, followed by an unaccented *e*, so that it is an evident diphthong."]

133. *Nieuwe Tonge*, village (51 n 43, 4 e 10). II. 167.

11 dər bhas əs 'n man, in dii had t̃bhee' z̄ə-əns. 12 in tuu d̄ē-ēld̄ən-i haar z'n ghut. 15 ʔm d̄ə v̄erkes t̄ə bh̄a-kht̄ən ['watch']. 18 v̄aa'dər, 'k haab̄ə gh̄e-z̄ə-nd̄ighd tee'ghən j̄uu.

22 briiq̄t is gh̄áu-'t b̄est̄ə kl̄ē-əd niir, in duut-t-əm an, in gh̄eef̄t-əm-ən riiq̄ an z'n hand, in skhuurnən an z'n vuurt̄ən. 23 't gh̄ə-m̄est̄ə kalf. 24 bhant d̄ē-z̄ə z̄ə-ə-n̄ə van mee bhas d̄o-əd̄ in ii is gh̄əv̄ə-nd̄ə. 25 z'n ʔrst̄ə z̄ə-ə-n̄ə bhas in-t veld, in tuu 'n kbham in-t n̄yys gh̄ə-m̄ē-kt̄ə [Dutch, 'neared'], tuu noo-rd̄ə-n-t zi-q̄ən in-t sp̄ri-q̄ən. 27 j̄ə bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n v̄r̄ind̄ən ək is v̄rool̄ik mokht̄ bh̄ee-z̄ə. 31 kind, j̄uu bint a'ltiid bi m'n.

134. *Ouddorp*, village on *West-voorne*, formerly an island (51 n 48, 3 e 57). II. 172.

11 'n z̄ē-k̄ər m̄i-n̄ə had t̃bhee' j̄ə-q̄əs. 12 ən z'n v̄ā-d̄ər ghaf-t̄ əm. 15 ʔm d̄ə v̄er-k̄əs-t̄ə bh̄ēi-ən [observe the gerundial final (-ə), *te weiden-e*]. 18 v̄ā-d̄ər, ik eb z̄ə-nd̄ə b̄əgh̄ə- tee'ghən j̄uu. 22 briq̄ gh̄áu d̄ə b̄est̄ə kl̄ē-ərən niir ʔm an t̄ə duu-n̄ə [gerund], gh̄eef̄-əm-ən riq an z'n v̄i-q̄ər əu skhuurnən an z̄ə b̄ē-ə-n̄on. 23 't m̄est̄-kalf. 24 bhant d̄ē-z̄ə z̄ə-ən van mee bhas d̄o-əd̄, ən is nuu bh̄ē-ər̄ən əv̄ə-q̄ə. 25 ən z'n ʔrst̄ə z̄ə-ən bhas in 't veld, ən tuu i bh̄ēigh ['away'] gh̄i-q̄ ən bi n̄yys b̄əgh̄ə-s t̄ə k̄ə-m̄ə, noo-rd̄ə ii-t tr̄əm-ēlt [French *tumulte*, in a form spread over all the Netherlands]. 27 j̄ə bruur. 29 ʔm is læc̄et [see sp. 131] t̄ə ē-bh̄ə mit m̄ə kam̄-ə-r̄aas. 31 kind, j̄uu bint a'ltiid bi m̄in.

XXVII. ZEELAND. II. 176.

135. *Burg*, village on *Schouwen* island (51 n 42, 3 e 50). II. 182.

11 'n z̄ē-k̄ər m̄ens ad t̃bhee' z̄ə-əns. 12 in i d̄ē-ēld̄ə z̄ə 't ghud. 15 ʔm d̄ə v̄er-k̄əs t̄ə bh̄éi-ən. 18 v̄aa'dər, ik ēē gh̄ə-z̄ə-nd̄ighd tee'ghən j̄uu. 22 briiq̄t -ət b̄est̄ə pak kl̄ē-ərən iir, in duut-əm dat an, in gh̄eef̄-ən riiq̄ an z'n and, in skhuurnən an z'n fuurt̄ən. 23 't gh̄ə-m̄est̄ə kalf. 24 bhant d̄ē-z̄ə z̄ə-ə-n̄ə van mee bhas d̄o-əd̄, in ii is gh̄əv̄ə-nd̄ə. 25 in z'n ʔrst̄ə z̄ə-ə-n̄ə bhas in-t veld; in tuu i d̄i-kht̄ə bi n̄yys kbh̄æ-ən, oord-ii-t gh̄e-z̄ə-q̄ in-t gh̄ed̄əns. 27 j̄ə bruur. 29 d̄ə-k̄ m̄i m̄ə v̄r̄ind̄ən is v̄rool̄ik k̄on bh̄ee-z̄ə. 31 kind, j̄ii bin ʔl̄toos bi m'n.

136. *Tolen*, island (51 n 32, 4 e 6). II. 185.

11 'n z̄ē-k̄ər m̄ē-n̄ə A [*had*, the final consonants are constantly omitted] t̃bhee' z̄ə-əns. 12 ən i d̄ē-ēld̄ə ə-ld̄or [Dutch *hunlieden* 'them,' -r universally

used in Zeeland] 't ghuud. 15 om dā verkens tō bhakhten. 18 vaa'dor, k-ē ['I have'] kbhæd ghædæe tee'ghen juu. 22 briiq m'n ghāu-t be'stō klee'd, en duut om dat an, en gheeft-æn-on riik an z'n and, en skhuun-on an z'n vuurtōn. 23 't ghæmestō kalī. 24 bhant m'n zœœnā bhas zō ghuud as dæ'd, en is vrom [Dutch *veelrom*, again] ghævōndæ. 25 en z'n ōurstō zœœnā bhas op-t land en tuun-æn van-t land vrom kbham en a ['quite,' Dutch *al*] di'khtē bi yys bhas, æ'r-dōn ii dæ-zō zœqon en dæ-zō dānston. 27 jō bruur. 29 om mee m'n vrii-dōn is pleziir-t e-bæn. 31 kind, jee bint o'ltiid bii m'n.

137. *Zuid Beveland*, in English *South Beveland*, island (51n27, 3e52). II. 190. [Lowland language of the greatest part of the island of Wolfaertsdijk.]

11 dī bhas is 'n man, dii tbhEE' zœœns a. 12 en i verdee'dōn 't ghuud. 15 om dā verkens tō bhakhten. 18 vaa'dor, 'k æe zōndō ædæe tee'ghen juu. 22 æelt iir 'n best pak klee-ræn en læet-æn dat an duu', en gheeft -æn riik an z'n aænōn ['hands'], en skhuun-on an z'n vuurtōn. 23 't vetō kalī. 24 bhant iir mē zœœnā bhas dæ'd, en ii is ævōndē. 25 en z'n ōurstō zœœnā bhas in 't veld; en as 'n vrom kbham, en kort bi yys kbham, oordōn ii-t ghæzæq æn-t ghædæns. 27 jō bruur. 29 om ok is mī m'n kamæraas plaziir t' æn-ōn ['hold']. 31 kind, jii bin a'ltiid bii mee.

[The word (dī), v. 11, is written *di*, and Winkler notes that this *r* is not spoken, but serves to give the preceding vowel its sound in short syllables; this is theoretically (dī), but practically (de). Similarly for (mī), v. 29.]

138. *Wemeldinge, Jerseke*, and *Kattendijke*, villages on the north-east of the island of *Zuid Beveland*, specimen 137. II. 193.

11'n zœe'kærmænsæt bhee' zœœnōn. 12 en dā dæe z'n vaa'dor. 15 om dē verkens tō bhakhten. 18 vaa'dor, ik æ æzōndighd tee'ghen juu. 22 briiq iir is 'n mōoiæ pak ghuud, en duut -æn dat an en gheet-æn-on riik an z'n vii'qer, en skhuun-on an z'n vuurtōn. 23 't be'stō kalī. 24 bhant m'n zœœnā bhas dæ'd, en i is ævōqan. 25 en z'n ōurstō zœœnā bhas op-t veld, en as dii

yyt 't veld nīr yys kbham, oordōn ii zō zii'qon en sprii'qon. 27 jō bruur. 29 om mī mē kamæraas is pleziir 't ææn ['have']. 31 jœqon, jee bint o'ltiid bōi mee.

139. *Goes, or ter Goes*, town (51 n 29, 3 e 53). II. 196.

[Winkler remarks that the close and open *o* and *e* are distinctly separated, and *ie, œ*, are diphthongal.]

11 'n man a tbhEE' zœœnōn. 12 en tuu verdee'dōn i ældor 't ghuud. 15 om dā verkens tō bhæi-ræn. 18 vaa'dor, ik ææ-kghæzōndighd tee'ghen juu. 22 briiq iir dæ'dælik 't be'stō klee'd, en duut 't 'm an, en gheeft 'n riik an z'n and, en skhuun-on an z'n vuurtōn. 23 't ghævētō half. 24 bhant dii zœœnā van mee bhas dæ'd, en is ghævōndæ. 25 en z'n ōurstō zœœnā bhas op-t land, en tuun-æn di'khtē bi yys kbham, oordōn ii -t ghezaq æn-t ghædæns. 27 jō bruur. 29 dæ-k mee m'n vrii-dōn is pleziir ææ kon. 31 kind, jii bin a'ltiid bii mee.

140. *Noord Beveland*, island (51 n 33, 3 e 47). II. 199.

11 dī bhas is 'n man, dii tbhEE' zœœns a. 12 en i verdee'dō 't ghuud. 15 om dā verkens tō bhakhten. 18 vaa'dor, k-ææ kbhæd ædæe tee'ghen juu. 22 æelt iir 't be'stō pak ghuud, en læet-æn dat an duu, en gheeft-æn-on riik an z'n vi'qer, en skhuun-on an z'n vuurtōn. 23 't vetō kalī. 24 bhant ii m'n zœœnā bhas dæ'd, en ii is vrom ævōndē. 25 en z'n ōurstō zœœnā bhas in-t veld, en as dii vrom kbham, en kort bii yys kbham, oordō ii-t zii'qon æn-t dānsen. 27 jō bruur. 29 om æk is mī m'n kamæraas plaziir t' æn. 31 kind, ji bint o'mæs a'ltiid bii m'n.

141. *Walcheren*, island (51n30, 3 e 55). II. 202.

11 dōr bhas is 'n man en diin aa tbhEE' zœœns. 12 en dā vaa'dor skhe'dō z'n ghuud en ghaat dān juuqon z'n eripōsi ['inheritance-portion']. 15 om op dē verkēn tō pæson. 18 vaa'dor, k-æ-k ['I have I,' repeated pronoun, frequent hereafter] zōndō ghædæe tee'ghen juu. 22 briiq ghāu dā be'stō plæmæ, en duut-æn dii an, en gheett-æn-on riik an z'n vii'qer en skhuun-on an z'n vuurtōn. 23 't ghōmarstō kalī. 24 bhant 't is net e'ndor of dæzæ zœœnā van mee dood ghæbhi'st eit, en bhee ghævōndōn is. 25 en z'n ōurstō zœœnā bhas

op-t veld, en as en bheero-ma kbham, en kort biit of [Dutch *hof*, farm-yard] bhas, oordan ii-t ghezii'q en ghesprii'q. 27 ja bruur. 29 om m'n kamaraa's is ta trekteeron, en vrooirlik mi mee'kaara ['mates,' Dutch *makker*, comrade] ta ziin. 31 juun, jee bint aa'ltiid bi mee.

142. *Arnemuiden*, small town (51 n 29, 3 e 30). II. 204.

11 'n zee'kar mensa aa tbhee' zæens. 12 en z'n ghaf 'm z'n posee' [or (po'se)? 'portion']. 15 om op de verakens ta pa'son. 18 vaa'dor, k-e-k ghræta zond adæe' teeghan juu. 22 briiq iir tøn eestøn 't be'sta klæe'd, en duut at an z'n liif, en gheeft en riik an z'n vii'qer, en skhuurnen an z'n vuurtøn 23 't ghema'sta kalæf. 24 bhan m'n zæe'næ bhas dood, en k-e-d-n ['I have I him'] bhiiro-mæ ævondæ. 25 en ziin ðursta zæe'næ bhas-t-or nii bi, mer ii bhas in-t feld, en as-en korta bi z'n vaa'ders yys kbham, oord-i zii'q en sprii'q. 27 ja bruur. 29 om mee miin vriindæn is 'n vrooirlikan æævæn ['evening'] t-ðuræn ['to hold']. 31 juurqæn, jee bint omæs aa'ltiid bi mee.

143. *IJlst*, town (51 n 17, 4 e 3). II. 209.

[The *h* and *g* are confused; IJlster men will say *een hoele goet* for *een goede hoed* 'a good hat,' *een houde ring* for *een gouden ring* 'a gold ring,' *een goute tafel* for *een houten tafel* 'a wooden table.' This confusion occurs among the lower classes, especially those who cannot read, and is not uncommon in Zeeland and Flanders. It is not shown in the specimen.]

11 'n zee'kæron mens-aa'i tbhee zæens. 12 en-ai deeld æn 't ghuud. 15 om de verkæs ta bhåi-a. 18 vaa'dor, ik-eb-'k ghezondighd teeghæn-ðu. 22 briq-iir vuort- 't be'sta klæet-æn duut-æt-æn aan, en gheeft -ænæn riik-aa'n z'n-ant-æn skhuurnæ aan z'n vuurtæ. 23 't ghævetæ kalæf. 24 bhant dees mårnæn zæn bhas doot-æn-i-is ghævondæ. 25 en zai'næn-ðursta zæn bhas-in-t-felt; æn-as-ikbham æn-t-æ'is ghænaa'kt, oordæ-ai-t ghæza'q æn-t laabhai't [supposed to be connected with French *aubade*, and not with *lavai*, specimen 106]. 27 uu bruur. 29 dad-ik mee-mæ vriin-do mokh vroolæik zain. 31 kind, ghai zait a-ltæid bai maîn.

144. *Aksel*, or *Axel*, town (51 n 17, 3 e 55). II. 212.

[The Roman Catholic peasantry in the southern part of the Aksel district speak as in specimen 143, but the Protestants as follows. The close and open *e*, *o*, are said to be very distinctly separated.]

11 ær bhas æærgheens iirmand dii tbhee zæe'næn aa. 12 en zæn vaa'dor deeld ældor yit bhæ zæ noo'digh aan, om ta kænæ leevæn. 15 beestæn æn væærkons op ta pa'son æn ta vuurnæn. 18 vaa'dor, k -ææn zæ'kæ zondæ ghædaa'n æn niimædal ghuud mee juu ghændeld ['handled,' dealt]. 22 breqt-æn dæn niæ'bhæn la'qræk, æn duut-æn ghævæ knopæn an z'n ææmsbiir-zæn ['gold studs on his shirt-front,' *hendsboord* or *boezem*, the prodigal son is treated as an Aksel peasant lad], æn zælvææ bruurksti-kæn ['silver breeches-seams'] an, æn skuur-næ mee ghi'spen ['buckles']. 23 æn wældor zæ-læn ['we shall'] kuur-kæ ['cakes,' take the place of the calf] laa'tæn bakæn. 24 bhant mæn zæe'næ bhas voor ons zoo ghuud as dood, æn ii is ghævondæn. 25 dæn ðurdstæn van de zæens bhas in-t land, æn tuun i di'khtær bi yys kbham, oordæn ii zii'qæn æn sprii'qæn. 27 ja bruur. 29 om plesii'r t-ææn mee d-ændæ juurqærs. 31 bel ['well'], mæn juurqæn, jee bent a-læ tiir bi mæn.

145. *Kadzand*, village and district, formerly an island (51 n 21, 3 e 24). II. 216.

11 daa bhas ees 'n mens dii tbhee zæens a. 12 in i deeldæn-t ghuud ondær ældær. 15 op de verkæns ta pa'son. 18 vaa'dor, ik ææn zondæ ghædaa'n teeghæn juu. 22 aalt 't mæoi'stæ ghuud, in duut æt 'm an, in duud 'n riik an z'n vii'qer, en skhuurnæn an z'n vuurtæn. 23 't ghævetæ kalæf. 24 bhant m'n zæe'næ iir bhas dood, in ii is ghævondæn. 25 in z'n ðursta zæe'næ bhas in -t land, in as i kbham, in kort bi yys bhas, oordæn ii-t ghæza'q in-t ghæda'ns. 27 ja bruur. 29 om mee mæ vriindæn æs-æn plesii'r-ighæn dagh t-ææn. 31 juurqæn, jee zait a-ltæid bi mee.

146. *Sluis*, town (51 n 23, 3 e 23). II. 219.

11 'n zee'kar mens a tbhee zæens. 12 æn i deeldæ -t ghuud ondæ ældær. 15 om de verkæns ta bhæ'khtæn. 18 vaa'dor, ik æn ['have'] kbhaat

ghōdā'n tee'ghān juu. 22 aal -t be'stə klēed, in duut-at-əm an, in duud-ən riik an z'n and, in skhuur-nən an z'n vuurtən. 23 't ghevetə kalf. 24 bhant deerzə zōen van mee bhas dōd, in ii is ghəvōndən. 25 in z'n ousstə zōen bhas op -t land, in as i dikht bi yys kbham, ǝrdən ii-t ghəzəq in-t ghōdāns. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mee mǝ vrīndən lǝv-tigh tǝ ziin. 31 kind, jǝ bind a'ttiid biī mee.

147. *Aerdenburg*, town (51n16, 3 e 27). II. 222.

11 dāa bhas 'n keer [and (ǝkeer) 'once,' Dutch *eenkeer*, much used in Belgium] 'n man dii a tǝhee zǝəns. 12 ǝn ii vǝrdē'ldən 't ghuud. 15 ǝm dǝ varəkāns tǝ bhā'khtən. 18 vāa'dǝr, 'k deerzə-k-ik [this repetition of personal pronoun is common in Flanders] zǝndə tee'ghān juu. 22 aald-ǝ-keer 't be'stə klēe'd ǝn duudət im an, ǝn-ǝn riik an z'n viiqǝr, ǝn skhuur-nən an z'n vuurtən. 23 't vetə kalf. 24 bhan d'n deerzən m'n zǝə-nǝ dii bhas dōd, ii is ghəvōnən. 25 z'n ousstə zǝə-nǝ bhas in 't land, ǝn as i kbham ǝn t-yys nāa dǝrdən, ǝrdən ii-t zii'qən ǝn in dǝ rǝndə dānsən. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mee m'n maa'ts ees lǝə'tə t-ǝn ['to have']. 31 m'n kind, ghee zii ghii a'tti biī mee.

148. *Eede and Heille*, villages (51 n 14, 3 e 27). II. 225.

[Really East Flemish, much mixed with French.]

11 nǝn zee'kǝrən mǝi'nǝ AA tǝhee' zǝəns. 12 ǝn zǝnǝn-vāa'dǝrǝ parta-zee'rdən ǝldǝr dǝ sykkesii ['succession']. 15 ǝm dǝ zbhǝns tǝ bhā'khtənǝ. 18 vāa'dǝrǝ, k-ee-nǝ-k-ik [the pronoun tripled!] mesdāa'n jee'ghens ǝu. 22 breqt iir voorts 't be'stə klēe'd, ǝn duurghǝ-t-əm aā'nǝ, ǝn lǝqt-əm ǝnǝn-riik an z'n aand, ǝn skhuuns an z'n vuurtən. 23 't ghǝmerstə kalf. 24 bhant den deerzən mǝnǝn zǝə-nǝ bhāa'rd deed, en ǝi es bhederǝm ghəvōnən. 25 ǝn z'n ǝi'stən zǝə-nǝ bhas ǝp dǝ sti'kən ǝn ǝst-ǝn kaamǝ ǝn t-ǝis genāa'ktaghǝ, ǝrdən ǝi den zaq ǝn-t ghǝrē'khtǝ. 27 ǝrən bruurǝ. 29 ǝpdaa-k mee m'n vrīndǝkǝns ee's ghee'stigh mǝkht zāin. 31 kiind, ghee zāi ghāi a'ttāis bāi mǝi.

[Observe the gerundial dative (tǝ bhā'khtənǝ) v. 15; Winkler remarks that this linguistically correct form, which has almost entirely disappeared

in North Netherlands, is still in full use in this and many other Flemish dialects, and that the dative is even used after independent nouns, as v. 13, *bachten tettel doogene*, 'after little (a few) days.']

XXVIII. ZUID-NEDERLAND, in English BELGIUM. II. 230.

XXIX. LIMBURG, Belgian portion. II. 234. Compare No. XVII. 51, etc., p. 1389.

149. *Helehteren*, village (51n3, 5 e 23). II. 235.

11 dǝǝ' bhaas ins ǝnǝ-mins dee' tǝhii zǝəns nǝ. 12 ǝn dǝ vāa'dǝr lytt z'n ki'nǝr ['let his children'] dee'e'lǝn. 15 ǝn dǝ pǝ'khtǝr dǝə hǝm dǝ ver'kǝn hyy'ǝn. 18 vāa'dǝr, ikh nem zǝn ghǝdǝz'n tee'ghǝ okh. 22 duud dǝə dǝ vāa'dǝr se'tǝs ['quickly,' see specimen 51] z'n be'stə kliir nāa'lǝn. 23 ǝ vet kalf. 24 dǝ zǝnǝ-jǝq trǝk [Dutch *terug*, back] ghǝkǝmǝ bhaas. 25 ǝnǝrtǝsǝ ['meanwhile'] kbhaam dǝn aardstə zǝon oot het veld, ǝn bhēi ['when'] ǝr in hoos hyy'rdǝ zi'qən ǝn dānsən... 27 uur bryyr. 29 ǝn vǝəv mikh hǝmǝn-zǝ ['have they'] zǝ lee'vǝn zǝǝ' ghiiin ['none'] kǝərmis ['Christmas, fair-time, feasting] ghǝ-ha'ghǝn. 31 jǝq, ghee' zēet a'tteed bee mikh.

150. *Hasselt*, town (50 n 56, 5 e 20). II. 238.

[The sound of *ao* in *kaome*, etc., and *o* in *vloog*, *go* (quickly), *zoon*, lies between *o*, *eu*, and *a*, but "one must be a Hasselter to force one's tongue to it." I have written (ǝ) as a compromise.]

11. dǝ bhǝəv ins nǝ man dii tǝhēi zēen nǝ. 12 dǝun ['then'] verdii'ldsjǝ dǝ vāar 't ghǝud tǝsǝn ['between,' Dutch *tusschen*] hiin tǝhēi'ǝ. 15 uup z'n bhēniq vǝr z'n verkǝs tǝ hēi'ǝ. 18 vāa'dǝr, ikh heb fǝəet ghǝnǝrd tee'ghǝ yv'khǝ. 22 nǝai'ldsjǝ ins ghǝ 't be'stə kliid, ǝn dǝuth [or (dǝuthjǝ)] ǝm dǝ aad, ǝn stǝək-ǝm ǝnǝ-riik in zǝnǝ-vǝqǝr, ǝn skhaan in z'n veet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mǝnǝ-zǝəən hēe bhǝəv dǝd, ǝn noo ǝs ǝm bhirm [Dutch *vederom*, 'again'] tregh [Dutch *terug*, 'back'] ghəvōnǝ. 25 maa zǝnǝn-aardstə zǝəən bhǝəv ǝp 't vǝldsh [may be ('veltsch, 'veltsjh, veldzh)] ǝn bhēe 'm in 't tregh kǝərmǝ kort an zēe'nǝs ghēkǝə-mǝ

bhæær, niirdæn æm da-sæ an-t zæ-qæn æn an-t daarsæn [the first (n) lost] bhææræ. 27 uur bræir 29 vør m'n kametæætæn ins tæ trakteeræ. 31 juuq, dzhee [written *dje*, may be (tsice)] ZEET æl'teed BEE mikh.

151. *St. Truiden*, in French *St. Trond*, town (50n48, 5e12). II. 242.

11 doo bhas ænæ-kiir (see specimen 147) ænæ-man, deæ æ tbbii juu-qæs. 12 æn dæ vaa'r dii'ldæ æn ghaf 't æm. 15 most ær æm BEE næ buur as verækæs-EE't ['as farrow-herd'] vøryræ ['hire']. 18 paa, kh-ææb ghæzo-ndighd tee'ghæ uukh. 22 gilt ['fetch'] sefæs niivæ klii'r æn æ paa'r niivæ stiivæls vøær æm AAN tæ duun, æn ænæ-ghoo'n reqk vøær æn zænæ-vi-qær tæ stee'kæ. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mænæ-zoon bhas duu'd, æn ikh ææb æm træk ghævuur-qæ. 25 juo-maa ['yes, but'] dæn aardstæ zoon deæ bhas æn-t veld; æn æs-t-ær t-æus kām, æn æl dæ labhæe't æn dæ ghæskhrii'f yæ'dæ, kōs-t-ær NEE bæghræ'ipæ bhææ dæ-t bhas. 27 zæ bryr. 29 vøær z'n vri'ndæn ins tæ trakteeræ. 31 kend, dzhee [or (diée), written *dje*] zæ'it æl'tæ'id BEE mikh ghebheest.

XXX. ZUID BRABANT or BELGIAN BRABANT. II. 247. See No. XVIII. 57, etc., p. 1390.

152. *Zuurbeemden*, village near *Heelan* (50 n 57, 5 e 7). II. 249.

11 dōwæ bhas ænæ-kiir næ man, dæ'iræ tbbii' zoo'næn næ. 12 æn dæ vaa'r liit dæn ælæs dæ'iræ. 15 verækæ-heet tæ bhō'dæ ['to become farrow-herd']. 18 vaa'dær, ikh bhii't-æt, ikh hēm gere'ligh ghæmi'st tee'ghæ uukh. 22 helt ghōu, ghōu dæ be'stæ klii'ræn, duut z' hēm AAN, gheeft hēm ok ænæn-riq in zæ'inæ vi-qær, æn briqt hēm skhuu'næn om æn tæ duun. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mæ'inæ zoon bhas duu'd, æn hō'iræn æs træggh ghævōnæ. 25 tæbhæ'iræ dæ dæd ælæ-mōu'l vøærviiil ['every-time happened'] bhas dæn aardstæ zoon in 't veld, duunt er nōuæ hœ'is kamp, hyy'dæt ær væis-t labhæ'it van-t zi'qæn æn-t dæmsæn. 27 uur bryr. 29 vør m'n vri'ndæ ænæ-kiir tæ trakteeræn. 31 juq, ghee zæ'it hœ'mæs æl'tæ'id bœ'i mikh.

153. *Diest*, town (50n58, 5e3). II. 253.

11 dær bhas eens ænæ-zæekoræ vent

['man'], dii' tbbii' zoo'næn æd. 12 æn dæ vaa'dær vørdi'ldæ elk zæ paa't. 15 unum dæ verækæs tæ yy'æ. 18 vaa'dær, ikh æm kbhaad ghædAA'n tee'ghæ uukhæ. 22 spuud ['hasten'] uukh æl ghāu, bræqt æ niit klii'd æn van dæ skhuu'nstæ ['most beautiful'] æn duugh-æt-æm AAN, æn gheft æm ænæn-riqk AAN z'n and, æn skhuu'næn AAN z'n vuurtæn. 23 æ fæt kælæf. 24 bhant mænæ-zoon dii' dææ æs, bhas dood, æn ææ æs nōu ghævōnæ. 25 mær dæn ðurstæ bhas bœ'tæ ['without'] uup 't feld, æn æs æm ðontrent dæ'tigh okh firtigh starpæ van oo's ['about 30 or 50 steps from house'] bhas, uurtæn æm zi'qæn æn spriqæ. 27 uur bryr. 29 om mee mæn vri'ndæ in kompaniit-ærtæn. 31 zoon, ghee zet æl'teed BEE mikh.

154. *Tienen*, in French *Tirlemont* (50 n 38, 4 e 56). II. 256.

11 dōs' bhæær 'n kir 'n mims dæe' tbbii' juu-qæs æ. 12 æn dæ vaa'r æet æn 't ghuud ghedæ'ld. 15 vør dæ verækæs 't yy'æ. 18 vaa'rkæ [this should mean 'little father,' but may be a misprint, as the word is (vaa'dær) in v. 21], ikh æm o'nghealeek gh'ad ['I have wrong had'] tee'ghæn ækh. 22 hāilt ænæ-kir aghoō: [Dutch *al gauw* 'all quickly'] dæ be'stæ klee'ræ deæ' ghæ viqt ['find,' Dutch *vindet*] æn trekt-æm deæ' AAN, æn stekt æm ænæ-riq in zænæ-vi-qær æn skhuu in z'n vuurtæ. 23 dæ vetæ mæ'tæ ['calf,' also (mō'tæ, mœ'itæ, mœæ'tæ), (mœ'tiim) in Overijssel means 'stuff']. 24 bhant mænæ-juuq ii bhas dood, æn-æ æs bhii'r træggh ghævō-qæ. 25 o'ndærtærsæ ['meanwhile'] bhas dæn aardstæ zoon uup 't veld, æn æs-t-ær træggh kamp æn beka'nst ['near'] æn z'n ææs [or (ææhs) 'house'] bhas, yy'ædæ-t-ær zi'qæn æn spriqæ. 27 zæ brœ'i. 29 vør mæn vri'ndæn ins æ fiée'skæ tæ ghee'væ. 31 okh juuq, ghee' zed æmæs æl'tæ'd BEE mikh.

[On the word *slavodder*, 'where' v. 30, Winkler remarks that it is properly the word *slodder*, 'sloven,' with a join inserted (*een lasch er in*) in the Flemish way, thus: *sl-av-odder*, and in the same way West Flemings make the North Nederlandish *slet*, 'slut,' into *sl-av-etse*, with the same meaning; similarly in spec. 147, v. 14, the word *schabouwcliek* occurs, which is *schouwe-lijk*, 'showily,' with a Flemish insertion of *ab*.]

155. *Leuven*, in French *Louvain*, city (50 n 53, 4 e 43). II. 261.

11 *doo* ["a simple sound, nearly long Dutch *oo*, nearest French *eau*, and approaching German *u*"] bhas nā man dii tbbhe zoon a. 12 *ən* dā *voor* vorde'ldən-in dan 't ghuut. 15 *uum* ər dā ver'kəs t-aarvə [(aarvə, oovvə, noovvə, nōuvvə) from (nōuvvə) 'hold, the usual (muurdən) 'keep' is unknown at Louvain]. 18 *voor*dər, k-em ghemist, k-em zoo veel kood ghədən tee'ghə aa. 22 *ōilt* se'fəs at bestə kleet *ən* duut-ət-əm on; stekt *ənən*-riq *ən* zənən-vi'qər *ən* duut-əm skhuu'nən on. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dood, *ən* A'is ghəvə'nə. 25 *jo-moo*, dən *ōurd*stə zoon bhas tarvā'i'lend ['whiling, staying] uup 't velt, *ən* as dā'i'nə bhee kbhamp *ən* boka'inst ['almost'], *ən* A'is bhas, oordən-əm vaa bā'i'tə daa zə *doo* bee'zigh bhoorvə mee zi'qən *ən* dānsə. 27 *uu* brii. 29 *uum* mən vrii'ndən ins tə traktee'rən. 31 *mō* kiut, ghā'i zā'id a'l'tā'id bā'i mā'i. [(A'i) is said to "sound nearly like the English *boy*, but the (i) is very obscurely pronounced," more as (A'j) perhaps, but it is a mere variety of (āi).]

156. *Brussel*, in French *Bruxelles*, in English *Brussels*, city (50 n 52, 4 e 21). II. 268.

[The 'sneeze' of the Brusselers is stated not to be exactly Dutch *sj*, or French *ch*, or German *sch*, but resembling all, and to have something of *l* and *n* moullées in it; hence I write it (sj) or (shj). J. F. Willems wrote it *j*, as *hitj* 'hot,' and S. C. A. Willems wrote it *jseh*, as *hitjseh*, and Winkler writes it *sj*. The Brussels population and the country about is distinctly low German, not French. The following version is the genuine old language of the lower city.]

11 *duu* bhas *ənə*-kii *ənə*-man dii tbbhi'rə zoonən a. 12 *ən* dā *voor* ghaf *uum* i'idər ze poot ['part']. 15 *uum* dā ver'kəs t-aarvə. 18 *voor*, t-es bhoor ['true'] k em-ik-ik vœl, gh'i'i'l [Dutch *geheel*, altogether] vœl kblood ghədoorən tee'ghən aa. 22 spūnid āailən isj al ghāa, o'ltsj ['feteh'] ə skhōoi ['beautiful'] nytt klii't vœv ['fore'] *əm* uun tə dūm, stekt *əm* *ənən*-riqk *uum* zənə-vi'qər, *ən* gheeft-əm-ə poor skhuu'nən *uum* z'n vuutə. 23 ə vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon

duu bhas dōoid, *ən* naa e'mə bhee 'm bhee ghəvə'nə. 25 *moo* dūn *ōurd*stə zoon bhas bōoitə nuu 't feltsj ghəbheest, *ən* as *əm* zuu *əbhad* [Dutch *ietwat*, 'somewhat'] in dā ghəbby'rə ['neighbourhood'] van z'n *ōois* kbhamp, *ōoidən* āai al-t si'qən *ən* dānsən. 27 a bryr. 29 *əm* mee m'n kameroorden isj braa tə smœ'lən. 31 zoon, ghee zāai ghāa i'məs a'l'tā'id bāai ma t-ōois.

157. *Noord-Brussel*, *Schaar-beek*, etc., the suburbs on the North of Brussels, see No. 156. II. 273.

11 *doo* bhas *ənə*-zee'kərə man dii' tbbhi' zoonən a. 12 *ən* dā *voor* di'tijsjən *œ*-lən *œ*-lə [Dutch *hundert* repeated] poot. 15 *uum* z'n ver'kəs ghūui tə sloo'ghə [Dutch *gave te slaan*, 'notice to strike,' to mind]. 18 *voor*, t-es bhoor k-əm tee'ghən a kblood ghəduur. 22 ghēf ghāa ə klii'dən dā juu'qə, *en* i'i'n ['one'] van dā bestə; duutsj *əm* *ənə*-riqk *ən* zənə-vi'nər, *ən* skhuu'nən *on* z'n vyytən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dōoid, *ən* aa *əs* bhee ghəvə'nə. 25 dən *aa*-dstə zoon bhas in 't feld gheblérvə; *moo* *as* *ən* *noo* z'n *ūis* kbhamp, iœv'-dən a myyzii'k, dānsən *ən* zank. 27 *œ*-lə bryyr. 29 *uum* mee mən vrii'tijsj *moo*-l'taad t-aarvə. 31 juu'qə, ghee zaat a'l'taa baa ma.

XXXI. ANTWERPEN, in French ANVERS, in English ANTWERP. II. 279.

158. *Tielen*, village, near *Turnhout*, town (51 n 19, 4 e 57). II. 281.

11 *dər* bhas *es* nā vaa'dər mee tbbhi' zoonən. 12 *nee*, dā vaa'dər dii' bhas droovər kontēnt, *ən* i liit z'n juu'qəs daa'lən. 15 dā ver'kəs dee hyvən. 18 vaa'dər k-em vœl kAAD ghədāa'n. 22 duut-əm ghāu skhoon dii qən aa, *ən*-nə riik aa z'n vii'qər *ən*-skhuun aa z'n vuutə. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dood, *ən*-ik *em* tœrē'gh ghəvə'nə. 25 jaa-mor den *ēē*-dstən juu'qən bhas dan uup 't veld aAN 't bhe'rkən, *ən* *as* ə tee'ghən 's AARvəs ['evening'] uup nōis aa kbham, oordən *ee* va vaas dā labhā'id *ən*-ə kost *ər* ghənə kop aa krō'i'ghən ['and he could there no head on get,' and he could not understand it.] 27 *e* bryyr. 29 *om* m'n vrii'ndən *es* tə traktee'rən. 31 juu'qə, ghee zāit uum'es a'l'tāi bāi māi.

159. *Mol*, town (51n12, 5e7).
II. 284.

11 dAA bhas 'nə man dii' tbbhæ' zoonən AA' ['had']. 12 ən də vAA'dər vōrDEE'ldə dan 't ghund. 15 də verəkəs yy'jə. 21 vaa'dər, 'k əm ɔnghələ'ik. 22 breqkt sefas 't be'stə kleed, ən duu ghəə't AAN; stekt-ən riqk a zənə-ve'qər ən duut-əm skhuur-nən AAN. 23 't vet ka-ləf. 24 bhant mənə zoon bhas doot, ən ii is ghəvənə. 25 dən āurstə zoon bhas tē'sən dii'n tə'id ɔit; as ə'i t-ɔis kbhanip, yy'rdən ə'i va bōrtə-t labhaat. 29 ɔm mee m'n vrē'ndən uup 't eertən. 31 də vAA'də zee-m dan dat hə'i a'l-tə'i bə'i -m bhas.

160. *Antwerpen*, in French *Anvers*, in English *Antwerp* (51 n 13, 4 e 23). II. 293.

[Considering Antwerp pronunciation to be the 'type' of South Netherlandish or Belgian forms of speech, Winkler gives rather a long account of it, which is here condensed.

A long is *oa*, nearer *o* than *a*, almost the French *ô* in *fantôme* [that is, (AA)]. When without stress, it is like a common short *o*, (o, ɔ), as *maar*=mor.

A short is very like *e* short or German *ü* short; *man*, *had*, *kwam*, sound as German *männ*, *üdd*, *kwämm* [that is, (e)]. But when it has the stress, it sounds as half long *Λ*, nearly as French *âue* [that is, (a)].

E long and close becomes among the lowest classes *ei*, or rather *eei*, *eej* [that is, (éi, éei, éej) or (éi, éci, éej)].

E long and open becomes a diphthong *iē* or *iēē*, exactly like the Friesian *ie* or *iā*, and this is general Belgian [that is, (iə, i')]. When without stress, it becomes in Antwerp simple *i* [(i, i, e^l, e^ɛ)].

E heavy, "de zware e," is a bleating sound between *a* and *e*, the *æ* found in many Hollandish forms of speech, the French *faire*, *père* [as distinct from (e)], and this is short *e* above, this is certainly (æe)]. It often occurs before *r*, where the genuine Netherlandish has *aa* or *e*, as *garne*. In Friesic towns, Groningen, etc., these words have *ee*. The same *e* or *æ* sound is used in other words at Antwerp, which in Belgium generally have *ei* (éi). The final *-aar*, *-luar*, have (æ).

E short before *r* becomes *a* short, as *werk*, *kerk*, *sterk*=wark, kark, stark [with (a) ?].

IE diphthong has the pure, not the Hollandish, pronunciation [that is, (iə), not (ii)]. The lowest class, however, change it to a close long *e* followed by *j*, as *ziel*=*zeejl* [that is, (zéil, zee'jl)].

I short is pure *i*, as in German, especially when it has the stress [that is, (i), not (i, e^l, e)].

O close and long is generally as in genuine Dutch [(oo) ?], but the lowest speakers add on an obscure *w*, as *kowmen* for *komen* (kóon'mən); *zoon*, *koning*, are *zeun*, *keunik* (zəwen, zəwən; kœœ'nik, kœ'nik).

O or OO open and long is pronounced *oēē*, that is, as *oe* with an aftersound of unaccented *e*, just like Friesian *oe* or *uo* [that is, (uu', u')]. This pronunciation is peculiar to Antwerp, Limburg, and part of Belgian Brabant. But in the two Flanders and the rest of Belgian Brabant this *o* is called *uē*, (yy'), as *sehunn* or *schuën* (skyy'n, skyy'n).

O short has generally in Belgium three sounds; 1) regular, in *top* (top, tɔp^ɛ); 2) as Hollandish *oe*, or German *u* (uu, u), in most words, where Hollandish has the obscure short *o* [apparently (o, ɔ)], as *oep* for *op*; 3) before *r*, as short *eu*, or as German *ö* [perhaps (ə), and not (æ), may be meant]. Many of these words have short *u* [(œ) in my transcription].

U long retains its sound generally (yy'); but when followed by *w*, as in *uw*, *duwen*, and also in *nu*, it becomes *au* or *āuw* (āu).

U short in Antwerp and all Belgium, except occasionally in Flanders, is pure *u*, like German *ü* (y), as *ūt* for *hut* (yt).

IJ and EI under the stress become *aii* or *ai* or *oai* (āai, āi, ā'i); without the stress, they fall into simple *a*.

UI, AAI, are both *ooi* (goi), as *oois* for *huis*.

OEI and OOI are both *oei* or *oef* (ūui, ūu) at Antwerp. In OOI the *i* is sometimes lost, and the long open *oo* becomes *oēē* (nu') at Antwerp, as (nuu't)=*nooit*.

AUW and OUW are both *auw* (āu).

EEW is *iēw*, "that is, the long open *ee*, which in Antwerp becomes *iē* or *iēē* [i'"], ending with a *w*" [i'u' ?].

IEUW is generally *ūf* (iif, iɔf^ɛ ?).

II is not pronounced in Antwerp, the two Flanders, and the western part of the province of Antwerp, and Bel-

gian Brabant. In Eastern Antwerp and in East Brabant, as well as in Limburg, *h* is pronounced.

N before some consonants becomes *ng* (ŋ), as *kiingd* for *kind*. N is omitted in the termination *en*, where the next word does not begin with a vowel, as *wai moeten alle douge warke*.

T is omitted in *dat, wat, niet, met*, etc., as is also common in Zeeland and North Brabant.

D between two vowels is frequently *i* or *j*, as *spoelen* for *spoeden*.

Cases do not differ in adjectives, but genders do. Article: *mase*, 'ne (nə) before all consonants but *b, d, h, t*, and 'nen (nən) before these and vowels; feminine 'n always; neuter *e* (ə) before all consonants but *b, d, h, t*, and 'n before these and vowels. Definite: *mase. de, den*; fem. *de*; neut 't. Possessive: m. *m'ne, m'nen*; f. *m'n*; n. *me, m'n*. Demonstrative: m. *diē, diēn*; f. *diē, diēn*; n. *dat*.

Pronouns: *gij* or *ge* placed after a verb becomes *de*, as *oor de nie?* = *hoort gij niet*. *Hij*, otherwise *a* or *aai*, becomes in that position *em*, as *zal em komen* = *zal hij komen*; but older people preserve *i* in this case. *Wij*, not under stress, becomes *me*. As object of a verb, the third person plural is always *ze*; of a preposition, always *un*.

A long vowel in verbs is shortened in 3 pr. sg., in 2 pr. pres., and in imp., *ik nēm, a nēmt, we nēmen, ge nēmt, ze nēmen; nēm, nēmt*.]

11 *der* *bhas* is *nə mən* en *dii'n* *red* *tbbii'* *zœœnə*. 12 *en a-j-eet* *en ijdər* *zə* *kiiqsgheidi'ltə* ['child's portion'] *ghegheevə*. 15 *num* *də* *varəkəs* *t'* *uu-jə*. 18 *vaa'dər*, *k-em* *kbhāa* *ghad'ən* *tee'ghə* *ān*. 22 *mənə*, *ghāu*, *breq* *ə* *paa'sbe'stə* ['paschal best,' the custom being to put on new clothes at Easter] *klii'd* *ən* *duu* *ghee-t-əm* *aan*, *stek* *ən-riiq* *ən* *zəna-vii-qər*, *ən* *trekt* *skhuurnən* *ən* *z'n* *vuutə*. 23 't *vet* *ka'ləf*. 24 *bhant* *məna-zœœn* *bhas* *duu'd*, *ən a-j-is* *trygh* *ghəvo'qdə*. 25 *mor* *tərbhāt-lət* *bhas* *dən* *ān-stə* *zœœn* *uup-t* *veld*; *ən* *əs* *əm* *bheer* *kbhēm*, *ən* *ad* *dikht* *baa* *z'n* *ōois* *bhas*, *uu'rdən* *əm* *zi-qən* *ən* *daa'nə*. 27 *uu* *bryyr*. 29 *um* *m'n* *vrində* *is* *tə* *traktee'ra*. 31 *sii*, *ju'qə*, *ghee* *za* *ghāai* *a'lta* *ba* *māai*.

161. *Lier*, in French *Lierre*, town (51 n 8, 4 e 34). II. 297.

11 *nə* *man* *ad* *tbbii'* *zœœnə*. 12

ən *a* *vərdii'* *ldən-ət* *ghuud* *o'ndər* *œœlə*. 15 *om* *zən* *væærəkəs* *t-œœbhə*. 18 *vaardər*, *k-əm* *tee'ghən* *aa* *ghəzə'n-dighd*. 22 *breq* *dən* *i'r-stən* *tə'bərd* ['tabard,' frock, a Dutch word] *dən* *besten*, *dunt-əm-əm* *ōun*, *stek-t-əm* *nən-riiq* *ən* *z'n* *and*, *ən* *skhuurnən* *ən* *z'n* *vuutən*. 23 *ə* *mestkalf*. 24 *omdat* *maarnə* *zoon* *dood* *bhas*, *ən* *is* *bheerun'm* *ghəvə'nə*. 25 *mor* *dən* *aardstə* *zoon* *bhas* *op-t* *veld*, *ən* *tuun* *a* *bheer* *kbhamp*, *ən* *z'n* *ōois* *nōurdə*, *oordən-aa-t* *ghəza'qk*. 27 *uu* *bryyr*. 29 *om* *mee* *maan* *vrində* *t-œœtən*. 31 *zoon*, *ghaa* *zaad* *a'lta* *baa* *maa*.

162. *Mechelen*, in English *Mechlin*, in French *Malines* (51 n 2, 4 e 23). II. 299.

11 *der* *bhas* *nə* *kii'* *nə* *man*, *dii* *tbbii'* *ju'qəs* *aa*. 12 *ən* *də* *vā'rdər* *vərdii'* *ldən* *œœlə* *paat*. 15 *um* *də* *verkəs* *ghōoi* *tə* *slā'ighə*. 18 *vā'rdər*, *k-em* *ghəzə'ndighd* *tee'ghən* *aa*. 22 *gheeft* *al* *ghaa* *ə* *klii'd* *ən-t* *be'stə* *dat* *ər* *is*, *gheft-əm* *nən-riiq* *aan* *z'n* *and*, *ən* *skhuurnən* *aan* *z'n* *vuutə*. 23 't *vet* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *məna-ju'qə* *bhas* *duu'd*, *ən a-j-is* *bhee* *ghəvə'nə*. 25 *jaa-mor* *dən* *aardstə* *zoon* *dii'* *bhas* *up* *ət* *veld* *as* *daa* *vœær* *viel*; *ən* *ghələ'k* *əm* *nor* *ōois* *kbhamp*, *oordən-əm* *dor* *ə* *labhāai't* *van* *zii-qən* *ən* *sprii'qə*. 27 *uu* *bryyr*. 29 *um* *mee* *m'n* *vrində* *nə* *kii'* *blāai* *tə* *zāain*. 31 *ghee* *zaa* *ghāai* *u'məs* *a'ltaaid* *ba* *māai*.

163. *St. Amands*, village (51 n 3, 4 e 12). II. 302.

11 *dōn* *bhas* *nə* *man* *dii'* *tbbii'* *zœœnən* *aa*. 12 *ən* *də* *vōurdər* *ghaf* 't *əm*. 15 *də* *verkəs* *ghōi* *slōur'ghən*. 18 *vōurdər*, *k-əm* *kbhōud* *ghedōurn* *tee'ghən* *aa*. 22 *gheft* *al* *ghaa* *ə* *klii'd* *ōun* *də* *ju'qən*; *i'i'n* *van* *də* *be'stə*; *stek* *dan* *nən-riiq* *ōun* *zāi'nən* *vi'qər*, *ən* *gheft-əm* *skhuurnən* *ōun* *zāin* *vuutə*. 23 't *vet* *ghəmo'kt* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *ons* *kiind* *bhas* *duu'd*, *ən* *āi* *əs-bheer* *ghəvə'nə*. 25 *dən* *aat'stən* *zoon* *bhas* *iin't* *feld* *ghəbleevən*, *ən* *as* *ən* *nōur* *œ'is* *kbhamp*, *uu'rdən* *āi* *daa* *sə* *bee'zigh* *bhōurnən* *mee* *tə* *zii-qən* *ən* *tə* *da'nən*. 27 *a* *bryyr*. 29 *um* *nə* *kii'r* *mee* *māin* *vrində* *kernis* *t-aarən*. 31 *gha* *zait* *u'məs* *a'ltaid* *bāi* *māi*.

XXXII. OOST-VLAANDEREN, in English EAST FLANDERS. II. 306.

164. *St. Nicolaas*, town (51 n 10, 4 e 7). II. 308.

11 dour bhas na kii'r na mens, dii tbbii' zoonen AA. 12 an da vourder gha' z-elk œlder pœurt. 15 om da verkœs tœ bha'khtœn. 18 vourder, k-œi misdœurn. 22 œust œlder ['haste ye'] œn œult al ghœa dœ bestœ klee'rœn œn duu zœ-m œun; stikt-œm-nœ riik œn zœi'nœ vii'qœr, œn skhuunœn œn zœin vuutœn. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mœi'nœ zœon bhas doot, œn œi is bheer ghœvœnœ. 25 dœn aardstœ zœon kbham iutœsœn van -t veld bheer, œn as œi nogh œn booghskskœœt ['œ bow-shot'] van œi's bhas, kost œi al-t myzzi'k, œn-t labhœit œœrœn. 27 œu bruur. 29 mee mœin vri'ndœn nii nœ keer lœutœn smœœrœn. 31 gbee zœi ghœi a-lted bœi mœi.

165. *Eeklo*, town (51 n 12, 3 e 33). II. 311.

11 tœr bhas na kii'r na rœi'kœn œœrœ [Dutch *heer*, gentleman] dii tbbii' zœœns AA. 12 in dœ vœœdœrœ verdii'ldegh œlder zœi'ghuut. 15 dœ verkœns tœ bha'khtœn. 18 vœœdœrœ, k-œn misdœœn vœœr œœ. 22 briiqt iir al ghe'bhœ [Dutch *gaauw*, quickly] zœin bestœ dii'qœn, in duu'ghœ-t-œm œn, in stek-œm nœ-riik œn zœi'nœ vii'qœrœ, in skhuuns œ zœin vuutœn. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mœnœ-zœœnœ bhas dyy't, in œi is bheerœm ghœvœndœn. 25 mœœr binst ['in the mean time'] bhas zœi'nœn œbhœstœ zœœnœ in dœn œkœrœ, in œs dœn dii'nœn bheerœ kiirdegœ in œn œi's kbham, in yy'rdægœ zii'qœn in labhœit œbhœn. 27 œœ bruurœ. 29 œm mœi mee mœi vri'ndœn nœ kii'r bhal tœ duun. 31 tuut, tuut, mœi kind, gh-œœ ghœi œl'tœid bœi mœi ghœbheœst.

166. *Maldegheem*, village (51 n 13, 3 e 27). II. 315.

11 dœr bhaœr nœ keœrkœ nœn rœi'kœ man, dii tbbœ zœœns AA. 12 œœ lœœtœr ['?'] mœstœ deœ'œn. 15 bhaœr ghœdwœrœn ['forced'] van dœ zbhœœns tœ bha'khtœn. 18 vœœdœrœ, œ œn mesdœœn tee'ghœn œu. 22-24 œœ liipt-œm tee'ghœnœ ['œ he ran towards him'], vœœgh œn zœœn-œls ['flew at his neck'], kœstœ-œm, œn œœ deœ ['did,' caused] van blœi'skhaœ ['from blithe-ness'] œmdœ œœ daœr bhaœrœ, 'n vet kœœlf slœkhtœn. 25-30 dœn œndœrœ zœœnœ bœklœœ'ghdœ œm ['complained'] daœr œœvœrœ dat œœ œkœns ['œver,' Dutch *al keeren*] bœœœvœ ghœbheœst bhaœrœ, œn dat dii lœœrœ ['scamp']

zyy' ghœnd œntœœld bbiirœ. 31, 32 mœœr dœ vœœdœrœ zœi: mœ kœnd! t-œn œs nii meœr œf rekht ['œt-not is not more œf=than right'] daœ mee daœr vœœr lœœtœ ['feasting'] mœœkœn; bhœnt œu bruurœ bhaœr dœœd, œn œœ œs varreezœn ['risen from the dead'], œœ bhaœr varlœœrœn ['lost'], œn œœ œs bheœr ghœvœndœn.

167. *Kleit*, a hamlet belonging to parish of Maldegheem, 166. II. 319.

11 dœ bhaœr nœ keœrkœ nœ reœkœ mœn mat tbbœ zœœns. 12 dœ zœrœstœ vruugh zœœn deœlœqœ. 15 mœst dœ zbhœœns bha'khtœn. 18 vœœdœrœ, œœ œœ ['have'] mesdœœn tee'ghœ œu. 22-24 œœ vii'lt œm œm dœn nœkœ œn œœ deœ œn vet kœœlf slœkhtœn œm kœrmœsœ t-œubhœn van blœi'skhaœ œmdœœ zœœnœ zœœnœ [Dutch *zijn zœœn*, his son] gœkœmœ bhaœrœ. 25-30 mœœr dœn œrœstœn bruurœ bhaœrœ daœr kbhaœd œmœ, dat œœ œkœs bœœœvœ ghœbheœst œn dat zœœn vœœdœrœ vœœr œœ nii œn deœ'. 31, 32 mœœr dœ vœœdœrœ zœi'rœ: meœn kœnd, lœœt œns blœi'rœ zœœn, bhœnt œu bruurœ bhaœrœ dœœd, œn œœ œs varreezœn, œœ bhaœrœ varlœœrœn, œn œœ œs bheœr ghœkeœrd ['returned'].

168. *Gent*, in French *Gand*, in English *Ghent*, city (51 n 2, 3 e 44). II. 325.

[There are two principal modes of speech. One, the Newbridge Gentish, formerly spoken in the street of Nieuwe-Brug or Neder-Schelde, used principally by small tradesmen and work-people. This is lower (*platter*) than ordinary Gentish, and much drawled (*sleepend, lijmerig*). The present Newbridge mode is really the general old Gentish. The other Gentish is spoken generally by the citizens, and even the upper classes when using their mother tongue; modern Hollandish is "fortunately" not used, even in churches or in most schools.

In this Gentish almost all short vowels are lengthened, as *kaate* or *kate* for *kat*, *bruge* or *bruuge* for *brug*, *steemme* for *stem*, etc. The short *i* and *e* of other dialects becomes *ij* (œi), as *drijnke*, *zijnge*, *wijnkel*, *schijnke*, *mijns*, (mensel).

Long *a* is *œa* (œœ) and before *r* often sounds as a diphthong like French *œi* in *voir* (uœœ).

Open *e* or *ee* is a diphthong *ië* (ii') or nearer *ëë*, *eeë* (EE.' ee').

Heavy *e* [the (aæ) of Flemish generally] is *ië*, and this is the sound of short *e* before *r*, as *pîrd*, *zûird*, *begîre*; *stîrk*, *bîrk*, *kîrke*, *vîrke*.

Open long *o* becomes *ue* (yy'), as *buem*, *brued* = Dutch *boom*, *brood*.

Close long *o* becomes *eu* (uæ), as *veugel*, *vogel*.

Long *u* retains its sound (yy), but *uw* generally adds on an unaccented *e* (-æ).

The *ij* is *ai* (ái) or even *aai* (áai).

The *ei* is also usually *ai*, but in some words *eeë*, *ëëë* (ee', EE'), as *gêete*, *geit*, *schêen*, *scheiden*.

The *ui* becomes *aai* (áai).

The *ou* and *au* are French *ê* (EE) in some words, and Dutch *ij* (j'i) in others; but when followed by *d*, are always *êv* (EE'u); *schêuwe* is both *schauw* or *schaduw*, 'shade, shadow,' and *schouw* or *schoorsteen*, 'chimney'; when followed by *t*, these *ou*, *au*, are generally *ij* (j'i), as *stijt*, *stout*, 'bold.'

The *i* in *ing* is not merely long (ii), but has the secondary stress, as *decliinge*, *leziinge*. [This is quite Chaucerian.]

The old termination *-eege*, *-igge*, is in full use, as *naaisterigge*, *naaister*, 'seamstress.'

The termination *-is* becomes *-esse*, as *geschiedenese*, and *-laar*, properly *-leer*, becomes *-lurre* as *dompêlirre*, *domeleer*, *dompelaar*, 'loiterer.'

The termination *uw* becomes *em*, as *zualen* for *zualuw*, swallow (bird); but *weduwe*, *weduwenaar*, become *wewe*, *wewerre*.

Short *a* before *r* becomes long *a* or *aa* (AA), as *aarm*, *woarm* = arm, warm.

The *h* is not pronounced.

Unaccented *-e* is often added, as *moedere*, *emele* (hemel, 'heaven'), *ende* (hemd, 'shirt'), etc.

When *l* and *r* occur in the middle of a syllable, they are frequently omitted, and *r* before *s* is regularly mute, as *aas*, als, *ges* for *gers*, gras, as in Friesic *bust* for *burst*, *borst*, 'burst, breast, brush.'

But *ch* is heard in *mussehe*, *bossehe*, *mijusehe*, *meuschen*, where it is omitted in Hollandish.

For *mp*, they use *np* or *nt*, as *lant*, lamp. Medial *d* either falls into *i* or *j* or is mute. Final foreign *je* is called *de*, as *famielde*, familie.

Uter, *wulder*, *gulder* and *zulder* are used for *hen* or *hun*, *wij*, *gij*, *zij*. *Uij* is

often called *jij*, as '*k en ben te 'k ik nie geweest*, 't *ete jij geweest* (kanben'tekik nii ghebheest, tee'to'j'i ghebheest), literally 'I not am it I I not been, it has he been,' = 'twasn't me, 'twas him.

Gentish.

11 *tôr* bhaas *nô* *kii'r* *nô* *man*, in *ái* *AA* *tbbii'* *zœæns*. 12 in *ái* *dii'* *l-degha-t* *vyldar* *áait*. 15 *om* *dô* *vîrkas* *tô* *bha'khtô*. 18 *VAA'dôrô*, *k-ee* *miis-dAA'n* *tee'ghôn* *ee*. 22 *AAS* *ái* *nô* *bái* *zái* *zêlvâ* *ghôkô-mô* *bhaas*, *riip* *ái* *i'* *nô* ['he called one'] *van* *zâin* *kne* *khte*, in *ái* *ghôbii'dagh* *eem-t* *bee'stô* *dô'iqô* *t-AA'lô* *om* *eem* *an* *tô* *daun*, *eem* *ô* *PAAR* *skhuurnô* *tô* *gheevô*, in *nô* *rô'iqk* *oop* *zâinô* *vô'iqôr* *tô* *stee'kô*. 23 't *bee'stô* *kaalf*. 24 *omdaa'* *mâinô* *zœæna*, *dii* *dyy'* ['dead'] *bhaas*, *bheerô* *ghêvô'ndô* *es*. 25 *ôndôrtty'gghô* *kbhaam* *dôn* *êebh'stô* *zœæna* *oop* *-t* *land*; in *AAS* *ái* *omtree'nt* *den* *âai'zô* ['house'] *kbhaam*, *yy'degh* *âi-t* *labhâit* in *dô* *speelman*. 27 *ee* *bruurô*. 29 *oom* *mâin* *vrii'ndô* *mee* *tô* *trakteerô*. 31 *MAAR*, *mâinô* *jô'qgônô*, *ghee* *zâit* *ôô'môrst* *a'tâid* *bái* *mâi*.

169. *Tongval van de werklieden in de wijk der Nieuwe-brug te Gent*, speech of the work-people in New-bridge Street, Gent, see specimen 168.

11 *nô* *VAA'dôr* *AA* *tbbii'* *zœæns*. 12 *ôn* *dô* *VAA'dôrô* *ghaaf* *ôt* *eem*. 16 *dô* *vîrkôs*. 18 *VAA'dôrô*, *k-EE* *misdaa'n* *tee'ghôn* *ee*. 22 *AAST* *œ'ldôrô*! *lyy'pt* *oom* *zâin* *bee'stô* *klii'rô*, in *duu* *eem* *ôn* *niœœ'* *PAAR* *skhuurnôn* *an*, in *stek* *eem* *nô* *râ'iqk* *oop* *zâinô* *vâ'iqôr*. 23 't *veetstô* *kaalf*. 24 *bhant* *mâinô* *zœæna* *bhaas* *ghêstôorvô*, in *ái* *ês* *bheerô* *leevô't* *ghêbhôrdô*. 25 in *AAS* *dôn* *êebh'stô* *zœæna* *NAAR* *âais* *kbham*, *yy'rdaghô* *âi* *van* *veerô-t* *môzi'ik* *in-t* *labhâit*. 27 *ee* *bruurô*. 29 *om* *mâi* *mee* *mâin* *kamô'AA'tô* *yy'k* *nô* *kii'r* *t-amôzeerô*. 31 *kiind*, *al* *bhad-k* *bôziit*, *ôs-t* *i'* *bhâ*.

170. *Wetteren*, small town (51 n 0, 3 e 52). II. 331.

11 *DAAR* *bhas* *nô* *kii'r* *nô* *menskh*, *dii* *tbbii'* *zœæns* *AA*. 12 *ôn* *ô'i* *dii'* *ldaghô* *œ'ldôr* *-t* *ghuud*. 15 *om* *dô* *veerkas* *tô* *bha'khtôn*. 18 *vôur'dôr*, *k-EE* *misdaa'n* *tee'ghôn* *ôn*. 22 *AAST* *œ'ldôr!* *breq't* *tserôs-t* *bee'stô* *klii'd* *ôn* *duun-t* *hôm* *AA'nô*; *stek* *nô* *riq* *AAN* *zô'in* *and*, *ôn* *skhuurnôn* *AAN* *zô'in* *vuurtôn*. 23 't *vet* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *mâinô* *zœæna* *bhas* *dyy'd*, *ôn* *ô'i* *ês*

ghavōndən. 25 MAAR dən aadstə zœœnə bhas in-t veld, ən as əi bheer kii'rdəghə ən tee'ghən œ'is kbham, yy'rdəghən əi, dat ər bīnən myyzi'k, ghaspe'e'ld ən ghədən'st bhi'rd. 27 ōu bruur. 29 om nə kii'r mee mō'in vrii'ndən keerm'e'sə t-aarən ['hold']. 31 jo'qən, ghee zə'it al'ty's bə'i mō'i.

171. *Ninore*, town (50 n 51, 4 e 1). II. 334.

11 duaa' bhas nə kii' nə mensjh, dii tbbii' zuu'nən aa. 12 ən də vuaa'r gha'f əm za puaa'r. 15 om də vœrkəs tə bhæ'khtən. 18 vuaa'r, k-em kuaa'd gheduaa'n tee'ghən aa. 22 spuud'sj ēlən, ən dunt əm sœfəs skhiyy'ən ['beautiful'] dii'qən uaa'n, ən stek nə ri'qk uaa' zaa'nə vii'qər, ən skhuu'nən uaa' zan vuur'tən. 23 ə vā'tijsj kalf. 24 bhant iik pē'e'sdən [Dutch *peinsde*, thought] daa maanə zuun diyy'əd bhas, ən aa əs van-eer [*van her*, 'again'] ghəvōnə. 25 dən aas'tə zuun kbhamp nuaa'r œ'is van-t veld'sj, ən as ən bəka'n's ['near'] t-œ'is bhas, iyy'ər'dən ə zii'qən ən dānsən. 27 aa brii'r. 29 om mee maan vrii'nən keerm'e's t-aarən. 31 ju'qən, ghret'sj ghaa al'tə'id ba maa.

[On (djsj, tjsj)], the 'sneeze,' see specimen 156. On (uaa') Winkler says the sound is somewhat (*eenigzins*) diphthongal, especially before *r*, and then sounds exactly like the French *oi* in *voir*. In spec. 170 he had not made that remark. See introductory note to spec. 168, on long *a* (1423, *d*).]

172. *Eichem*, village near *Foorde*, village (50 n 49, 3 e 50). II. 338.

11 dər bhas nə kii'r nə maan dii tbbii' zœnən ōu. 12 ən ə vœd's'i'j-djəghən ēi'ər -t ghuid. 15 om də vœrkəs tə bhæ'khtən. 18 vaar, k-em tee'ghən aa ghazəndighd. 22 ost ōu'rər [Dutch *haast u*, 'haste you'], bri'd ə ghaa t-i'i'stə ['the first'] klii'd daa ghə vend'sj ['find'], duuv-əd əm aan, stekt-əm nə-ri'qk op d-and ən skhuu'nən aa zə'in vuur'tən. 23 ə vat'sj kalf. 24 bhant mō'i'nə zoon iir bhas diyy'əd, ən aa əs bheer ghəvōnən. 25 MAAR zə'i'nən ōu'i'stən zoon bhas op-t veld'sj, ən as ən bheer kbham, iyy'ər'dəghən əm spee'lən ən zii'qən. 27 a bryr. 29 om mee mō'in vrii'nən op-t eē'tən. 31 zoon, ghāai zə'id al'tiyy'əs bāai māai.

173. *Geeraardsbergen*, *Geeroudsbergen*, *Geertsbergen*, or *Griesbergen*,

in French *Grammont*, town (50 n 46, 4 e 47). II. 341.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə maan, dii tbbii' zōinsh AA'i. 12 ən də vā'i'r dii vœdii'ldshəghə-t ghuid tœ'skhən zan zōinsh. 15 om də vœrkish tə bhæ'khtən. 18 'k zaa əm zœ'ghən ['I shall say to him'] daa-k kaa'd ghədəa'n ēē'n tee'ghən em. 22 tœœrə lœ'pt, olt'ish a ghāu man splintərnyy- ['my splinter-new'] plœ'nə əm dūn zə-m aan; stikt nə ri'qk AA zaa'nə vi'qər ["in *ng*, the *g* is omitted, and *n* nasalised as in French." This direction I take to be one given by the translator, and that it was meant to convey the sound of (q) to French speakers; the same direction occurs elsewhere. I continue to use (q), but shall note the (A)], ən skhuu'nən AA zan vuur'tən. 23 't vœt kalf. 24 bhant maanə zœnə bhas diyy'əd, ən aa əs van-eer ghəvōnən. 25 mœr dən ōu'stən zœnə dii' bhas tərbbi'igh op-t land; ən as ən bheerə kbhamp ən dat ən bāi t-œ'is bhas, iyy'ər'dəgh ən-t labhāit van-t myyzi'k ən van-t ghə-zə'qksəl. 27 a bryy'ər. 29 om mee maan vrii'nən nə kii'r taa'foliqə t-aarən. 31 jo'qən, iyy'ər nə kii'r, zāi ghə ghāi nii al'tāid ba māi?

174. *Oudenaarde*, in French *Audenarde*, town (50 n 51, 3 e 36). II. 345.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə zœkərə mēins dii tbbii' zœœns AA. 12 ən də vaa'dər vœdii'ldəghə -t ghuid. 15 om də vœrkəs tə bhæ'khtən. 18 vaa'dər, k-ee misdaa'n tœœ'ghən œ'i. 22 ghoo tœœrə, naalt-ət bœ'stə klii'd ən dūn-t-əm ən, dūn-ən nə ri'qk AA zāi'nə vœ'qər, ən skhuuns AA zāi vuur'tən. 23 't fœt kalf. 24 bhant māi'nə zœœnə bhas dyy'd, ən ii əs nœ'i bheerə ghəvōndən. 25 dən ōu'stə zœœnə bhas op-t feld, ən ii ən bhi'stəghə ['wist,' knew] vaa niit. os i nœ'i, al bheerə kii'rən, zāin ōis naa'dərdəghə ['neared'], yy'rdəgh-i dən zə zuu'qən ən zœk nən dāa'nighən dœ-ən maa'ktighən. 27 œ'i bruurə. 29 om māin vrii'ndən mee t trakteer-ən. 31 kind, uu est tokh mœœr-ghokūil dā-ghe zœkən dē'qən van œ'i bruurə kœnt zœ'ghən; ghāi, ghə zāit al'ty's bāi māi.

175. *Deinze* or *Deynze*, town (50 n 58, 3 e 31). II. 349.

11 dər bhas nə kii'r nə man, dii tbbii' zœœns AA. 12 ən də vaa'dər dii'ldəgh œ'ldər zœe ghuid. 15 om də

virkens tō bha'khtōn. 18 vaa'dərə, k-ee misdaa'n tee'gha aa'j. 22 ee dee om dā be'stā klii'rōn aa'lōn vœer zee'nō zœe'nō aan tō duun, en ee dee om ā paar skhuur'nōn gheen, en nō reeqk op zee'nō vee'qar steekōn. 23 't vet'stā kalf. 24 omdaar mee'nō zœe'nō, dii't dyv' bhas, bheer'tā ghō-vōndon es. 25 biust dii mid'elōn tō'id kbham dōn aa'j'stā zœe'nō van op-t land: en oos ee ontrent dōn æ'izō kbhamp, yy'rdegh ee-t labhō'it en de speelman. 27 aa'j bruurō. 29 om meen vrii'ndon mee tō trekteerōn. 31 maar meenō jorqōn tokh, ghō zee ghō'i om'mers a'ltēd bō'i mō'i.

XXXIII. WEST-VLAANDEREN, in English WEST FLANDERS. II. 352.

176. *Brugge*, in French *Bruges*, city (51 n 13, 3 e 12). II. 356.

[Long *a* is pronounced *oa* (aa) before *d, t, l, n, r, s, z* (except in plurals of past tenses in verbs, where *a* is short in singular, as *ik bad, wi baden*, and except some *b, f, g, m*, has been lost, as *made* for *maagde*), but is pure, as *ā* in French *âtre* (aa, aa?), before *b, p, f, v, g, k* and *m*. And *sch* is pronounced *sk*, which is old low German, and is still heard in some low German modes of speech. The version is too free to be quoted exactly.]

11 dər bhas ā ker ā man, en ii aa tbhee zœens. 12 vaa'dər, ghe'mā ['give me'] ghi -t ghoo'nō [Dutch *het geve*, 'the that,' the thing or part] daa-k ik muun en. 15 zblii'ns. 22 i dēi om zōn be'stā kleerōn aa'lōn. 25-30 dān nuktōn zœe'nō bhas daar zaluu's [French *jaloux*] van, en zēi: vaa'dər, t-ən is tokh nūi ghōper-met-ee'rd! jō duu meer vaar dii slōe-bōr ['sloberly fellow'] of daa jō vaar miin dō't. jaa, zēi dā vaa'dər, vēintjō ['man'] t-ən is maar reks lik of 't ziin muut ['it is however right like as it must be,' it is quite right], jōn bruurō bhas dood, en ii is vōrree-zōn ['arisen']; zōo is-t gheel simpəl daa mō mi'r'dōr [for *wij wijtieden* 'we we-folk'] daa vii'rōn. jō viiqk ghō ['receive'] dā bōlooniqā van jō ghūu ghedragh ['of your good behaviour'] in bhal tō staa'nō med i'r'dōren, vōrstaa'jō daa? en laāt ghi ons ol tō ghāa'tō ['together'] konte'nt ziin dat i nogh leeft.

177. *Oostende*, in English

Ostend, town (51 n 14, 2 e 54). II. 362. [This is also very freely translated.]

11 tōr bhas en keer en vaa'dər, en j-aa tbhee zœens. 12 dii ghūu sœl ghāaf ot om; ee ja, bhāa mōst en dōo'n, ee? 15 om zōn zblii'ns tō bha'khtōn. 18 vaa'dər, k-en zōo lee'lik ghōdaa'n mi juun [I have so ugly done with you']. 20-24 bhāa daa sōn vaa'dər mid'om dēi? 'k laāt shō -t ghōraa'n ['what then his father with him did, I let you it guess']. ghōu, wānsjō ['jack,' diminutive of *Johannes* called *Jovannus*] zēit en ghōn, kom bi'nōn, mōn vēint, 'k ziin zōo blii' daa jō daa ziit. mō ghāan sefōns kerōme's u'r'dōn. en-t vet kolf mōst er an, en nogh e'ntbhat a'qōrs ['something besides'] en vaa'dər en zœe'nō dēi'en en fiin mœ'ltjō ['had a fine feast']. 25 den uurdō zœe'nō, dii van oō'vōr en dagh of tbhēi vyt bhas, kbham biust dān mid'elōnti'd nāa z'n yys tō bhee'ghā. jaa-maar i oōr'dā-t myvziik spee'lōn, en jō vōrskhiit ['changes'] ol met en keer. 29 jō bhor mō bhel zōo vruud zee, dat i nūi en bhist bhāa dat en dēi, en j-ān wi'dō nūi bi'nān-ghāan. 31 maar vaa'dər kam vyt, en a'khtōr en bitsjō bibalabu'rshās ['after a little coaxing'] jō tbhee'feld ['induced'] om tokh tuu bi zōn bruurō. en zō kōer'stōn mee'kaar, en-t bhas vriind lik van tō vōo'rōn.

178. *Roesselaar*, in French *Roulers*, town (50 n 56, 3 e 7). II. 369.

11 t-bhos ā kee nō man en ii aa tbhee zœens. 12 en zō vaa'dərō i vōrde'e'ld i ol zō ghūud o'r'dōr z'n tbhee zœens. 15 om der dā zblii'ns tō bha'khtōn. 18 vaa'dərō, k-ee-k-ik zōndō ghōdaa'n tee'ghōn juu. 22 aast jō, aal-om ā kee zō miibh kleed en duu-t an, stekt nō riik ip z'nō viiq'rō [see specimen 173] en duu skhuun an z'n vūr'tōn. 23 't vet kolf. 24 ghō muu bhee'tōn ['wit,' know] mōnō-zœe'nō bhos daad, en ii ee bhee're yy'tghōkō'mōn. 25 dān uurdōn zœe'nō bhos ip -t land bee-zigh mee bhe'rkōnō, en os en bhee'rō kbham van de stikōn, en t-vys nāa'sdō, i oōr'dōghā dā zō van bi'n trompet'ghān en zuurqōn. 27 jōn broo'rō. 29 omdā-k aak vaar m'n vrii'ndon zuu kōe'en ā kee ker'me'sā u'r'dōn. 31 maar ju'qōn [here *ng* is printed as usual], ghō zii ghūi o'lti'id bi miū.

179. *Kortrijk*, in French *Coutrai*, city (50 n 55, 3 e 12). II. 374.

[The Kortrijkers omit final *d*, especially before a consonant, as *i ston me' ziin oe ip ziin oaf, en i iel 'n broo in ziin an* = hij stond met zijn hoed op zijn hoofd, en hij hield een brood in zijn hand, 'he stood with his hat on his head, and he held a bread-loaf in his hand.' Final *n* is so frequently omitted that the Kortrijkers are nicknamed *ennebiters*, 'en-biters.' Also *l* and *r* are frequently omitted. *Sch* is called *sk*. Final *ië* (iə) is constantly used as a diminutive.]

11 nō man a tbhee zœens. 12 ən zə kTEE'ghən elk ældər dee'l. 15 dii dēi əm gHAAN mee də zbhiins. 18 VAA'dər, k-EE ghəzəndigh tee'ghən yy. 22 loop om-t be'stə kLEE' ən duu-t-əm an; ən duu-nə riik an ziin an, ən duu skhuu'nən [as *sch*, and not *sk*, is written, I copy it] an ziin vuurtə. 23 't vet kolf. 24 bhan miin zœ-nə bha daa, ən ii əs bheerə ghəvəndə. 25 dən ounstə zœ-nə bhaa daar binst ip-t lan. os i bheerə kEE'rdə van də sti-kən, en biit yys van zi VAA'dər bhaa, oordən-i zi'qən ən dānsə. 27 yy bruurə. 29 om mee miin vriindən tē kerəmə'sən. 31 ju'qən, ghee ziit o'ltiid bi mi.

180. *Iperen*, in French *Ypres*, city (50 n 52, 2 e 53). II. 378.

11 daa bhos ə man dii tbhee zœens a-də. 12 ən də vaadə dee-j-ət. 15 om də zbhiins tē bha'khtən. 18 vaa'dər, k-ēin EEZu'ndeghd [this (EE) for (ghə) in participles is said to sound just as *é* in the French *être*] tee'ghən juun. 22 briikt ə keer zœ-rə ['quickly'] ə niœə'-bhən bruuk ən ə niœə'-bhə kazəkə, ən duu-sə-m a'nduun. stekt ə riik an zə vii'ndər ən gheet-ən niœə'-bhə [(niœə'-bhə) may be the proper word; *niœe* is printed twice and *nieuwe* once, but *eu* does not appear to be otherwise replaced by *e*] skhuun. 23 ə vet kolf. 24 mə ju'qən [see specimen 173 on (q)] bhos dōd, ən-ən es bheerə EEVuu'ndən. 25 ja-maa, os dən uurdstə zœ-nə van-t lant kbham, bhaa dat-ən bhos ghaan bherkən, ən dat-ən bi-t yys kbham, ən oordə dānsən ən zi'qən ən sprii'qən. 27 jə broo'rə. 29 om z-ep t-ee'tən ['to eat it up'] mee mən vrii'ndən. 31 ju'qən, j-ən-EE ghii nī tē klaa'ghən; ghə ziit van tj'nœ'khtəns

tuu tj'naa vāns ['from morning to evening,' Dutch *ochtends, avonds*] bi miin.

181. *Poperingen*, town (50 n 52, 2 e 43). II. 382.

11 t-bhos EE kee EE mēns, dii tbhee zœens a-də. 12 ən də VAA'dər dee'ldə ældər-t ghunt. 15 om də zbhiins tē bha'khtən. 18 VAA'dər, k-ən EEZəndigh tee'ghən juun. 22 briikt [see specimen 173 on (q)] ma zœ-rə zən be'stə kazəkə ən duu-sə-m an, stekt EE riik an zə vii'qər ən duu sə skhuun an. 23 't vet kalf. 24 om dəs bhi'lə mə zœ-nə bhos dōd, ən-ən es yyt EEkə'mən. 25 tuun kam dən uurdstə zœ-nə van-t stik, ən os ən outrent t-yys kam, ən dat ən z-oordə zi'qən ən myyzi'kə spee'lən. 27 jə broo'rə. 29 om miin vrii'ndən tē traktee'rən. 31 ju'qən, jə zi ghii o'san [for *olsan*, that is, *als aan*, always] bi miin.

182. *Feurne-Ambacht*, district, manor of *Feurne*, town, in French *Furnes* (51 n 4, 2 e 38). II. 386.

11 t-bhos ə kee ə man, ən dii man a-də tbhee zœens. 12 ən də VAA'də dee'ldən ældər -t ghunt. 15 om tē zbhiins tē bha'khtən. 18 VAA'dər, k-ən daa leek mīsdān tee'ghən juun. 22 ZEE'rə ['haste'] om ə be'stə kazəkə VAA mə zœ-nə, duut-ən z-an, ən duut-ən ə paar skhuun an. 23 't kolf daa m-EE'vət ən. 24 mə zœ-nə daa bhos dōd, ən m-ən ən bheerə EEvo'qən [see specimen 173 on (q)]. 25 dən uurdstə zœ-nə bhos bi də bhi'lə əp də sti-kən os ən nyy van zə bherk kam, lik of ən nī verə mee van zən yys bhos, ən oordə zə dānsən ən sprii'qən ən myyzi'kə spee'lən. 27 i broo'rə. 29 om mee mə vrii'ndən ə kee kerəmə'sə t-uirdən. 31 zœ-nə, i blyyf ghi o'san bi miin.

XXXIV. FRANCE. II. 389.

183. *St. Winok's Bergen*, in French *Bergues*, town (50 n 59, 2 e 25). II. 395.

[In the town itself the people generally speak Flemish, and but few French; the country round about the town is quite Flemish.]

11 t-bhas ən kee ən VAA'dər dat ən paar zœens a-də. 12 ən dən uurdən bra'vən man, jaa, nōm dee'ldə z'n forty'nə. 15 dən buur ['hoor,' peasant] bee ['well'], EE zoq [see specimen 173 on (q)] ən op sən land mee-sən

zbbiins, sensee' ['only think']. 18 t-is blaa ['it is true'] mon vaardər, k-ən zōndē EEDAAN teeghōn juun. 22 lopt, zeght-ən, briiq-ət bestə abii't [French *habit*], dii m-en ['which I have'], ən trek-ən-t nōm an; stikt-ən ən-riiqk rond zōn viiqər, ən gheet-ən ən PAAR skhuun. 23 ət vet kAAf. 24 om-s-bbi-lā, mōn juq-stōn juq-ən, diit-ən dood blas, is t-yyS EEKō-mōn. 25 dān nurdstōn zōe-nā, BEE, ən blas op-t veld etbhaar, ən diit-ən bi-t yys eraveerdə ['arrived'], ən ər-dā daa ən ryvnuur onghisard, ən zii-qōn ən kliiqk-ən ən dānsōn. 27 zōn freerā. 29 ōm mēn kenesōn tō bāshkiiqk-ən. 31 juq-ən, 30 blyyft ghii MEE miin.

184. *Duinkerke*, in French *Dunkerque*, in English *Dunkirk*, town (51 n 3, 2 e 23). II. 401.

11 dā bhōs 'n KEER EE man, ən 'n ad tbbEE zōe-nā. 12 dā vaardər ghaf ən ziin tbbEE zōe-nā elk-t siinā. 15 biī ziin zbbiins. 18 vaardər, k-ən-ən foliir ['folly'] EEDAAN ee'ghōn juun. 22 ən i zee; aald əm tō fEEtō EE

niōō'bhān tenyy' [French *tenu*]. 23 't kē rnes-kā-lē. 24 vān apREE-tuu [French *après tout*], miin zōe-nā bhōs dōd, ən-ən is EEVō-nā. 25 ən os dān nurdstō zōe-nā daa rook, EE blas EEpikeerd ['piqued']. 29 ōm op-t eertōn MEE-mōn kompanjōns [Fr. *compagnons*]. 31 ort, jii-qōn, [see specimen 173 0n (q)] ik ən ghii bhāe-nān artliid tō ghaartō ['together'].

XXXV. AANHANGSEL, Appendix. II. 408.

[This gives a version in the *Rood-waalsch* or *slang* of the South-Netherland or Belgian Limburgish Kempen (specimen 185), and of Zele in East Flanders (specimen 186), which have no interest for our present purpose.]

Note.—Since p. 1393, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, was printed off, I have been informed that the Dutch *porcie* for *portion* has the accent on the first syllable, and is (por-sii, por-si) or (por-shā). French words in *-tion*, *-sion*, become words in *-sie* in Dutch, and end either in (*-sii*, *-si*) or (*-sia'*, *-shā*).

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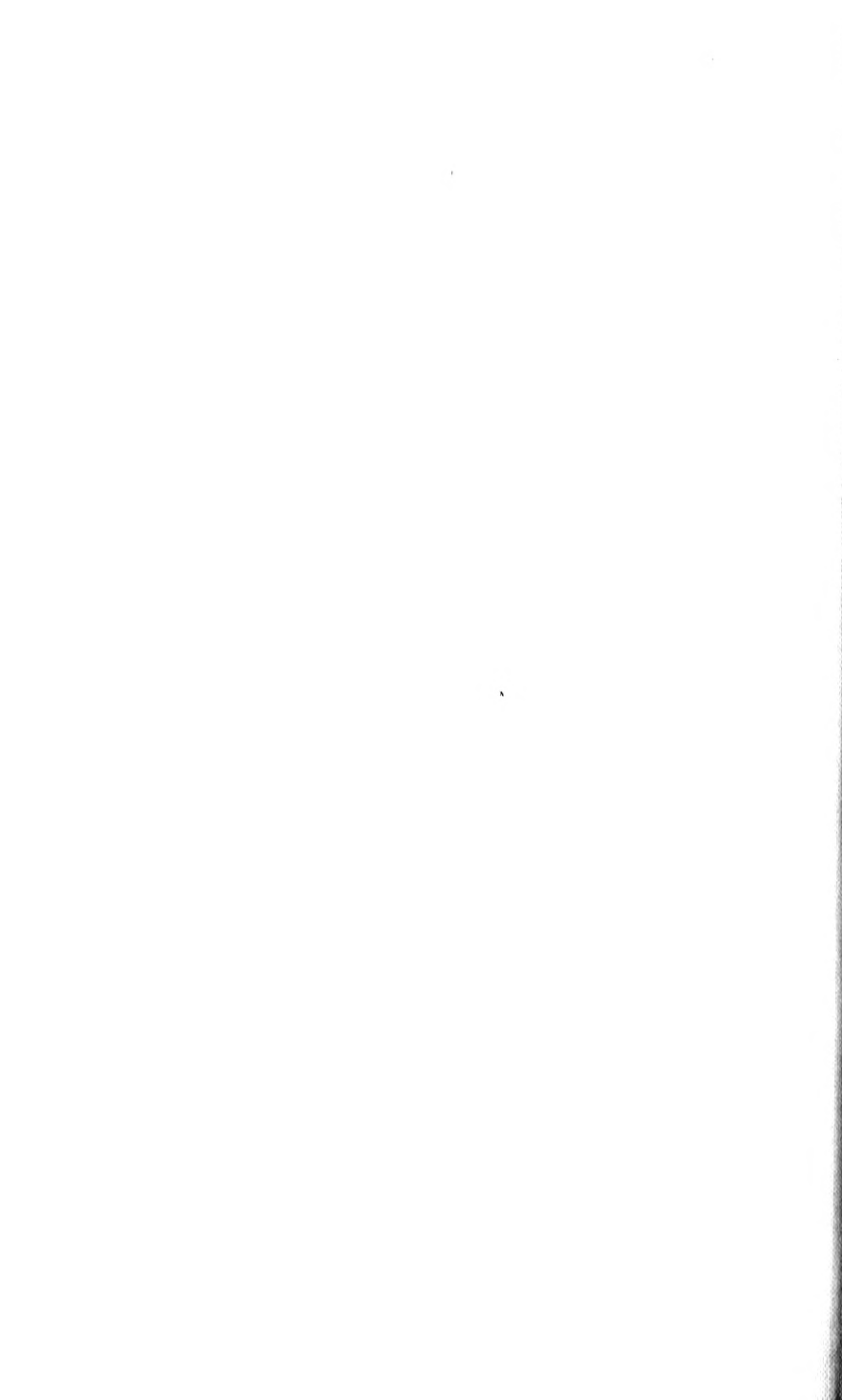
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This completes the studies introductory to the consideration of our English dialects. It may be thought at first that too wide a range has been taken, but my own conviction is that the error lies in the other direction, and that these studies will prove insufficient for the complete phonologic study of our dialects, because I have found that, since most of them were in type, on attempting to deal with some existing cases which have come before me, my own knowledge has only too frequently made default. Thus in vowels, the *oo* and short *u* of Northumberland, taken as (*u*); the *oo* of West Somerset, of North and South Devon, of Norfolk and Suffolk, taken as (*yy*, *iu*), are still phonologic riddles, and I might greatly increase the list. In consonants, the different uvular *r*'s of Northumberland, and the (glottal or reverted) *r*'s of Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Somerset; and even the trilled *r*'s of Scotland, Westmorland and Ireland (said to be different), are not yet discriminated phonetically with sufficient accuracy. For many of the diphthongs and fractures extreme difficulty is felt in determining the position of stress, the length of the elements, and the quality of the element not under the stress. The peculiarities of intonation, which are locally most characteristic, are as yet phonetically uncharacterized.

For those who simply regard dialectal talk as "funny," "odd," "curious," "ridiculous," or "vulgar," such like difficulties do not exist. Even philologists, who have wrapped themselves up in their garment of Roman letters, as musicians in their equally tempered drab, will not care for them. But as no scientific theory of concord can be evolved from the blurred representation or rather caricature of consonance which this temperament can alone produce, so no scientific theory of organic change of words, which forms the staple of philology, can be deduced from the incomplete, dazzling, puzzling, varying, orthography which Latin letters can alone present. The great object of this work has been from beneath this heavy cloak to trace the living form, with the pure philological purpose of arriving at scientific theories which shall help us to derive the present from the past of language. The result can be but a rough approximation after all. But in forming an estimate for any work it is usual to calculate to farthings, and then lay on a broad margin for contingency. So here we must endeavour to trace to the minutest details, however absurdly small they may appear, and then allow a wide "debateable land" for inevitable errors. The nature of such a land is well enough shewn by an example in the preceding introductory remarks (pp. 1371-3). The nature of the details is shewn in Nos. 6 and 7 (pp. 1265-1357). The guide to an appreciation of the English laws of change will be found in the changes so carefully tabulated by Schmeller for Bavarian High German (pp. 1357-1368), a language descended from the same remote common ancestor as our own, and those which can be inferred from Winkler's collections (pp. 1378-1428) for descendants on the original soil from the same progenitor. With this preparation we will endeavour to investigate the phonology of existing English dialects¹ themselves, as a clue to the radically dialectal English of our forefathers.





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